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LABOR PROBLEMS IN HAWAII

HEARINGS

BEFORE

THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. J. RES. 158

A JOINT RESOLUTION PROVIDING AN EMERGENCY
REMEDY FOR THE ACUTE LABOR
SHORTAGE IN HAWAII

AND ON

H. J. RES. 171

A JOINT RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR IMMIGRATION TO MEET THE
EMERGENCY CAUSED BY AN ACUTE LABOR SHORTAGE
IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII

Serial 7—Part 1

JUNE 21 TO JUNE 30 AND JULY 7, 1921

STATEMENTS OF

WALTER F. DILLINGHAM,
WALLACE R. FARRINGTON,
ROYAL D. MEAD,
CHARLES F. WEEBER,
EDGAR WALLACE,
JOHN I. NOLAN,

PAUL SCHARRENBURG,
JOHN WISE,
ALBERT HORNER,
CHARLES F. CHILLINGWORTH,
J. K. KALANIANA'OLE,
HARRY IRWIN.



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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

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LABOR PROBLEMS IN HAWAII.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Tuesday, June 21, 1921.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

There were present before the committee Mr. Walter F. Dillingham, Mr. Charles F. Chillingworth, and Mr. Albert Horner, of Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. The meeting was called this morning, gentlemen, for the purpose of hearing the Delegate from Hawaii, Mr. Kalaniana'ole, and a delegation from Hawaii, sent, I believe, at the request of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, with petitions, etc., for the admission of certain oriental labor into the Territory.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I don't think that is just right, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, for the admission of certain labor into the Territory. The hearing is to be held on House joint resolution 158, which properly belongs before this committee but which has been referred to the Committee on Territories. Without objection and with the consent of the Committee on Territories, I have undertaken to have it referred to this committee.

Now, Mr. Kalaniana'ole, have you a statement to make?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. No, excepting that we have here a commission sent by the legislature to appear on this matter, a commission consisting of Mr. Dillingham, Senator Chillingworth, and Mr. Horner, who have been sent over here to present this matter before Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Does Mr. Dillingham desire to be heard first?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, Mr. Dillingham, we will hear you first. The resolution under consideration reads as follows:

[H. J. Res. 158, Sixty-seventh Congress, First session.]

JOINT RESOLUTION Providing an emergency remedy for the acute labor shortage in the Territory of Hawaii.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for a period of five years from the passage of this joint resolution the Secretary of Labor be, and he is hereby, empowered, under such conditions and regulations as he shall prescribe, to admit to the Territory of Hawaii such aliens otherwise inadmissible as he may deem necessary to meet the emergency existing in the shortage of agricultural labor: Provided, That such aliens shall be admitted only for limited periods of time, for the purpose of engaging only in agricultural labor or domestic service; that such admission of aliens shall not operate to increase the number of persons of any one alien nationality in the Territory of Hawaii so that their total numbers at any one time shall exceed 20 per centum of the total population of the Territory as determined by the last census; and that the regulations shall provide for and secure the return of such laborers to their respective countries

upon the expiration of the time limited: *Provided further*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to allow any alien admitted under the terms hereof to remove to any other place under the jurisdiction of the United States.

Now, Mr. Dillingham, we will be glad to hear you.

**STATEMENT OF MR. WALTER F. DILLINGHAM, CHAIRMAN
OF THE HAWAII EMERGENCY LABOR COMMISSION.**

Mr. DILLINGHAM. On April 20, 1921, the governor of the Territory of Hawaii presented a special message to the Territorial legislature calling attention to the grave labor shortage existing throughout the islands of the Territory and pointing out that a serious loss to the Territory would result from that shortage unless it be relieved through governmental agencies.

Acting upon this message, the house of representatives, the senate concurring, passed a resolution on April 26, 1921 requesting that the Congress of the United States of America provide, by appropriate legislation, for the introduction or immigration into the Territory of Hawaii of such a number of persons, including orientals, as may be required to meet the situation; limiting such immigration, however, to such numbers as will not operate to increase the number of persons of any alien nationality in the Territory at any one time beyond 25 per cent of the total population of the Territory; and providing further that such persons be admitted for limited periods of time, be obliged to confine their efforts to agricultural labor and domestic service, and be guaranteed and secured their return to their respective countries upon the expiration of such limited periods of time.

The resolution and an accompanying act further authorized the governor to appoint a special commission to act in the matter at the National Capital, to urge upon the Federal Government the necessity for immediate action in the premises. On April 29, 1921, the governor appointed the Hawaiian Emergency Labor Commission, consisting of Mr. Walter F. Dillingham as chairman, Senator Charles F. Chillingworth, and Mr. Albert Horner, and directed that this commission proceed forthwith to Washington, D. C.

The industries of the Territory are agricultural. Of a total population of 255,912 in 1920, approximately 45,000 are now engaged in agriculture, as against urgent requirements for 60,000. An actual shortage of field labor is now reported by the several industries to exist as follows:

Sugar plantations.....	6,000
Pineapple plantations.....	3,000
Coffee plantations.....	1,500
Rice fields.....	3,000
Contracting interests.....	1,000
Total.....	14,500

In addition to this numerical shortage, however, there is a further decline in production due to the inefficiency of field labor in general, attributed to lack of interest and intermittent service.

Continuous efforts have been made to provide for the bringing into the Territory of labor, within the law, to meet our increasing requirements. Not being able to hold this labor, it has migrated to California practically as rapidly as it has been brought to Hawaii.

Even now efforts are being made to bring Porto Ricans and Filipinos into the Territory. There is no possibility, however, of overcoming the shortage, as those who enter the Territory at the present time can be expected only to take care of a part of the continuing shrinkage.

The general shortage, but particularly the acute shortage existing in the sugar industry, is caused in part by the large bonus which was paid to laborers in the sugar industry during the year 1920. This bonus to field laborers amounted in all to \$25,878,996 and was paid to them over and above regular wages, twenty-five per cent of this amount being paid in lump sums at the end of the year. Finding themselves provided with money sufficient for the purpose, laborers have availed themselves of the opportunity to leave the less-attractive field occupations. Numbers of them have left the Territory for their homes, permanently or for visits; and much greater numbers of them have begun business ventures for themselves as small merchants, coffee and pineapple farmers, contractors and builders, truck gardeners, etc. The initiation and development of these independent ventures on the part of former field laborers have resulted in a twofold loss to the established industries, for they have lost the services not only of the new farmers, merchants, contractors and gardeners themselves but of large numbers of other field laborers who evidently prefer to be employed by those of their own race and have therefore left the plantations to seek employment in these new oriental owned and controlled industries.

A general cause of the situation and shortage, which has recently become acute, is the fact that the Japanese, who constitute more than 60 per cent of the labor, have ceased to appreciate the opportunities given them as individuals and now aim collectively to revolutionize the control of agricultural industries to the end that Japanese capital acquire substantial planting interests for itself, instead of merely contributing the labor for those interests under American control. The Japanese now has money he never had before and has determined to use that money and the strength of his numbers to leave the established industries without necessary labor and enter into competition on his own account with these established industries or actually acquire them.

As a result of this shortage and the restless independent attitude of the field laborer, a lack of business control has developed, and a shifting of laborers from place to place has directly followed efforts on the part of the planters to urge the laborers to greater efficiency. Industries organized and balanced in mill, cannery, transportation, irrigation, and area are now faced with but two alternatives: Shall they attempt to maintain existing areas which can be cultivated only indifferently until such time as further labor can be secured, or shall they abandon land now under cultivation and thus conserve their present supply of labor for the proper cultivation of smaller areas? It is evident that the possibility of conducting the business efficiently is destroyed in either case.

The positive financial loss of the present labor shortage to the basic agricultural industries of the Territory runs far into the millions of dollars. If the shortage continues unrelieved, or becomes greater through additional losses of laborers, financial ruin faces the planters of the Territory.

During the past 10 years the normal acreage of cane harvested annually has averaged 115,568 acres; and, from this acreage there has been produced an average sugar crop totaling 590,793 tons annually. The greatest tonnage of sugar produced during the past 20 years was in 1915, when 646,445 tons were harvested, with 45,654 laborers in the fields during the year. The greatest number of laborers employed during the past 20 years was in the year 1912, when 47,345 laborers were on the pay rolls of the sugar plantations. On account of a strike of plantation laborers on the Island of Oahu during the first six months of 1920, and on account of a general labor shortage during that year, the sugar production reached only 556,871 tons, the lowest figure since 1913; there being only 38,348 laborers employed by the plantations in December, the lowest number since 1900.

There has always been some labor shortage in the sugar fields of the Territory, and production of sugar at the high rate of the past decade has been made possible only by the most advanced scientific methods of agriculture. The sugar planters of the Territory have for 26 years maintained an experimental laboratory, at an annual cost of nearly \$200,000 during the past 10 years, for the development of correct methods of cultivation and adequate elimination of bug and other pests. With 10,000 acres more under cultivation than in 1910, but with 6,000 less laborers than during that year, approximately maximum production has been made possible only by the strictest attention to accurate scientific methods of farming. As a result of those methods, the number of acres cultivated per laborer has increased from 5.07 in 1910 to 6.04 in 1920.

It requires from 18 months to 2 years for sugar cane to mature. Each summer a 2-year-old mature crop is harvested, a 1-year-old crop is under cultivation, and a new crop is planted. In order to secure the best results, planting of new seed cane must begin not later than May 1 and must be completed not later than August 1, while the care of stools in fields which are to produce a ratoon crop must begin immediately after the mature crop is harvested. When caretaking is delayed for any reason, fields become overrun with weeds and grass and the stools die, while the volunteer crop is choked out.

Further development of scientific methods is being carried on, but nothing can solve the present man-power problem of the sugar planter except an additional labor supply to relieve the actual shortage of 6,000 men existing at this time. As a result of that shortage, approximately 50,000 tons of sugar now ready for harvesting, with a present market value of approximately \$5,000,000, will be lost this year.

In order to keep the current loss to the lowest possible figure, the planters are bending every effort and using every available man to complete the harvesting and grinding of this year's crop. As a result, the crop of 1922, planted last year and now about 1 year old, can not be cultivated and 17 per cent of the acreage of the 1922 crop has been abandoned, leaving only about 96,000 acres to produce approximately 490,000 tons of sugar, a loss of a little over 100,000 tons. This estimate, however, is based on the assumption that the reduced area will yield the average tonnage of cane per acre. As a matter of fact, the fields of the 1922 crop have not received and can

not receive the usual and required care with, the present inadequate labor supply, and a further reduction of at least 30 per cent, or 147,000 tons of sugar, will occur in the yield of next year. Considering these two losses from reduced acreage and inadequate cultivation, 247,000 tons of sugar, having a market value of \$24,000,000 on a basis of 5-cent sugar, will be lost to the producer in 1922.

Every available laborer on the sugar plantations of the Territory is now engaged in harvesting the ripe crop of 1921, and the planting of the 1923 crop has not begun and can not be begun until the present harvest is completed by the end of this year. Fields planted in October, November, or December, as must be the case this year, if any planting is done, yield less than half a crop, and the 1923 tonnage of sugar will therefore be so greatly reduced that the loss will approximate \$50,000,000 at a conservative estimate.

The pineapple crop is an annual one, the large harvest occurring in midsummer, although a smaller crop is harvested in midwinter. The principal harvest season of midsummer extends over a period of only eight weeks, and the large tonnage of fruit, totaling 5,978,000 cases in 1920, must be gathered, hauled, and packed within this short period. If the harvest is prevented or delayed, some or all of the crop is lost and rots on the ground, the amount of the loss depending upon the extent of the delay.

Labor to make possible the harvest of 1920 was secured not only by raising and offering wages so high that they attracted field laborers from other established and essential industries, but it was drawn from the cities and home centers, which were deserted by domestic servants, clerks, and other nonagricultural employees attracted by the high wages. Even under these conditions, sufficient labor could not be secured, and hundreds of school children were induced to come into the fields and assist in the harvest of 1920. This same procedure must be followed this year to an even greater extent on account of the still greater shortage in the normal labor supply. With the present labor situation throughout the Territory, a delayed harvest is inevitable. The financial loss occasioned by this delayed harvest and the resulting loss of crop is difficult to estimate on account of the varying extent of the labor shortage. That shortage is almost certain to be so serious, however, as to cause a financial loss of between \$6,000,000 and \$7,000,000 to the pineapple planters.

The coffee industry, which is largely confined to one district on the Island of Hawaii, has been encouraged in the belief that it would furnish an incentive to the homesteader to settle and develop American communities; and no inconsiderable part of the coffee produced in the Territory is grown on the small farms of these homesteaders. These small independent farmers are facing absolute ruin at the present time. Their crop is ripe and ready for harvesting at the time of the large pineapple harvest, in midsummer, when labor is always short and will be scarcer than ever this year.

Naturally these small independent coffee farmers have similarly small means; and a total loss of their crop inevitably entails ruin. In 1920, on account of the shortage of labor then existing, many of these small farmers, whose plantings total approximately 1,000 acres, lost nearly their whole crop and are therefore in critical financial condition, although far greater financial losses are certain to

result from failure to harvest the crop of 1921 on account of the increased shortage of labor.

In the organized coffee companies, one-third of the crop of 1920 could not be harvested; and at least one-half of the crop of 1921, with a probable market value of nearly \$500,000, will be lost.

The rice industry, recognized as being of great importance in furnishing a valuable food product for the self-support of the islands, has dwindled in area from 9,000 acres to 2,800 acres, and we have already lost two-thirds of this important industry through shortage of labor. Except for the Chinese, practically no labor has been induced to handle the cultivation of the rice crop; and with the decline in the number of rice growers, over 6,000 acres of very productive fields have been abandoned and the rice industry is now practically dead. Continued efforts have been made during the past 10 years to save this industry, but without avail; and, to-day, instead of supplying her own needs and exporting rice to other countries, Hawaii must import rice for herself.

The history of the rice industry is a terrifying warning of what may result in our other industries if adequate relief from our present situation is not secured. The further development and maintenance of prosperity in Hawaii depend solely upon our ability to continue the basic industries of the country. These basic industries can not be continued, however, without adequate labor to compete in markets created for our commodities by those who produce the same commodities elsewhere, in greater bulk and under entirely different labor conditions.

Failure to provide early relief, as well as failure to provide relief of any nature, must inevitably have two far-reaching effects and can result only in placing both the industrial and political control of the Territory in the hands of its preponderating Japanese population. Furnishing normally at least 60 per cent of the required labor supply of the Territory, the Japanese are in a position where, by failing or refusing further to provide that labor supply, they can dictate to, if not actually secure control of, the established industries. Since political control of the Territory can not be divorced from the control of its essential industries, Japanese acquisition of the latter must surely be followed by their possession of the former.

Mr. SIEGEL. Could you give us the nationalities of the population of Hawaii?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir. The population of Hawaii, according to reports from the census of 1920, was 255,912 people of all nationalities. Hawaiians—that means the pure-blooded Hawaiians—23,723. Asiatic Hawaiian, 6,955—those are the crosses with the Asiatics. Caucasian-Hawaiian, 11,072. Portuguese, 27,002. Porto Ricans, 5,602. Spanish, 2,430. Other Caucasians, 19,708—those are the white Americans, and are represented by 15,323 American-born Americans and 2,219 naturalized citizens, leaving only 2,166 Anglo-Saxon aliens who have not been Americanized. Out of the 19,708 there are only 2,166 who are eligible to become American citizens who have not become American citizens. Chinese, 23,507. Now, of that 23,000 there are only 10,000 foreign-born Chinese, alien Chinese; the other 13,000 are Hawaiian-born Chinese or American citizens. Japanese, 109,274; Filipinos, 21,031; Korean, 4,950; negroes, 348; all others, 310.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you did not specify when you touched on the Japanese proposition the ones that were alien and the ones native born.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. There are 60,000 of the 109,000 that are aliens; 49,000 of the 109,000 are American born.

Mr. SIEGEL. In other words, 49,274 are American citizens?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Forty-nine thousand are American citizens by birth.

Mr. SIEGEL. About 20 per cent of the whole population?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. SIEGEL. Of this 109,274, how many are employed as laborers in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Will you state the question again, please?

Mr. SIEGEL. I wanted to learn how many of these laborers that are employed in the fields are Japanese, either by descent or by birth.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Of the total Japanese, only 17,906 were working in the sugar cane fields in December of last year. We have about 6,000 laborers in the pineapple fields, and quite a large proportion of those are Japanese—about 80 per cent of that 6,000—maybe 4,800.

Mr. SIEGEL. Well, go ahead in your own way, Mr. Dillingham.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Out of the 109,000 it would appear that about 25,000 only are in field occupations to-day. To quote exactly, the figures are alien Japanese, 60,258; other Japanese, 49,016; total, 109,274.

I have here a table showing the total population of the Territory, by sex and nationality which I desire to have inserted in the record. The table is as follows:

The population of the Territory of Hawaii.

Race.	Census of 1920.					Total in 1910.	Increase during decade.
	Sex.		Citizenship.		Total in 1920.		
	Male.	Female.	Citizen.	Alien.			
Hawaiian	11,990	11,733	23,723	.....	23,723	26,041	1 2,318
Caucasian Hawaiian	5,528	5,544	11,072	.....	11,072	8,772	2,300
Asiatic Hawaiian.....	3,524	3,431	6,955	.....	6,955	3,734	3,221
Portuguese.....	13,737	13,265	22,346	4,656	27,002	22,301	4,701
Porto Rican.....	3,133	2,469	5,602	.....	5,602	4,890	712
Spanish.....	1,326	1,104	1,145	1,285	2,430	1,990	440
Other Caucasian.....	12,309	7,399	17,542	2,166	19,708	14,867	4,841
Chinese.....	16,197	7,310	12,728	10,779	23,507	21,674	1,833
Japanese.....	62,644	46,630	49,016	60,258	109,274	79,675	29,599
Korean.....	3,498	1,452	1,518	3,432	4,950	4,533	417
Filipino.....	16,851	4,180	21,031	.....	21,031	2,361	18,670
Negro and all other.....	409	249	559	99	658	1,071	1 413
Total.....	151,146	104,766	173,237	82,675	255,912	191,909	64,003

¹ Decrease.

With funds in amounts never before possessed by them, the Japanese, who think and act collectively, are provided with capital for their collective use in acquiring control of industries at present owned and controlled by Americans. That they intend to secure such control is demonstrated not only by their disinclination or actual refusal to be employed by American-controlled industries but

also by their several specific attempts to purchase the control of some of these industries.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, I understand that Mr. Dillingham will complete his statement before being interrupted?

Mr. SIEGEL (in the chair). Yes; that is the method we have decided to adopt.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. American and other non-Japanese owners and operators of small farms throughout the islands report a uniform inability to secure necessary field labor, although the bulk of the existing shortage of labor is in the supply of field laborers for the larger organized plantations, where the shortage is aggravated by the restless and indifferent attitude of the field laborer in general. Efforts on the part of the planters to urge their laborers to greater efficiency have been directly followed by a shifting of laborers from place to place, resulting only in further reducing efficiency.

Within the past several months, Japanese or persons representing them have made two actual offers to purchase outright, or to purchase the control of one of the largest sugar companies in the Territory. An effort by the Japanese to purchase the control of a smaller sugar company was abandoned only because of the refusal of certain Portuguese owners to sell their controlling interest in the company. The Japanese purpose to secure control of established industries, or to make continued American control difficult and expensive, can also be recognized in such an incident as the one in which Japanese interests recently bid, at a public auction, for a site and right of way adjacent to a sugar plantation. Excepting only the plantation to which it was essential, this right of way was practically useless to anyone who might acquire it; but, despite this fact, the Japanese interests present at the auction, by bidding, raised the final sale price to \$36,500, although the appraised valuation of the property was only \$14,000.

Under the present conditions efficient or profitable operation of existing American organizations is impossible. Such a condition must inevitably bring the planter to the point where he must sell his organization to any available buyer. Sale either before or after failure must be made to the people who control the majority of available field labor; and, considering this fact, it is at once apparent that there could be no purchasers except Japanese. When this point has been reached and such a sale of American-controlled industries is forced by the shortage of field labor, further American control ceases and Japanese control of the Territory's industries begins.

Failure or sale of the basic agricultural activities of the Territory must be followed by a similar failure or sale of the dependent non-agricultural activities, for the latter can not stand without the former. Considering the fact that the prosperity of the entire Territory as a Commonwealth and also the prosperity of the nonagricultural interests of the Territory are based entirely on the sugar and pineapple industries, it soon becomes evident that political control must be vested in those who control these two large and essential agricultural industries.

If the present labor shortage continues unrelieved, both the Territory and the Nation must lose foodstuffs and tax revenues; the former because of reduced crops, and the latter because of the smaller taxable values of such reduced crops. In addition to these two losses.

however, the Territory will be greatly hampered and delayed in public works and improvements of all kinds, as will also the Federal Government to a smaller extent.

The exports from the Territory during the Government fiscal year of 1919 amounted to \$98,859,311, increasing to \$145,831,074 during the fiscal year of 1920. During the calendar year 1920, however, on account of the fact that the bulk of the sugar and pineapple crops is shipped during the last six months of each year, the exports amounted to \$192,383,000, this latter figure being divided between the principal commodities as follows:

Sugar.....	\$158, 712, 000
Pineapples.....	29, 176, 000
Coffee.....	470, 000
Canned fish and sundries.....	4, 025, 000
	<hr/>
	192, 383, 000

To determine the value of produce raised in the Territory, the value of home-grown products consumed in the Territory must be added to the foregoing total, as follows:

Sugar.....	\$4, 300, 000
Coffee.....	174, 000
Rice.....	1, 280, 000
Garden vegetables and sundries.....	1, 200, 000
	<hr/>
	6, 954, 000

I would like to say here that \$1,200,000 is far less than the value of all the garden truck produced. Practically all of the farmers have their own little garden patches and raise the garden requirements of the majority of our population directly, and it is impossible to see the value of this produce as coming through a market.

On account of labor shortage and the consequent delayed harvests, interrupted cultivation, and failure to plant new crops, the two principal export items, sugar and pineapples, will be reduced approximately one-fourth in tonnage during the calendar year 1921, while the coffee industry will suffer an even greater percentage of loss. It is extremely difficult to arrive at any definite figure in estimating the effect of these losses on the food supplies of the Territory and Nation, but anything occasioning the destruction or nonproduction of food staples is an economic condition demanding immediate correction.

It is similarly difficult to estimate the loss in tax revenues occasioned by reduced production, but the taxes to be paid to the Territory and Nation in 1921 will be much less than the amounts paid in 1920, which were as follows:

To the Federal Government:	
Internal revenue.....	\$11, 929, 872. 72
Customs.....	1, 172, 906. 24
	<hr/>
	13, 102, 778. 96
To the Territorial Government.....	4, 954, 484. 43

With reduced production and income and correspondingly reduced profits, the amounts of taxes to be paid in the year 1921 will be reduced out of all proportion to the loss in production, for the reason that the excess-profits item will be so greatly reduced that the tax will be negligible in comparison with the 1920 tax.

Public works and improvements by the Territory valued at nearly \$3,000,000 are proposed and have been authorized. The Territorial superintendent of public works has informed the commission, however, that he "does not know where the men are coming from to fill the quota necessary to complete the above projects on anything near time." Nearly 500 laborers are required to carry on the projects in question, the completion of which will require from four to six months for the smaller ones to a year and a half for a number of the larger ones. No such supply of labor is conceivably available; and the only possible effect is a great delay in instituting and carrying through these improvements, all of which are necessary and some of which are essential to the public health.

The form of relief from the labor shortage proposed in the joint resolution herewith has been determined upon after careful consideration of conditions attending such relief. The industries of the country do not desire, and this commission does not propose or intend to request any greater supply of labor than is an absolute necessity for the relief of the present grave situation. This being so, in consideration of the fact that the shortage is variable, it is believed to be to the best interests of the industries themselves and of the country to place in the hands of responsible Government officials the duty of determining the measure of relief. To enact legislation fixing the exact number of laborers that may be imported to relieve the shortage would result in leaving the actual shortage unrelieved in the event that it increases subsequent to such legislative action, while a similar reprehensible condition might result from an overabundance of field labor were the shortage to decrease.

The situation in the Territory is now so serious and threatening that it requires instant relief without the delay incident to careful and thorough investigation of the circumstances by legislative committees. It is therefore proposed that the Department of Labor be charged with the duty of furnishing relief in such measure as is necessary, leaving to the department the determination of the extent of the shortage from time to time, with a corresponding initiative to limit and restrict immigration. In this manner laborers may be imported in such numbers only as will best subserve the interests of all concerned while presenting, at the same time, the immediate relief that is so essential.

In proposing administrative latitude in the provision of relief, no small consideration has been the desire to avoid international complications of any kind through cooperation between the Department of Labor and other departments and bureaus. To draft legislation at this time, imposing all the restrictions and conditions that would be necessary for the strict observance of international courtesy and other considerations, would probably so delay the final enactment of that legislation as to make the relief therein provided of little or no value in the present acute emergency, whereas such restrictions can be imposed by administrative action as occasion therefor arises from time to time without harmful delay.

The Territory of Hawaii is insular and isolated, 2,100 miles from the mainland of the United States. Its agricultural problems are tropical and strongly differentiated from the farm problems of the mainland. The white farmer who can prosper everywhere through-

out the continental United States is inherently unable to work in the cane fields and on the pineapple and other plantations of the Territory. This statement is no idle expression of theory, but is premised on the unquestionable results of many experiments during the past 50 years of tropical agriculture in Hawaii. That agriculture, during those years, has progressed to the point where it is now the most scientific in the world, but its further continuance, despite all scientific methods, demands a supply of labor adequate to its needs and fundamentally able to meet the peculiar conditions imposed by the tropical nature of the country.

The shortage and all its accompanying conditions are local. They are not related in any way to similar problems confronting farmers of the mainland; they can not be solved in the same manner as can the problems of continental agriculture; and the relief provided, no matter what its peculiar form may be, can in no way complicate or involve mainland conditions. The emergency is such, however, as to demand immediate relief sufficiently flexible in nature to meet the constantly changing conditions. It is manifest that no such flexibility would be possible under detailed statutory restrictions, and for that reason alone, if for no other, administrative latitude in determining both the measure and nature of relief is an essential.

I have a copy of the message of the governor to the legislature which opened the whole question two months ago.

Mr. SIEGEL. You may file that with your statement, if you desire.

Mr. WILSON. Could we have that message read? How long is it?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It is only three pages long.

Mr. SIEGEL. We can have it read, if you desire it.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It was on this message that the legislature took action. I will read it, with your permission [reading]:

The honorable the PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE; the honorable the SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE; and MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII:

GENTLEMEN: My attention has recently been called to the fact that the agricultural industries of this Territory are suffering from an acute labor shortage. I am convinced that unless some remedy be speedily found whereby this condition may be alleviated, the agricultural and other dependent industries of this Territory and the Territory as a whole will suffer great and irreparable loss. If this condition shall continue it will mean that the areas of sugar cane and pineapples now under cultivation will have to be reduced. It is now true that thousands of acres of productive rice lands in this Territory have been abandoned because of the lack of labor to cultivate them, and the Territory of Hawaii is for that reason just so much less able to support its inhabitants and the military forces of the United States in this Territory. It is also true that a large portion of the 1920 coffee crop of this Territory was not harvested because of the great lack of labor, and the same condition will exist during this present year. This resulted and will result in severe loss to the coffee planters, the greater proportion of whom are citizens of moderate means and unable to withstand such a loss for even one year. The continued shortage of labor will result in a similar loss and in the reduction in cultivated areas in other agricultural lines with a corresponding inability to support ourselves and the military forces of the United States either in normal times or during periods of emergency.

You are all aware that the entire industrial life of this Territory is based upon agriculture. No other industry would exist here except for the support contributed, directly or indirectly, by the basic agricultural industries of the Territory, and all our citizens and residents are dependent directly or indirectly upon the successful prosecution of those industries. You are all aware of the fact that no agricultural labor, other than Filipino, has been brought into this Territory for at least 14 years. During that period of time there has been a large increase in the acreage planted in sugar cane, pineapples and other food staples, and as no adequate additional labor was brought into the Territory to cultivate the increased area and as during that same period a large number of laborers have returned to their homes in other parts of the

world, the result has been that we have had to spread our available labor supply over such a large area that production has had to slow down and within a short time will be very materially decreased.

As our agricultural operations are devoted entirely to the production of food supplies and as the continuance of that production is essential to the support of the inhabitants of this Territory, civil and military, both in normal times and particularly in times of emergency, it is vitally necessary that we have an adequate supply of agricultural laborers to carry on those industries. Since this Territory is of the utmost importance to the Nation as a military outpost, it is above all things necessary that we should be put in a self-sustaining position so that in a time of national emergency we would not only be no burden on the rest of the Nation but would be in a position where we could supply the military forces of the United States with certain essential foods.

The question is one of such great importance to the Territory and to the Nation that I believe it should be presented to you and to Congress as an administrative measure and I, therefore, as governor of this Territory and as representing the entire citizenship of the Territory, submit herewith the draft of a concurrent resolution which contains my ideas of what should be done in the premises and of the recommendations which should be made to Congress in this regard. A resolution has been introduced in the house of representatives by Hon. Norman K. Lyman somewhat along the same lines as the one submitted herewith but based upon different reasons. I recommend that the concurrent resolution which is submitted herewith be referred to the same committee which now has the pending resolution under consideration and that that committee report out one of the two resolutions. I believe, however, that this is a matter of such great importance to the Territory, as a whole, that a resolution sponsored and approved by the administration would have the greater weight and influence.

In order that this matter may be properly, forcibly, and speedily presented to the Congress of the United States, I recommend the enactment of the bill which is submitted herewith, which provides for the creation and appointment of the Hawaii Emergency Labor Commission, whose duty it will be to proceed to Washington, D. C., for the purpose of assisting our Delegate to Congress in obtaining immediate relief in the premises, and which provides an appropriation for the payment of expenses incurred by said commission in the performance of its duties.

Honolulu, Hawaii, April 20, A. D. 1921.

C. J. MCCARTHY, *Governor.*

(The concurrent resolution follows:)

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION.

Whereas, owing largely to conditions resulting from the war, the agricultural industries of the Territory are now experiencing an acute shortage of labor, which shortage according to present indications will not only continue but will increase in intensity for some years to come unless special and adequate provisions be speedily made to replenish the supply; and

Whereas the remedying of such shortage is of immediate and vital importance to this Territory as a whole in order that its basic industries may be preserved, thereby avoiding a diminution of the citizen population of Hawaii which is dependent directly and indirectly upon such basic industries and in order that a material reduction in territorial revenues derived from taxes may be avoided, which reduction in territorial revenues would entail a corresponding reduction in the construction of roads, harbor improvements, and other public works, and of educational, health, scientific, and other activities of local and national importance; and

Whereas no remedy for this serious condition can be provided except by Federal action in permitting the immigration of available laborers under appropriate conditions and limitations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of Hawaii, the Senate concurring, That the Congress of the United States of America be, and it is hereby, urgently and respectfully requested to provide by appropriate legislation for the introduction of immigration into the Territory of Hawaii of such a sufficient number of persons, including Orientals, as may be required to meet the situation above outlined and to overcome the said acute labor shortage in the said agricultural industries, but in such numbers only as will not operate to increase the number of persons of any alien nationality in the Territory at any one time beyond 25 per cent of the total population of the Territory, and upon such conditions as will provide for the admission of such persons into the Territory of Hawaii only, for limited periods of time and as will limit their employment to agricultural labor and domestic service and provide for and secure

their return to their respective countries upon the expiration of such limited periods of time or upon such other conditions and limitations as the Congress may deem advisable; and be it further

Resolved, That the Governor of Hawaii be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to forthwith take all necessary and proper steps, including the authorization or appointment of individuals or commissions to act in the matter, both at home and in the National Capital, to urge upon the Federal Government the necessity of immediate action in the premises; and be it further

Resolved, That certified copies of this resolution be forthwith forwarded to the President of the United States; to the President of the Senate, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, respectively, of the Congress of the United States; to the chairmen of the Committees on the Territories of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the Congress; to the chairmen of the Committees on Immigration of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the Congress; and to the Delegate to Congress from Hawaii.

AN ACT Creating the Hawaii Emergency Labor Commission, prescribing its duties, and providing an appropriation therefor.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii:

SECTION 1. A commission to be known as the Hawaii Emergency Labor Commission, consisting of three members, who shall be appointed by the governor, as provided by the organic act, is hereby created. One of said members shall be appointed as chairman of the said commission.

SEC. 2. The said commission shall, as soon as practicable after the passage of this act, proceed to Washington, D. C., and shall there assist the Delegate to Congress from Hawaii in the presentation before Congress of the matters which are referred to in concurrent resolution No. — of this session of the Legislature of Hawaii and of urging upon Congress the necessity of speedily enacting such legislation as will remedy the conditions described in said concurrent resolution.

SEC. 3. The sum of \$15,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated from the general revenues of the Territory for the payment of the expenses of the said commission during its absence from the Territory, which sum shall be expended on vouchers approved by the chairman of the said commission. The per diem or other expenses of the members of said commission shall not be limited by the provisions of joint resolution No. 3 of the 1917 session of the Legislature of Hawaii.

SEC. 4. This act shall take effect upon its approval.

Approved at Honolulu, T. H., April 27, 1921.

C. J. MCCARTHY, Governor.

MR. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask for a little information. Looking over the population of Hawaii I find this peculiar situation, that in 1910 you had 695 Negroes and in 1920 you had 348. Apparently the Negro population is decreasing. Has there ever been any attempt to take Negroes from the States here to work in the fields of Hawaii?

MR. DILLINGHAM. There were two attempts to bring the Negroes to Hawaii as cane workers, and, while one swallow does not make a summer, those two experiments were a failure, and we were not encouraged to go further with the proposition of bringing Negroes there. What the reasons were it is hard to determine, but we were unfortunate, certainly, in getting an undesirable class of Negroes. A high percentage of them were in jail before they had been there very long, and a very low percentage were in the cane fields.

MR. SHAW. I just wondered if there had been any attempt made along that line.

MR. BOX. I would like to ask the witness a question. I noticed that in 1910 you had 2,361 Filipinos, and in 1920 you had 21,000. Does that great increase consist mainly of laborers?

MR. DILLINGHAM. We have been making a very desperate effort to get labor to keep up the requirements of the islands, and also to neutralize the control of any one alien nationality. The Filipinos

offered the best opportunity and we have been bring them in as fast as it was possible to get them from the Philippine Islands. We have been very strict about their health conditions before leaving the Philippines, which were checked again on coming to Hawaii, and they have made better than indifferent labor for us. The difficulty is this. The Philippine Islands are short of labor and have been opposed to our efforts to get labor from them. In practically every meeting of the legislature in the Philippines, there is a bill introduced to prevent the taking of labor away from the Philippines. A good many have come to us, have taken a course in sugar culture in the islands and have gone back to the Philippines, and the reports from such laborers which have been educated in Hawaii have been very favorable to their experience away from home. They have gone back to take up better positions and deliver more valuable services in their own country.

Mr. BOX. There is nothing in the law of the United States to prevent your taking those people from the Philippine Islands to Hawaii?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No, sir; and we are working very diligently now to have the accommodations on all steamers that touch Hawaii and the Philippines increased so as to bring them over.

Mr. BOX. You have made some progress in this line, as I understand it?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The Filipinos are drifting back to the Philippines as well as drifting to Hawaii.

Mr. SIEGEL. In other words, you want us to understand that immigration and emigration are about equal so far as the Filipinos are concerned?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. There has been a decided increase in the number of Filipinos brought to the islands over those who have gone back; but, up to date, we have not done more than take care of the shrinkage with what labor we could bring in from Porto Rico and from the Philippines.

Mr. KLECZKA. For how long have you noticed this acute unskilled labor shortage? For how many years past?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. My earliest recollection of business is hearing the labor shortage discussed. That is not quite 40 years ago, but it was a long time ago. We have never had adequate labor. What I mean is that we have been building the country up from the time, 40 years or 45 years ago, when we had an output of 13,500 tons of sugar, until the country now produces over half a million tons a year. With the development of the country, there has been a great demand for labor, and providing that labor has been one of the great problems. To-day, however, we have the country developed: and, due to conditions which came up here last year, we suddenly find that we are 25 per cent short of enough labor to carry the industries along as now developed.

Mr. KLECZKA. You mean to carry the industries at maximum capacity?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No; at efficient capacity.

Mr. KLECZKA. Well, now, from your figures I notice that your exports for 1920, in dollars, were tremendously increased over the 1919 exports.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is accounted for by the very abnormal price of sugar.

Mr. SHAW. Twenty-six cents a pound, as against probably five the year before. The canners of California bought sugar last year at 26 cents a pound to put up fruit with, and the year before I think the contract ran about 5 cents, so it was five or six times the price. I don't know how the figures on output would compare, but probably they were not any greater.

Mr. SIEGEL. The exports of any country, expressed in dollars and cents to-day, do not tell you the number of articles produced.

Mr. KLECZKA. But would the increase in the price of exported products in 1920 be so great as to take care of this great increase in 1920 exports?

Mr. SHAW. Have you the amount in pounds?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have it in tons; yes, sir. The tonnage in 1919 was 603,000; in 1920, last year, it was 556,000. So you see we received practically five times the normal price of sugar last year. The worst feature of this abnormal price was that, instead of benefiting the industry, instead of benefiting the country, it completely upset our economic conditions and balance. The bonus system gave to the plantation laborer an abnormal return for his work, while all those connected with every other industry in the islands were obliged to stumble along on the old wage, so there wasn't anyone who was happy. Those who got the money were restless and dissatisfied with the thought of the work they were obliged to do, and those who were doing the more skilled jobs in other lines of business felt that they were far underpaid.

Mr. CABLE. How about this child labor business? Don't you have any laws there against employing children for the cane fields?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. You refer to my reference to calling the children in?

Mr. CABLE. Yes; you stated about the children being employed there in the cane fields.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. In the pineapple fields. Of course, this is volunteer work which comes in summer and is only for the eight weeks of the summer months, and doesn't do a growing boy any harm.

Mr. CABLE. What were the number and ages of children?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I can't answer that question offhand.

Mr. IRWIN. There are none under 14.

Mr. CABLE. About how many altogether?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. About 100 was the report of the number that were moved into the island of Maui to help out in the shortage there.

I read in one of the recent issues of our paper that there were 300 boy scouts planning to go out this summer, and practically every able-bodied boy scout was keen to go out and work in the pineapple fields and help out.

Mr. CABLE. The only children then that were employed, were the ones that you referred to?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. There are children employed in the canneries during the summer months. From my own observation, I couldn't say that any very young children were employed.

Mr. CABLE. You don't know about the ages, though?

Mr. IRWIN. There are none under 14.

Mr. CABLE. Does your law require that limit?

Mr. IRWIN. We have a statute to that effect.

Mr. CABLE. That those under 14 can not work?

Mr. MALONEY. Have you any labor troubles in Hawaii?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. You mean labor disturbances?

Mr. MALONEY. Yes.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We had a strike of Japanese on the Island of Oahu which started in January, 1920, and lasted until the 1st of July of that year.

Mr. MALONEY. What was the cause of that?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The causes given for the strike were the base pay, the number of days required in the month to earn the bonus, and the recognition of the Japanese Federation of Labor.

Mr. MALONEY. How did it terminate?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It terminated without any concessions being made to the Japanese.

Mr. MALONEY. It was exclusively a Japanese proposition?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It was exclusively Japanese. The national lines were drawn as clean as a razor cut.

Mr. BOX. Mr. Dillingham, I notice your statement with reference to the fact that Japanese industries appear to be abundantly financed. Have you any information as to the source of that financial support? Is it local? Have the people there the money, or does it come from elsewhere?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. As a matter of practice, the Japanese have banked with the Japanese banks for a good many years, and the Japanese banks have made their investments in Japan and not in Hawaii. The records show that there was \$17,000,000 sent home to Japan in 1920. The first indications we had of any disposition on the part of Japanese capital to come to Hawaii in large amounts was about a year ago when an effort was made to purchase the control of one of the plantations.

Mr. BOX. What was involved in that, roughly?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. You mean the amount of money?

Mr. BOX. Yes.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That would amount to two or three million dollars.

Mr. BOX. And there was no local capital there able to take care of that situation?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes; if they pooled it. If the Japanese labor community pooled its money through a bank in some way, they could handle it. It is very difficult to find out the source of money, particularly when it is money in the control of orientals.

Mr. SIEGEL. Do you realize, Mr. Dillingham, that that would mean \$150 sent out of the Hawaiian Islands for each person, each Japanese in the year? I have just been figuring that out here.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is wholly within the range of possibilities.

Mr. SIEGEL. For one year's time?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOX. I wish you would state a little more fully than you have about the racial compactness, the unity, the cohesiveness, with which they operate in your industrial life and in the threatened acquisition of your business and economic life—the Japanese, I mean.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The experience they are having in California is repeated in Hawaii. A great many of us have believed that, by

exerting a different attitude toward the the Japanese, the results would be favorable to the intermingling of the two nations, and eventually the bringing of them into the full American spirit. I was one of those who believed that there were so many well-educated, prominent Japanese in Hawaii who had bettered their condition in every way after coming under the control of the American Government and influences and ideas, that if it came to a question such as was raised in 1920, when the Japanese went on strike on the plantations of Oahu, we could rely upon the prominent business men and professional men of the Japanese community to take the matter up with us and work out a proper solution.

For six months it was absolutely impossible to get any one of them to come out and take the stand, through the Japanese press or through public meetings, that the strike was wrong; that they would get nothing in the way of adjusting any differences until they went back to work; and that, if they went back to work, the matter could be adjusted between the laborers and the plantations, while they would find the plantation management deaf to treating with the agitators who were the leaders in that strike, until they did go back. Several of them frankly admitted to me that it was impossible for the plantations to give in. They admitted that it was against the interests of the Japanese community to turn over the control to the agitators and that they did not believe the planters would give in, and yet they did not have the courage, the individual courage, to get out and face the Japanese community which was completely in sympathy with backing up those of their own nationality.

The call was made on all Japanese residents of the Territory to contribute toward the support of the strikers.

Mr. BOX. Did they do it?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They did; to the extent of a million dollars.

Mr. MALONEY. How many men were involved in the strike?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. About 6,000.

Mr. KLECZKA. And the agitators were Japanese?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They were. They were the most undesirable Japanese in the Territory and were admitted to be so by their own people, who nevertheless had not the courage to get up and put them where they belonged.

Mr. CABLE. Wasn't that at a time when they were getting more money than they ever did before?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. At that time they were drawing a wage which amounted practically to \$3 a day if a man would work 20 days out of the month. At the time the bonus system was made no one ever contemplated that they would ever get any such return as that—\$3 in addition to a house, a garden, medical attendance, free water, and free firewood. That accounts for the \$150 per capita.

Mr. CABLE. How much do you pay them to-day?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. \$1.15 is the base wage paid to-day.

Mr. CABLE. And a chance for the bonus?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. A chance for the bonus besides.

Mr. CABLE. If sugar goes up?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. If sugar goes up; yes.

Mr. CABLE. Do you think sugar will go up? [Laughter.]

Mr. SIEGEL. Well, that is a little bit outside of the hearing.

Mr. BOX. Did I understand you to say that the racial spirit, class consciousness, and cohesiveness is very strong among the Japanese; that that spirit is very strong, to the extent that it predominates in that portion of the population of Hawaii? Is that correct?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I offer in evidence what I have just said, and from that can only conclude that the solidarity of the Japanese exceeds that of any other nationality that has ever been in Hawaii.

Mr. CABLE. Will they work at this price—the aliens that you contemplate bringing in there?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think they will work at the regular price if they had an opportunity.

Mr. CABLE. Is it your idea to get them in there and cut the throats of the Japanese on the labor proposition? Will they underwork the Japanese—work cheaper?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The object of this mission is not to cut anyone's throat; the object of the mission, Mr. Cable, is to control the industries for Hawaii, for Americans; and if it is possible to get any people in there who will have a neutralizing effect upon the great number of one nationality that we have there, we believe it is the thing to do. If Chinamen can be permitted to come into that country, we believe the Chinaman will be a pacemaker for all others in developing agriculture.

Mr. CABLE. Wouldn't you have to pay him as much as you do the Japanese?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I imagine that the price would be the same. If the laborer will deliver at the wage which we are paying—efficiently deliver—we believe that with our methods of agriculture and economic handling of our business we can keep within the market price which is established by Cuba. The sugar which we produce in Hawaii has no control over the market price that is paid here.

Mr. CABLE. Who regulates the price?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The price is regulated by the Cuban crop.

Mr. CABLE. Why is that?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Because they furnish the United States about 75 per cent of the sugar consumed here.

Mr. CABLE. What does Cuba pay its labor?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I will have to ask some one who knows more about Cuban conditions than I do.

Mr. ALBERT HORNER. I was in Cuba a few years ago and the wages at that time were the same as they were in Hawaii.

Mr. CABLE. In other words, you have to pay as much as they do in Cuba?

Mr. HORNER. Yes; we were paying the same as Cuba.

Mr. CABLE. They set the price?

Mr. HORNER. I don't think we are following Cuba in the matter of paying wages, but the wages that Cuba was paying when I was there were the same as we were paying in Hawaii.

Mr. CABLE. You don't know what it is to-day?

Mr. HORNER. No; I do not. I think on the whole the wages in Cuba are slightly higher than the wages in Hawaii.

Mr. CABLE. A few cents a day higher?

Mr. HORNER. A few cents a day; yes.

Mr. SHAW. Carrying out the thought of Judge Box, Mr. Dillingham, is it not a fact that the Japanese in Hawaii are united, even in building

trades, so that, except on very large jobs where it takes a great amount of capital to finance them, even the building in Hawaii is being conducted by Japanese who are organized and financially backed by Japanese money?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is true. The Japanese skilled laborers and artisans have combined with Japanese contractors who handle all work that is available for them. They can not handle territorial or county public works, because the territorial laws require that all work done for the county or territory must be done by a citizen laborer or by laborers who are eligible to become citizens. The Federal Government, however, has opened the door to the employment of orientals on public works. Fortifications and navy yards, in time of peace, and Government public roads built by the Federal Government, are works on which the oriental can compete with citizen labor.

Mr. KLESZKA. What is this corporation that you mentioned a few minutes ago, that wanted to buy one of your industries, at a consideration, I think you said, of \$3,000,000? Was that corporation 100 per cent Japanese?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I don't know. The approach came from the Japanese and was represented as being Japanese capital, the idea being that they wished to show a vested interest in the country, to be one with us and so on, and change the policy of taking the money home to Japan and invest it in Hawaii. That was the attitude of approach. As a matter of fact, I had something to do with the selling end of the proposition indirectly, and we would not entertain it. We did not care to go into it further at all, believing that if the start was made, the entering wedge driven home, it would be only a question of time until the control of our industry would pass into alien hands, just as surely as the potato business of California and the strawberry business of California, and perhaps some other interests, have passed over into the control of these people.

Mr. KLECZKA. Were any other attempts made to gain control of industry by the Japanese?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes; there was a plantation on the island of Kauai, control of which was held by Portuguese who had graduated from the field work years ago and were in a position to have the control of this small plantation; but they refused to give it over to the Japanese. They are moving in on pineapple lands, taking up lands which are known to be valuable as pineapple lands, and farming them with their own countrymen. There is no land law in our country which prevents their buying land. They are prevented from drawing for public lands, but their children are permitted to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. The children are permitted to draw for public lands?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The children of aliens are permitted to draw for public lands that are put up for homesteads.

Mr. KLECZKA. That is, children born there?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes; American-born Japanese have the right and do draw.

The CHAIRMAN. But they have to be of age, I take it.

Mr. IRWIN. They have to be 18 years old.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Are they not represented by trustees, Judge, in the drawings?

Mr. IRWIN. No; they can't draw before they are 18 years of age. That is the minimum age, but this situation developed from time to

time, that the alien oriental will buy a piece of land—Government land or homestead land—but buy it in the name of his minor child and take the title in the name of his minor child who was born in the Territory.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, they will buy it from some one who has secured the homestead rights by lottery?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. MALONEY. Your statement is that there are 109,000 Japanese in the islands, 60,000 aliens and 49,000 American-born.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MALONEY. Now, of those that were on strike, were they American-born or foreign-born, or mixed?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We don't keep our statistics in that way on the plantations.

Mr. MALONEY. They all work together, do they?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They all work together, but as a matter of fact there are very, very few Hawaiian-born Japanese who will do work in the cane fields. Out of the 6,000 that went on strike, probably very few were American citizens, or American-born, but with them would go their children. Whole families left the plantations, taking their children. Do you remember, Mr. Mead, how many there were on that strike? You were connected with that.

Mr. MEAD. There were about 6,000 out on strike.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That includes the children?

Mr. MEAD. Oh, yes; some of the very worst agitators among the Japanese strikers were American-born Japanese young men. In very many instances, they were the heads of the unions on the plantations which created a great deal of trouble; and, while we had no direct evidence, we had good reason to believe that they were the ones that were firing cane fields.

Mr. SHAW. I want to ask one more question. Is it not a fact that the Japanese are organizing and endeavoring to get control of nearly every line of business in the islands, building trades and everything else where they can—stores and all that sort of thing?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is correct. Whether they are organizing to do it or not, we do not know; that they are doing it, we do know.

Mr. SHAW. And from some source or other, where they undertake these things, they have sufficient capital to carry out any venture that they desire to undertake?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They do.

Mr. BOX. You spoke of the rice industry. You said there was an acreage of about 9,000 maximum, and 2,800 now?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOX. How much of that land is suited to the growing of rice, if you had plenty of labor?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We would go back to 9,000 acres from 2,800, if we had labor. There is no question about that, in my mind.

Mr. BOX. Would you greatly exceed that?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No; we would not; because to grow rice you must have a deep flow of water and are therefore obliged to use the lands at a low level, where flowing wells will take care of the terraces and so on. It would not pay to pump the water up to any great elevation and it would be impossible to raise rice on high levels and sell it at the average price prevailing over a period of years.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Will you give, for the record, the names of those who appear as members of your commission?

Mr. **DILLINGHAM**. I would like to have Governor-elect Farrington make a statement as to his attitude toward the situation there.

There is also present Mr. Royal D. Mead, who has been handling labor matters in connection with the sugar interests in the islands for 20 years. Mr. Mead will deal with the efforts to secure labor.

The other members of the commission are Senator Charles F. Chillingworth and Mr. Albert Horner, and our attorney general, Judge Harry Irwin.

(Whereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the committee adjourned until 10 a. m., Wednesday, June 22, 1921.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, Wednesday, June 22, 1921.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The **CHAIRMAN**. Is it your desire, Mr. Dillingham, to proceed with your statement?

Mr. **DILLINGHAM**. Judge Raker asked some questions which we would be glad to answer if it is possible for us to do so.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The questions asked by Judge Raker were asked in a tentative way, as I remember them, after we had concluded the hearing and were not placed in the record of yesterday's hearing. We will hear Gov. Farrington this morning.

**STATEMENT OF HON. WALLACE B. FARRINGTON, GOVERNOR
OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.**

Gov. **FARRINGTON**. Mr. Dillingham has gone into this matter in detail, so that really the matter for me to present is my idea of whether a crisis exists in the industry of the Territory and whether this is a matter that deserves the attention of the Federal Government along the lines of the resolution that is presented to you by the Territorial Legislature.

Mr. **RAKER**. Just there, what is before the committee?

The **CHAIRMAN**. H. J. Res. 158. This resolution was referred on June 20 to the Committee on the Territories, and yesterday, in the House, it was rereferred to this committee. Now let us make this clear, following Judge Raker's inquiry: This joint resolution was introduced by the Delegate from Hawaii. Is it exactly the same wording of the resolution of the Hawaiian Legislature?

Mr. **DILLINGHAM**. No, sir; it is not identical, Mr. Chairman. It is based on the concurrent resolution passed by the Territorial Legislature and is a suggested method of working out the solution asked for by the legislature of the Territory.

Gov. **FARRINGTON**. My understanding of it is that this is, in effect, the expression of the legislature and that the changes are immaterial.

A crisis is sometimes a long period in developing. The remark has been made that some years ago a gentleman who afterwards served the Territory as governor, went through the islands and told

us if we did not secure additional sources for labor that we should meet a very serious crisis in years to come. The comment is made that we got along pretty well; that we seemed to have weathered that crisis and that possibly we are frightened before we are really hurt. On the other hand, the conditions are just exactly as he predicted. The acuteness of the crisis has really developed since I left home last March. When I left the islands, there was comment about the spirit of the labor; that the labor of the plantations was not as efficient as it might be and that there was prospect of the crop being materially reduced by a shortage of labor. As the harvesting of the crop proceeded, the truth of that situation developed and is now demonstrated in the delay of the harvesting of the crop, the marketing of the crop, and the delayed financial return, so that, I understand, there is a general financial stringency in the Territory.

Now my interest is largely that of seeing that the Territory shall continue in a prosperous condition and maintain its position as the American outpost of the Pacific. Naturally, it is very important for us to be self-sustaining and, in order that we may be, for us to have a reasonably prosperous condition in our main industry, which is sugar.

The strike of last year opened the eyes of a good many of us to a condition which has become more acute as time has gone on. It stands to reason, and I think that it appeals to all of us, that the main industry in any part of our country should not be in the hands of, or subject to the dictates of, an alien element, regardless of the origin of that people.

That is a condition which we of Hawaii face at the present time, and we have found ourselves called upon to appeal to representatives of foreign Governments to help in the settlement of our labor difficulties. The attitude of the dominant labor element, taken in connection with the absolute man power shortage, creates a situation which, to my mind, is an emergency of sufficient importance to call for the attention of the Federal Government in giving us legislation which will open the way for securing labor from sources other than those which are now available.

Mr. Box. You said something about having to appeal to the representatives of foreign Governments to help them settle their labor troubles. Did I get that right?

Mr. FARRINGTON. That is what it amounts to. Of course, we are in hearty cooperation with the representatives of foreign Governments; but, at the same time, it is a situation where they are called into cooperation with us under circumstances which are rather unusual.

Mr. Box. That was done last year through the representatives of that Government? I want to get the exact meaning the governor had in mind, Mr. Chairman.

Gov. FARRINGTON. They were in cooperation to quite an extent, were they not?

Mr. MEAD. No; there was no cooperation on his part. There was an attempt to get him interested and he did become somewhat interested and he tried to get the Japanese business men together, but without success.

The CHAIRMAN. That has reference to the time of the strike?

Mr. MEAD. To the time of the strike; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. On the sugar plantations of the islands?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. BOX. You did, then, undertake to reach the Japanese element through representatives of the Japanese Government, the consul, and others?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That is my understanding.

Mr. MEAD. I got the idea of cooperation in my head. I could not see where there was any cooperation.

Mr. BOX. He said they were dependent on the representatives of the foreign Government for cooperation.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I observed the situation from the standpoint of a newspaper man at that time and not from an official standpoint, and that is the impression I gained.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We have always had to go to the representatives of the Japanese Government, anyhow.

Mr. BOX. For what?

The CHAIRMAN. With regard to labor?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. In our trouble with the Japanese situation, as I understand it, and I think Mr. Mead ought to know it, the people of that Territory have always consulted the Japanese consul and have had to take the consul out in the fields to help them in handling the Japanese labor.

Mr. MEAD. In this last strike, in 1920, there was only one occasion when representatives of the plantations called upon the Japanese consul. They did that because of the seriousness of the situation and we got very little satisfaction from him; but he did attempt and did accomplish a calling together of the Japanese business men with the idea of settling the difficulties. Nothing ever came of it. But in times past, as the Delegate says, the Territory and employing interests have always consulted with the Japanese consul.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Now, the islands must either go forward or backward, and we have reached the point where production in our principal industry has started backward on account of our shortage of agricultural labor. We have exhausted the ordinary sources for supplying labor in our main industry, and it is not until the situation has been very thoroughly canvassed by officials and leading business men of the islands that this matter is brought to the attention of the United States Congress. It is a situation which calls in my estimation, for action.

We must go forward and we must have a supply of agricultural labor that can be depended on to do the work with reasonable efficiency. Mr. Dillingham has canvassed the situation with reference to the various efforts made to secure labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let me ask you, Governor: Assuming that Congress should grant some relief along the lines of this resolution and that aliens should be admitted for a limited period of time for the purpose of engaging only in agriculture, and that such aliens should be debarred from removing to any other place under the jurisdiction of the United States; if those aliens struck, who would represent them? Would their Government's consul be entitled to represent them?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Be entitled to represent them?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Suppose they were to strike and riot and make trouble for the Territorial Government; who would deal with

you with regard to those aliens brought there for a period of five years under this resolution?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I have no doubt their consul would have a personal interest in their affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose a few of them were killed as a result of the riot or strike?

Mr. RAKER. They would then be dead. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Then what would be the next step?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Naturally, the dealings would be through the representatives of their country.

The CHAIRMAN. If any one was killed under such conditions, the United States would be asked to pay a sum of money to the other government for each one?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I imagine that our Government would have more interest than that of an ordinary spectator.

The CHAIRMAN. These Japanese who are now there and who were not born in the United States are barred from citizenship?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And naturally they look to their governmental officials for protection; and, in dealing with them, I assume that not only the business men and planters, but the Territorial officials, would deal with them through the representatives of the Japanese Government?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That is true. We have a solidarity among the people who constitute the majority of the laboring element on the plantations, a solidarity which has never existed before, so far as I know, among the people of any other race or nationality that has come to the Islands.

Mr. BOX. That is really a race solidarity and not a class solidarity, is it?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I think it is; there is no question about it.

Mr. RAKER. Governor, how long have you been living in Hawaii?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Twenty-five years.

Mr. RAKER. And what is your business?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I am a newspaper publisher.

Mr. RAKER. Are you fairly well informed with regard to the general conditions of the Islands?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I should say so, generally speaking.

Mr. RAKER. You have read this resolution?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. What is the number of shortage in laborers that you are figuring on bringing in?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The shortage is given in this statement of yesterday.

Mr. RAKER. I do not care for that statement. I am asking you for your opinion, now.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Well, I should have to refer to this statement because I am not intimately informed as to all the details of the situation.

Mr. RAKER. You would not know, then, the amount of the shortage in labor, so far as the sugar interests is concerned?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would not attempt to state off hand.

Mr. RAKER. Nor the pineapple industry?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Nor the pineapple industry.

Mr. RAKER. Nor the coffee industry?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would refer to these gentlemen who have canvassed the situation.

Mr. RAKER. I am just getting to your personal knowledge.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I have not been in a position to go into details as these gentlemen have.

Mr. RAKER. There has been a considerable increase in your population in the last 10 years—about 42 per cent?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Thirty-three per cent, I think it is, in the general population.

Mr. WEEBER. Thirty-three and one-third per cent.

Mr. RAKER. What is the number of laborers less in 1920 than in 1921?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The number of laborers less?

Mr. RAKER. Laborers for all business in Hawaii?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would have to refer to Mr. Dillingham for those figures. He has been actively engaged in compiling them.

Mr. RAKER. During the last two years how many laborers, of all kinds, skilled and unskilled, have left the island?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would again have to refer you to Mr. Dillingham for the figures.

Mr. RAKER. Well, I see on this matter you are really not familiar with it?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I can not answer your questions as an expert who has gone into the details, as these gentlemen have.

Mr. RAKER. That is the reason I thought we ought to find out from Mr. Dillingham first, but I will get down to the question of this resolution. You do not know, then, the number of aliens, otherwise inadmissible under our immigration law, that you desire to have come to Hawaii for the next five years?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Not the exact number; no, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Could you give approximately the number?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would not attempt to give that at the present time. I think that is something that, under this resolution, would naturally be canvassed by the executive officer of the Government.

Mr. RAKER. That might be canvassed by him, but what I was trying to find out, before we yielded all power of Congress to the Secretary of Labor, was what is the shortage in labor, if any, and I understand that you have not canvassed that?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I could not give you the exact figures on that; no, sir.

Mr. RAKER. What class of labor do you want to bring in? I see you have there all classes, all kinds. Now, what kind do you want to bring in?

Gov. FARRINGTON. So far as I am concerned, to bring in any class of labor that will do the work.

Mr. RAKER. I know; but what is your purpose in this? What are you figuring on?

Gov. FARRINGTON. You mean what is behind it all?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; that is what I mean; what kind of laborers—what nationalities? You have Portuguese, Porto Ricans, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, Negroes. What class or kind of people—that is, what nationality—do you desire to bring in to the islands under this resolution?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I think the people that can answer that question to you direct are the members of the commission, the delegation of the Hawaiian Legislature, who have come on here to state what is desired under this resolution.

Mr. RAKER. You have gone over this matter. I do not want to press the matter too hard, but what I wanted to know was what nationality, if any particular nationality, are the people you are figuring on bringing in under this resolution?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The nationality which has been very generally discussed are the Chinese.

Mr. RAKER. Any others except Chinese?

Gov. FARRINGTON. There has been a general discussion whether it would be possible to bring in Europeans.

Mr. RAKER. There are no restrictions now against Europeans coming to that country.

Gov. FARRINGTON. It is limited; there is the same restriction that there is to Europeans coming to the mainland of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the bill limiting the immigration to 3 per cent?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Assuming that this resolution No. 158 should be passed in some form by the House and Senate and should go through the ordinary delays—say it passed by the 1st of November—how long would it be likely to take to get any considerable number of laborers in the islands?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I imagine it would take a good part of a year. Would it not, Mr. Mead, from your experience in handling such matters?

Mr. MEAD. It depends on where you are going to get them.

The CHAIRMAN. Then let us assume, as a fair presumption, if this resolution passed, in the ordinary run of events you could not get labor in in any quantity in 18 months. Would that help next year's crop of sugar?

Mr. MEAD. Not next year's sugar crop. Next year's sugar crop has to be planted this year.

The CHAIRMAN. And is now being planted?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the 1922 crop?

Mr. MEAD. 1922-23. The crop will be very much injured unless there is a supply of labor at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. About when will you have no crop?

Mr. MEAD. When, without any labor, will we have no crop?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MEAD. I should say in 1923-24, if we had no labor, the crop would be ruined.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had no more labor than you now have?

Mr. MEAD. Very largely so.

Mr. Box. Right at that point, just for my information and consideration, I want to ask if the way were opened so that you could get labor from Europe, is there a prospect of your getting it from Europe? In other words, if the 3 per cent law was so changed that they were permitted to come, are the conditions such that you probably could get them?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I think it would be a rather difficult proposition; that is, it would take a considerable period of canvassing. That is a matter that the men who have been intimately identified with soliciting immigration and developing it could answer better than I can.

Mr. MEAD. Under the present law you could not get them. These people have to come a long, long way. Your present law absolutely prohibits getting any laborers from Europe, because the people have to be assisted. They are poor, agricultural people, without any funds, and their passage has to be paid from Portugal or the Azore Islands, and it is a very expensive proposition.

Mr. RAKER. How does it happen, then, they are coming to the United States by the millions?

Mr. MEAD. Coming to the United States from Europe is a rather simple matter as compared to going from Europe to Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. If their friends pay their passage, it is wholly immaterial whether their passage is paid to the United States or to Hawaii, is it not?

Mr. MEAD. Well sir; we have tried for many years and have never been able to get voluntary immigration from Europe.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask the gentleman a question to bring out further information along the line of Judge Box's interrogatories: Are you able to state whether the European immigration of European labor would be adapted to the character of the work they would have to perform there, or desirable—or do you know?

Gov. FARRINGTON. There are certain European laborers who have been very successful there in the islands.

Mr. WHITE. From what part of the continent of Europe?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The Portuguese. Our only complaint against the Portuguese, so far as I know, is that often they stay only long enough to get money to go to California. California is the Eldorado of the world, even though the days of '49 have passed, and the ambition of every working man to reach the fields of California is most extraordinary.

Mr. RAKER. I find in this resolution the following: "That the regulations shall provide for and secure the return of such laborers to their respective countries upon the expiration of the time limited." Your purpose is to bring them in for five years?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And then you want the regulation to return them at the end of the five years; is that right?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, if they want to stay, if they become prosperous and like the country, your idea is to return them whether they want to return, or not—by force, if necessary? Is that right?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Well, I presume they would come under an arrangement with the Government whereby they would return—

Mr. RAKER. An arrangement with what government?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Well, with our own Government.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, you mean that you want the Government to assume the responsibility of bringing them here; is that right?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They would have to come under the Government's supervision; yes.

Mr. RAKER. And the Government would have to supervise them while they are here?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Well, I do not know what you would mean by the general term "supervision." Yes, the Government would have an interest in those men; certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Would this Government take part in getting them?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I should not say so; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would any agents of the sugar planters deal with other Governments in securing them?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Deal with the foreign Government?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I do not know how that would work out. I imagine that is a detail that would have to be worked out in connection with the regulations.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Chinese Government have some such scheme by which it permits their men to go out and arrange the details?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir; they have such an arrangement. Before the Chinese Government will permit its nationals to leave the country, it must be satisfied as to the conditions under which they are to be employed.

The CHAIRMAN. Such a scheme was developed as a part of the necessities of the European war?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It was worked at that time, but it has been worked in other ways also, in taking labor from China to other parts of the world. The Chinese Government now requires a definite arrangement and guaranty for the proper care, treatment, payment, and return home of these people, or they will not permit the immigrants to go. The day of "black-birding" is past.

The CHAIRMAN. What is "black-birding"?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. When they were forced out of the countries of Africa to come to this country and out of China to go to other countries. To-day the Chinese Government takes an interest in its people and sees to it that people suitable for the purpose for which they are to be employed leave China for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, then, if this plan looks to negotiations on the part of the United States with the Government of China, for the admission of aliens from that country into the Territory of Hawaii, would not this resolution properly be before the Committee on Foreign Relations?

Mr. RAKER. I think we can handle it. [Laughter.]

Mr. BOX. With reference to the matter that was up, you know the conditions under which the first Chinese were brought to California in the sixties—something of it? Is the system now something like that, or do you know?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I am not familiar with the arrangement under which they came to California; but under the Republic of China I know that a different plan has been worked out, a plan which is a guaranty of the safety of the laborers who leave there. I think it is more like the arrangement which was made with Hawaii prior to annexation, when a bond was put up and arrangements made through Government agencies for the care and return of the Chinese to China after a period of years.

Mr. RAKER. Then do I understand, Governor, that if this resolution was enacted, if the Chinese desired to come to Hawaii, they could not come voluntarily from their own Government to stay in Hawaii for five years; is that right?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No Chinese would be permitted, as I understand the laws of China to-day, to come to Hawaii except with the approval of the Chinese Government.

Mr. RAKER. That seems to be a long matter there and I am pretty familiar with it and I will ask you about it when you get back on the stand and will not bother the governor on that particular feature; but this would provide and would require a bonding provision to the end that these men should be returned to their own country—to the country from which they came?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That is my understanding of it, yes.

Mr. RAKER. If they cease laboring in agricultural pursuits, they would be returned?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That is my understanding of it.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, they would come here under the supervision of the Government to work in the sugar plantation fields and in the pineapple fields, and in the rice fields; and if they worked there a little while and quit and went into some other business, the automobile business, the peanut business, or other business, they would be returned to the country from which they came?

Gov. FARRINGTON. To their home country.

Mr. RAKER. Is that right?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That is my understanding of it.

Mr. RAKER. The other businesses are profitable—the other farming industries are profitable?

Gov. FARRINGTON. You mean other than sugar?

Mr. RAKER. Yes, sir. They are profitable, are they not?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They have been during the past two years, certainly. The sugar industry has been particularly profitable, but we are facing a condition in the present year and in the years to come which will not bear comparison with, for instance, 1920 or 1919.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me interrupt you. Assume that some of these people come in under contract, to be returned, that they come in from any country and, while here, they marry; children are born to that union in Hawaii and those people are due to be returned. What is the nationality of the child that goes back with them?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The nationality of the child would be that of the country in which it was born.

The CHAIRMAN. Would not that be an extreme difficulty with the whole plan?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Why, I do not know that it would.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not have anything in a bond that would forbid them to marry?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Does your program outline any scheme which would cover that, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not know that the contract would have any special clause in it with reference to marriage; but the wife generally follows the husband and if he is under obligation to move from one part of the world to another the assumption would be that the woman would follow.

Mr. RAKER. But under the last amendment to the Constitution and the present progressive, forward movement of America, the husband follows the wife. [Laughter.]

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The children would be American citizens.

Mr. WILSON. The point there is that the child is an American citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. The contract requires that the foreigner return to the country from which he came, at the end of his term of bondage, or whatever you call it.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would not call it bondage.

The CHAIRMAN. What is it?

Gov. FARRINGTON. It is a scheme whereby he can engage in profitable labor for a period of years and return to his home and live in greater comfort than he did when he started out.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, he takes back an American-born child that this United States is bound to protect. That child, in the course of time, might want to return to Hawaii, for instance, and get some more of the benefits. Wouldn't you get into all sorts of complications there?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I do not contemplate we would ever have a very serious situation on that score.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you know we have trouble all the time now, in the courts and elsewhere, with the children of Chinese whom the parents claim were born here, and the children claim the rights of American citizens and to come to the United States from China?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I have no doubt that such a situation might exist. I do not know that we could force them to refrain from marriage, but I have in mind, for instance, a Chinese family—I do not know that this would follow out in all particulars, but the Chinese families on the islands, the fathers have sometimes returned to China in their old age and left their families in Hawaii as American citizens and a part of our community there.

The CHAIRMAN. We have enough Chinese now in the United States who have proved that they were born here to make our statistics show that every Chinese woman in the country has been the mother of at least 1,000 Chinese children—every one of them.

Gov. FARRINGTON. We could probably keep a more exact record of these men than those who came in under former arrangements.

Mr. RAKER. Just going right along that line, supposing now that one of these men who came to work in the agricultural pursuits, instead of working on the sugar plantation should go to work in the mill. He would then be deportable and would you send him home?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Do you mean would I consider that he should be sent home?

Mr. RAKER. He changed from work in the field to go in the sugar factory.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Well, he could not go to work in the sugar factory unless he were asked to go in there by his employer.

Mr. RAKER. Oh, that is not the point.

The CHAIRMAN. The law we are discussing here says he shall pursue the line of agriculture.

Mr. RAKER. But it does not say in the event he fails to do so—it does not say what you are going to do with him, whether you will send him back home or punish him.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you provide a fine? Let us carry that out; suppose he declined to work at agriculture?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I do not think that it is contemplated under this resolution to impose any penalty on a man which would be in the nature of a fine or imprisonment. So far as my understanding of it is concerned, the worst thing that could be done would be to send him home.

Mr. RAKER. What I am saying now is, suppose you had a thousand of them out in the fields cultivating sugar cane. They struck and said "We won't work in the field; but we want to work in the factory." They demand to work in the factory.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I should say that they would be candidates for return home.

Mr. RAKER. Well, don't you need men in the factories?

Gov. FARRINGTON. We do not need them in the factories as much as we do in the fields.

Mr. RAKER. I know, but don't you need them in the factories now?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I think we can supply the factories from the labor supply we have there at the present time, of which I think a very large percentage are citizens.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask the governor this question: These persons who come here, that you desire to have come, will they have work consecutively throughout the year for the period that you would like to have them come, or for the period that may be provided under a power given to the Secretary? Would they have work consecutively?

Gov. FARRINGTON. You mean is our employment seasonal?

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Oh, no; we work in our fields all the year around. When we are not planting we are harvesting, and when we are not harvesting we are planting.

Mr. RAKER. What proportion of the 3,000 that are now engaged in the sugar industry are working in the fields and what proportion in the 43 and some odd mills?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That is something I will have to refer to the statistician.

Mr. RAKER. Under your law, as you contemplate it here, if they ceased to work in the agricultural pursuits and went into the mills, they would then be subject to deportation?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That is my understanding of it; yes.

Mr. RAKER. And the same way with these 2,855, all told, that work in regard to pineapples: What proportion of this number works in the pineapple orchards and what proportion in the canning and preserving factories for pineapples?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That is something I will also have to refer to the statistician.

The CHAIRMAN. If we undertook to perfect this resolution, would it be advisable to place an age limit on those who would be brought in? Would you bring in children?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Not young children.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you recommend as an age limit?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would not care to make a suggestion offhand.

THE CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you also as applied to women——

Gov. FARRINGTON. Their families?

THE CHAIRMAN. As to women, first. Let us assume you are going to bring in 5,000 Chinese to work for a possible 5 years: Should the resolution say that women might come?

Gov. FARRINGTON. We are now discussing a detail which, under my understanding of the spirit of this measure, it was assumed would be passed upon by the Department of Labor, the theory being that this resolution would put in motion the machinery to cover an emergency. Whether these men should be accompanied by their families is a matter which I would not care to answer offhand.

THE CHAIRMAN. I am endeavoring to ask practical questions. The United States Government could not afford to be in a position of inviting—even if it went as far as this, it could not be in the position of inviting a child 14 years old and 12 years old to come to work under these conditions.

Gov. FARRINGTON. No.

THE CHAIRMAN. So that is one obstacle if there is no age limit. Now I take it that the agricultural people who have to run these plantations would not want old men to come?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I should say the natural limitations would be between 21 or 22 and 35.

Mr. RAKER. Isn't it a fact that in the rice fields and a great part of the sugar fields, the age limit now of the majority of them is about 60 per cent of men over 60 years of age?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I can not answer that.

Mr. RAKER. All right. You would permit women as laborers to come in under this resolution, would you?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That should be determined later.

Mr. RAKER. I know; but they work. They can work in the pineapple industry. I see almost a majority of the labor employed in the pineapple industry are women.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Those women are not in the fields; they are in the factories.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; but you are seeking labor for the pineapple industry?

Gov. FARRINGTON. We are seeking them for the field labor; and the percentage of women in field labor is relatively low.

Mr. RAKER. Would you restrict the women coming in to engage in the agricultural pursuits—any of them?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I am disposed now to say that there should be some restriction on women.

Mr. RAKER. All right. But if a woman should come in, unless the resolution was amended, and married an American citizen, why, at the end of the five years, if she bore children during that time, what would you do with her American citizenship and the American citizenship of the children?

THE CHAIRMAN. In other words, which would be supreme; the bond or citizenship in the United States?

Mr. RAKER. There are two situations I have illustrated; I will get to another one in a moment. Here a woman is married to an American citizen. She then becomes a citizen; she has given birth to a child, two children or three children during that time that are American citizens. Under the bond and under the resolution she would

be compelled to be returned at the end of the five years. What would you do with this lady?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Under the bond, she would have to be returned?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. You mean if she married in Hawaii?

Mr. RAKER. You are asking these people to come in and I am showing what will be their status. What will you do with them?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I am not prepared to pass on the legal interpretation of their status. You are assuming this laborer marries an Hawaiian woman?

Mr. RAKER. An American citizen.

Gov. FARRINGTON. A resident of Hawaii, an American?

Mr. RAKER. An American citizen.

Gov. FARRINGTON. And they have a family there?

Mr. RAKER. Yes, sir.

Gov. FARRINGTON. And the question is whether that whole family should be sent back?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Or whether they should remain in Hawaii?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would not attempt to answer that from the legal standpoint.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me make that clear. It must have only one answer. A bondswoman comes and marries an American citizen in the island; all the bond in the world would not be worth the paper it is written on. She becomes an American citizen by marriage and you could not send her back.

Mr. SABATH. How many Chinese are American citizens in the island?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Thirteen thousand, I understand.

Mr. WEEBER. There are 12,728 American citizens in the islands of Chinese ancestry.

Mr. SABATH. That includes the men, women, and children?

Mr. WEEBER. That includes the men, women, and children.

Mr. SABATH. Have you statistics to show how many of those are single men?

Mr. WEEBER. No, sir. I have no information as to their marital condition. There are about 8,000 of that number above the age of 21.

Mr. BOX. Men and women both?

Mr. WEEBER. Men and women both.

Mr. SABATH. I mean males; just the men and unmarried.

Mr. WEEBER. There are no figures available from which to determine the number who are married.

Mr. SABATH. I wanted to know whether there was any danger that these women would marry American citizens. That is all I shall ask.

Mr. RAKER. Supposing out of this 12,728 Chinese there were 2,000 Chinese women marriageable?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Resident in the Islands at the present time?

Mr. RAKER. Yes. Now, these Chinese laborers that you brought there could each, if they wanted to, marry these respectable 2,000 Chinese American citizens?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I think that the prospect of their immigration would be very serious.

Mr. RAKER. What is that?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I think the prospect of their immigration would be very serious.

Mr. RAKER. The Chinese that come from China do not marry the Chinese that are residents of Hawaii, is that what you mean?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would be very much surprised if there was any intermarriage notwithstanding among these people.

Mr. RAKER. Why?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Simply because the general atmosphere of the Chinese women is such that most of them would prefer to remain amongst their own kind and members of the community. The difference in language would produce the possibility that any number of the Chinese women now in the territory would marry foreigners. I should say there would be an increasing still prospect of their intermarriage.

Mr. RAKER. Would they not remain American citizens?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No.

Mr. RAKER. Not if they married Chinese.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Not if they married Chinese.

Mr. RAKER. They would lose their citizenship if they married Chinese who come from China, would they?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. But if they gave birth to a child, that child would be an American citizen. Now you would send the husband back home, leaving an alien wife on the islands with an American citizen as a child. That does not look very good, does it, to our country?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That is a detail of the situation which I really think is a very remote one.

Mr. RAKER. As to the legal phases, that is true. There is not any "ifs" and "ands" about it.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Very well.

Mr. RAKER. If an American citizen, a Chinese woman, should marry a Chinese who is an alien, she becomes an alien; and if they have born in Hawaii or the United States a child of that union, that child becomes an American citizen.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Now, we have a bill here proposing to send this man back to his country after he has been held for five years. Is that right?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Would you permit these laborers who come from China—and that is where you want to bring them from, is it not?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes; that is, we are looking to China.

Mr. RAKER. The real truth of the matter is that this resolution, while generally drawn, is somewhat uniquely drawn, with a good deal of ingenuity and with a good deal of handling of the language—the purpose really is to bring in Chinese?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would not want you to feel that the people of Hawaii are coming here and attempting collectively, by a manipulation of language, to put something over on the people of the United States.

Mr. RAKER. My dear Governor, this makes the third time, now, we have had this question up. Four years ago and two years ago we had this matter up before the committee in long and extensive hearings, and then they asked directly for 20,000 Chinese to be admitted in the Islands on account of the shortage of labor. Now, I am asking you if it is not the same desire now, that the Chinese are the ones you desire to be admitted as laborers under this proposed resolution?

Gov. FARRINGTON. You are asking me to say that that is the only form of labor that we want. We want labor that will relieve us from the critical situation we have there and we would be very glad to have Chinese if it is allowable to obtain them.

Mr. RAKER. But your distinguished colleague here has said they could not get laborers from any other place; that they had fallen down on that all along the line. Now, I am asking if it is not the fact that your desire and the purpose of the resolution, knowing those facts—that you have not been able to get labor otherwise—is to get Chinese, and that that is the real purpose of this resolution?

Gov. FARRINGTON. A direct answer to that might lead to a misapprehension of the spirit in which this subject is brought before Congress. I do not believe that it is a matter of subterfuge—

Mr. RAKER. I beg your pardon; I did not suggest subterfuge and I trust that may not be lugged into this. I am asking solely as to the facts.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I feel that if the Chinese were the only ones they had in mind under this resolution, they would have so stated in this resolution. Chinese are always uppermost in our minds; I am free to say that; there is no question about that—from the very nature of our position and the very high character of the Chinese who are in the islands. They occupy a very commendable position in the esteem of the community there, and from their reputation as laborers and their reputation as people who have to a great extent, in the third generation, become Americanized, they stand high in the Territory of Hawaii. But to say that the only thing we have in mind, in bringing in this resolution before Congress, is to bring in the Chinamen is not the fact.

Mr. RAKER. What other class of nationals do you expect to get or are you seeking to get, except Chinese?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The Europeans we have always in mind. For instance, the Portuguese. My understanding is there will be a general canvass of the situation if this resolution is passed and the movement will be made as directed by the best judgment of the executive department.

Mr. RAKER. There has been no restriction on you for the immigration of the Portuguese, has there?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Voluntary immigration from Europe, as I stated here, is impossible. We have at times, while it was permitted by law, assisted immigration.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you see any objection to Florida, which is coming along rapidly in intensive gardening, having a considerable number of Chinese to do that work in the fields?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That would be determined by their agricultural conditions, their industrial conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. If they should come before this committee and say they are very short of this squatting labor?

Gov. FARRINGTON. There is a matter that should be borne in mind in connection with the Territory of Hawaii. You see, we are 2,000 miles on one side and 3,000 miles on the other side from any source of labor; we have in our islands no natural source of labor as they do in the Philippines or Porto Rico. The population of our islands is not sufficient to carry on the agricultural industries of the Territory.

The CHAIRMAN. The truth of the matter is that in the Hawaiian Islands you have developed some big agricultural industries?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are in a tropical country?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you need tropical labor of a kind that they have in Java, for instance, or in any other tropical country?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not got it there and are not producing it and are barred by law from getting it?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the thing?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That is the problem in a nut shell.

The CHAIRMAN. You want to raise coffee and you are in no position to compete with Java, where I believe there are 30,000,000 people on an island which is no larger than Cuba.

Mr. WILSON. Since you have brought up the question of Florida, may I ask the governor a question or two in that connection? Were you at the conference in New York, Governor?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No.

Mr. WILSON. I have been informed that when this matter came up relative to this resolution that the sugar producers in the continental United States, and the rice producers, took the position that if such a resolution should be passed, the provisions of it should be extended to the continental United States. Do you know about that?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I do not know about that.

Mr. WILSON. Because my State is a sugar-producing and ice-producing State, and I have been informed that that was the position taken by those interests in this country should such a resolution be passed.

Mr. HORNER. That was the position. I was there.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with the shortage conditions there; are you familiar with the wages?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Not intimately familiar with them.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the usual daily wage of labor on the sugar plantation?

Gov. FARRINGTON. There is a new schedule that has been put in force. Mr. Mead can answer those questions exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. We will ask him later. I just wanted to know if you knew in a general way. Before you ask him, let me ask you now what is your idea of the pay of a common laborer on the sugar plantation? I do not care whether you get it right within 50 cents a day or not.

Gov. FARRINGTON. It is about \$30 a month.

Mr. MEAD. That is the minimum.

Gov. FARRINGTON. That includes a great deal more than is ordinarily considered as wages on the mainland. For instance, our laborers have free houses; free medical attendance, fuel, and water.

Mr. WHITE. Does it include free food?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No.

Mr. WHITE. But it does include free living quarters?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, if the United States should go into any such bill as is proposed, whether the matter of wages would be included in the negotiations?

Gov. FARRINGTON. You mean in connection with these men; you mean, would it have the effect of reducing wages?

The CHAIRMAN. Would the United States Government or any agent of the Government be a party to the bargain fixing the daily wage for the labor in the fields? Who would fix that?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I assume they would work at the wage ruling at the period they were brought in.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would have to be satisfied; would it be the Government of China or the fellow to be brought there?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I suppose the Government of China on behalf of the men who would be brought in. My understanding of the arrangement with the Chinese Government is that they would look to the welfare of their people.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chinese Government?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They would have to be satisfied.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if the United States Government had to be a party to it, it clearly would result in the United States becoming a party to fixing the wages of labor in the field. And if that happened in Hawaii with this class of labor, why would not the cotton pickers from Texas ask the Government to fix their wage?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I think that the situation is hardly parallel.

The CHAIRMAN. But just suppose, now, that the Government said "This won't do; these fellows have to have a better wage before we will enter into this part of the bargain at all"; and suppose they fixed a very nice wage, then would not American citizens working on plantations, in the fields, say "Here, if the Government is so good to the imported bond Chinese, must not the Government see that we are done as well by?"

Gov. FARRINGTON. Well it seems to me that is rather a remote possibility, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not think you would have any such good wage? [Laughter.]

Mr. RAKER. Governor, these men that come now from China should be permitted to bring their wives; any laborers that come under the proposed legislation should be permitted to bring their wives?

Gov. FARRINGTON. You say if they should be?

Mr. RAKER. No; I say they should be, under the laws of humanity and decency and fair play and uprightness and any other condition that makes a man happy and prosperous should be given the right to marry and to bring his wife with him wherever he goes?

Mr. SABATH. Do you think your question is justifiable and fair? You take for granted all these things in your question.

Mr. RAKER. If the distinguished gentleman thinks that question is not fair, I will ask to strike it out, Mr. Chairman, and to put another

question. It would be your view, Governor, under this resolution, if it becomes a law, that a man who came under its terms should be permitted to bring his wife?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Now you are asking me a question which deals with a situation that is entirely new. We are dealing with a new situation; we have never brought laborers in under such conditions. The men who have come to the Islands from the Orient have generally not brought their families with them. If these men are to be considered in the light of the Chinese who were sent to Europe during the war period, they would not necessarily be accompanied by their families. On the other hand, as I view the situation, I can see no particular objection, if they were anxious to bring their families here, why they should be refused that privilege.

Mr. RAKER. Won't you please forget the war period and what was done during the war and how we sent men over there and other nationalities sent them, and get down to American territory?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Now you would be in favor, if the men wanted to, to let them bring their wives, as a humanitarian proposition, wouldn't you?

Gov. FARRINGTON. As a humanitarian proposition, when you say "bring their wives," if you contemplate an immigration which would have the atmosphere of being more or less permanent—this is not intended to be permanent.

Mr. RAKER. I take off the atmosphere of permanency and put it temporarily, for a period of five years. If the man wanted to bring his wife and come there to Hawaii as an agriculturist to work, he ought to be permitted; I will put it that way. Would not that be your view?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I am not prepared to answer that question.

Mr. RAKER. You would not deny it? I will put it that way; you would not deny them the privilege to bring their wives if they wanted to?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The regulations for handling this labor and the general viewpoint of it is of such a nature that I do not know—these men might be enlisted on the basis of their being laborers for a temporary period and they might seek men without families.

Mr. RAKER. No, but I am putting it down now to the effect it will have upon our country, irrespective of Hawaii. If a man comes here and is permitted to come to this country for any purpose, and if he wants to bring his wife, he should be permitted to bring her, should he not?

Gov. FARRINGTON. On general principles, I should say it would be well to allow his wife to come along with him.

Mr. RAKER. Do you think the American people would submit to a law that would permit people to be brought in here to work and would deny them the right to have a family?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No.

Mr. RAKER. Should not a man who is engaged as an agriculturist in cultivating pineapples and cultivating rice and cultivating sugar be permitted to have a wife and to raise children?

Gov. FARRINGTON. He certainly should have that privilege if he wants it.

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. But they do not always marry.

Mr. RAKER. Oh, that applies to all people. Now, to get down to the question: These people would be under bond; they would be, in substance, peons of the Government?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No; not peons.

Mr. RAKER. They would be under direction to labor and to do one particular kind of labor, would they not?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes; but there is——

Mr. SABATH. They would be contract laborers.

Mr. RAKER. No; more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us see what they are. If they are not peons and are not quite contract laborers, would it be fair to call them enlisted laborers—enlisted agricultural laborers?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I should say that would come more nearly to a proper definition.

Mr. WILSON. Is it conscripted labor?

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the word?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No; I think enlisted labor; they are volunteers.

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask the governor this question: As a preliminary to securing this labor, do you not believe, or do you believe, that it is likely that enough laborers could be secured who would not care to bring their families? Do you think it would be possible to secure all the laborers necessary from the ranks of those who would be glad to come under the terms fixed, who would not care to bring their families?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir. I feel as though these points that are being raised are very extreme.

Mr. WHITE. I want to ask you another question on that point. Of course, you are proceeding here regularly, as you think, and fairly, and you would expect that those persons whom you desired to bring here or who might desire to come here would understand all the terms and conditions under which they would come to the islands to labor?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. And that they would know, before they left their country, all those conditions?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. And circumstances?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir; there is no question about it.

Mr. WHITE. And that the question then as to bringing their families would not be a question that would arise subsequent to their coming here or to their marrying? They would understand the situation thoroughly; that is your purpose, that they should understand it, is it not?

Gov. FARRINGTON. It is my understanding they should understand the situation; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If one of those laborers did not like it on the island of Hawaii, would he be permitted to go over to the island of Maui?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I should imagine that among our employers there would be a general readiness to respect the wishes of the laborers as far as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. That leads right up to this question: We will assume that 20,000 come. How would they be distributed?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I assume they would be distributed according to the needs of the industry in which they are employed. It would

be necessary to establish quite a little machinery in connection with it, so that they might be properly disposed of.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that machinery be Federal machinery or Territorial machinery?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would expect that it would possibly be Territorial machinery, supervised by the Federal Government. The demarcation between Federal and Territorial is hard to define. Of course, as a Territory we are immediately under the Federal Government; it would not be the same as it would be in a State.

The CHAIRMAN. Could it be done under an association of the people using the labor?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I presume that might be done. In the distribution of the labor naturally we would have to deal with an association employing the labor, so as to know where we would need it.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "we," what do you mean—the sugar growers or the people of the Territory?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The people of the Territory.

The CHAIRMAN. The sugar planters now could not prorate the labor themselves?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They would be able to give the information by which it could be properly prorated; they are the principal ones with whom we are dealing.

The CHAIRMAN. To give that information, they would have to be in a sort of an association, would they not?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And have an agreement?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the growers in such an association?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They have a voluntary organization on the basis of cooperation in connection with the handling of labor—the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association.

The CHAIRMAN. If the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association is an association within the law got into the business of bringing in these men, this kind of labor, under authority of Congress and then of their own accord as an association peddled it out, prorated it, would not they run against the antitrust law right away?

Gov. FARRINGTON. You say they are peddling it out?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. My idea of it is that they would furnish the information by which it would be distributed by the organization having in charge the admission of the labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these Japanese working on the plantations formed into a labor union of any kind?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. They have a labor organization?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir; a very close and exacting labor organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Would they, in your opinion, be likely to strike if this sort of labor came in—Chinese labor?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Not necessarily.

The CHAIRMAN. Assume that they would—I won't ask you to answer it—assume they would and would not work at all in the agricultural pursuits, then you would have to get more Chinese labor?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That would mean that the Japanese would eventually all have to go home.

Mr. SABATH. That is just what it should be, too.

Gov. FARRINGTON. But that is not anything we need fear at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the Government of Australia gone into any case of this kind?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Not that I am aware of.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Government of Australia requiring the Japanese in Australia to return to Japan?

Gov. FARRINGTON. So far as I am informed, there is a strict law against Japanese in Australia.

The CHAIRMAN. Against their admission?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Against any colored race in Australia.

Mr. MEAD. Australia you know, Mr. Chairman, went to the extent of deporting all blacks, even though they had had property rights here for years.

Mr. CABLE. If you bring in 20,000 Chinese, do you think that would lead to murdering Japs and Chinamen?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No, sir.

Mr. CABLE. They would get along all right together on the plantations?

Gov. FARRINGTON. We have had very few troubles of that character.

Mr. CABLE. You have never had a large number of Chinese in comparison to the Japs?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Not in recent years. I do not anticipate any trouble of that character.

Mr. RAKER. Now, Governor, if you brought these Chinamen there and their wages were not satisfactory and 2,000 of them struck and refused to work, they would be a perfect drug on the market—they just absolutely refused to work. What would you do with them?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They would go home.

Mr. RAKER. Who would send them home?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They would be sent home under the regulations which would be established by the Department of Labor. Now, as to who would send them home, I assume the Department of Labor would make arrangements so that the expense of sending those people home would not be a charge on the public.

Mr. RAKER. If they wanted to go to another country they would be in the same position; they would be arrested and deported and sent back to China, would they not?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I should assume so.

Mr. RAKER. You won't let him get out; you make him go back to where he came.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I say the route of getting out is defined for him.

Mr. RAKER. You think we ought to establish that policy as part of the Government of the United States, do you?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I think it is very important that the Territory of Hawaii should have relief in connection with its labor situation.

Mr. RAKER. Now let me ask you a few questions in regard to the shortage of labor conditions. I find that in the last 10 years corn has increased 60 per cent; rice has increased 305 per cent—the production of rice; that dried edible beans have increased 47 per cent; that

soya beans have increased 40 per cent; dried beets 41 per cent; dried peas 55 per cent, and the raising of peanuts 625 per cent.

Mr. SABATH. Within what time?

Mr. RAKER. Within 10 years. They are prospering, all of them.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Is that in pounds, or dollars and cents?

Mr. RAKER. It is in value.

Gov. FARRINGTON. You want to understand that during that period we have had war prices.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; I know. We always get back to the war. Now we find that the sugar cane harvested increased 42.8 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN. In value?

Mr. RAKER. In value; yes, sir. That is what I said. That coffee has increased 247 per cent; cotton, 178 per cent; and tobacco has decreased.

Mr. SABATH. How about the quantities?

Mr. RAKER. All except sugar there decreased in quantities—everything except sugar.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Pardon me for referring to the war again, but you mentioned coffee as 242 per cent. During the period of the war coffee was a very profitable industry; but, I think it was last year the last crop rotted on the trees in the coffee district of Kona.

Mr. CABLE. Why was that?

Gov. FARRINGTON. One reason was because of their inability to harvest it as they desired; and another was there was a marked reduction in the price of coffee—I think they could not sell it at cost.

Mr. RAKER. Now, all of those items and all of those leading products have increased in value in the Territory, according to the best statistics.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. I find that pineapples in 1919, in value—in 1909 it was \$333,000 and over?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And in 1919 it was \$3,545,385. The industry has just grown by leaps and bounds, has it not?

Gov. FARRINGTON. We have had a splendid growth in our pineapple industry.

The CHAIRMAN. It is fair to say that the people of Hawaii have devoted themselves to developing that industry on the same principle as we developed the cantaloupe industry in California, or any other highly specialized industry.

Mr. RAKER. I am taking every item.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have figures for California in exactly the same proportion, in all probability.

Mr. RAKER. I do not know about that, Mr. Chairman. I am asking the gentleman if it is not a fact that these leading products have increased in value; namely, sugar, coffee, pineapples, and rice. Is not that right?

Mr. SABATH. Those are artificially created prices. If it was volume, I think it would be of some value to the committee; but merely the artificially created prices, they do not give us any information—at least it does not to me. Sugar, that usually sells for 5 cents, has been selling for 25 and 30 cents.

The CHAIRMAN. And prunes from California, and from my State that usually sell for 5 cents are now selling for 25 cents.

Mr. WILSON. How about grapes?

The CHAIRMAN. And grapes in proportion.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I think it was called to my attention yesterday by Mr. Dillingham that there was a decreased proportion in the production of sugar.

Mr. RAKER. In regard to sugar cane, it is all owned and controlled by 43 corporations; is that right?

Gov. FARRINGTON. There are about 43 sugar plantations.

Mr. RAKER. There is none of it held by individuals?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The sugar cane areas?

Mr. RAKER. That is what this says here; sugar cane: Number of establishments, owned by individuals, corporations, and all others. It gives us the percentage, and the total of the corporations is 100 per cent.

Gov. FARRINGTON. The large portion of the cane area of the Hawaiian Islands is handled by corporations—is owned by corporations.

Mr. RAKER. This says 43 concerns.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I have no reason to question that.

Mr. RAKER. Now, these 43 concerns then control the sugar-cane production—these corporations?

Gov. FARRINGTON. A large part of the production.

Mr. RAKER. Are they the ones that will fix the price of this imported semi—these imported men under the proposed law?

Gov. FARRINGTON. You mean fix the price of the labor?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. They are the ones who will employ these people; they are the ones who have labor to offer.

Mr. RAKER. And will they fix the price?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They naturally will have a right to state what they can afford to pay those laborers.

Mr. RAKER. Will they fix the price?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Will they fix it?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Generally speaking, yes, if I understand your question correctly.

Mr. RAKER. Yes, I think you do. How many more men were employed in the sugar industry in 1920 than there are now in 1921? How many less men were there in the islands, in the sugar industry? Supposing you had something over 3,000 employed—

Mr. WEEBER. Thirty-eight thousand men last December.

Mr. RAKER. Thirty-eight thousand in December?

Mr. WEEBER. In December, last year. That is the lowest number since 1900. In 1919 it is 43,000; 1918, 44,000.

Mr. RAKER. There were how many now—43,000?

Mr. WEEBER. In May, of 1920, there were 43,000 and in December, 1920, 38,348.

Mr. RAKER. How many less of these men that were employed in 1920 are there now in the islands in 1921?

Mr. WEEBER. Six thousand less now than last year, if I understand your question.

Mr. RAKER. Did those men leave the islands?

Mr. WEEBER. I do not know. Some of them have gone in other industries and some have gone home; how many, I do not know.

Mr. RAKER. Does anyone else here know?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It is impossible to say just what number have left the islands and what number have gone into other industries. The fact is they have left the fields which require field labor.

Mr. RAKER. What I am getting at now is, and what I would like to get in the record, is whether or not those same men that worked in 1920 are not on the island to-day—the greater per cent of them.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I can not answer that question definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us ask such questions of the other witnesses.

Mr. RAKER. I thought the governor knew. I will be through in a moment. The trouble is you had a strike in 1920 and 1921; is that right?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. By the Chinese?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The Japanese.

Mr. RAKER. How many were involved in that strike?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Six thousand. That was on the island of Oahu.

Mr. RAKER. They were working for sugar planters?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Have they left the island? These 6,000 that did strike, have they left the island?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I do not think so.

Mr. RAKER. They are still there and want to work?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The great proportion of them. Some of them have returned to their work; but, as I understand it, they are not efficient laborers.

Mr. RAKER. They are not what?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They are not efficient workmen. They are occupying their quarters, but I understand they are not always working full time.

Mr. RAKER. Part of these are American citizens?

Gov. FARRINGTON. A proportion of those laborers?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; that were in the strike?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Some of them.

Mr. RAKER. They all belonged to the American Federation of Labor?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No; not the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. RAKER. To a federation of labor, then?

Gov. FARRINGTON. To the Japanese Federation of Labor, known as a high-wage association.

Mr. RAKER. It is immaterial whether a man was a citizen or an alien, he can belong to the federation of labor?

Gov. FARRINGTON. To that federation of labor.

Mr. RAKER. There is no disqualification?

Gov. FARRINGTON. So far as I know there is no disqualification.

Mr. RAKER. Now, the intention is that since the American citizens, although of Japanese birth, struck for higher wages, or struck for the conditions in Hawaii, you desire to leave them alone and to go without work, and to bring in Chinese from China; is that right?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I do not think that that is a presentation of the case that would be exactly correct. The strike developed features

which are of quite a different nature than ordinary strikes on the mainland. It became a nationalistic movement, and it became so definitely nationalistic that it was very apparent that it was a desire to control the industry. Now, we may have some differences of opinion on whether an industry should be nationalized by citizens of our own country; but we can have no difference of opinion, so far as I know, on whether an industry should be nationalized by people who are alien and are unable even to become citizens. So in putting it as you suggest it seems to me that if I were to give a favorable reply it would not be a proper representation of the attitude of the American people and American industry in the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. RAKER. I know, but there are about 40,000 of those Japanese-American citizens in Hawaii. They have the same rights and same responsibility to exist and work and unionize and better their condition as any other nationality; is not that right?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Now, is it the purpose or would it have the effect of entirely eliminating them from the fields of labor in the agricultural pursuits because they do get together as nationals, although being citizens, and bring in other people to take their places?

Gov. FARRINGTON. If this strike, for instance, were a movement of the American citizens, and primarily moved and controlled by American citizens, the question that you raise might be a proper one; but they are not. They are controlled by the Japanese. The 40,000 American citizens there of Japanese ancestry are not the men who controlled that movement or who are in control of that federation; it is an alien element. And regardless of what alien element that may be, it is a very serious matter to have any industry controlled by aliens in the position we are—as an outpost of the Pacific.

The CHAIRMAN. California found that out for themselves.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir; I understand that they have.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, you want to put yourselves in the position or Hawaii wants to be in a position that she can have a sufficient amount of laborers for the white Americans who own these industries to employ them without employing the Japanese that belong to this labor organization?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Oh, I do not think there is any movement on the part of the industry there to refuse to employ a man simply because he belongs to the organization.

Mr. RAKER. No; but I understand these that struck won't work and are there in the islands and, therefore, that you want to get other laborers from China, for instance, to do the work?

Mr. SABATH. I understood you to say many of them have gone back to work?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. May I ask a question? I just want to ask the governor how you can employ them if they won't work, as has been suggested? [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I think we have pursued that line far enough. Are there any other questions?

Mr. RAKER. I want to ask one.

Gov. FARRINGTON. I would like to get that last question. I have been interrupted several times.

Mr. RAKER. These Japanese that entered into this organization struck for higher wages, did they not?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And the sugar companies, 43 in number, constituting all of the sugar interests, refused to pay the wage?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I think they did not pay the wages requested by the federation. They advanced the wages, but I do not know what the per cent was.

Mr. MEAD. Fifty per cent.

Mr. RAKER. What was the difference and why did they not go back to work? They struck for higher wages. Did the sugar companies meet the request?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They met the request for a higher wage. I do not think they met the exact request of the laborers. My understanding of the fight of the Japanese Federation of Labor was that they sought recognition, an official recognition, of their organization, and that, as I understand, was not granted.

Mr. RAKER. They sought official recognition by these 43 companies of their organization and, second, higher wages?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Now, the sugar companies, controlling the entire sugar interests, refused to meet their demand on the wage question; is that right?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They did not meet their full demand; no.

Mr. RAKER. And they refused to grant the labor organization's demand on recognition?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And for that reason this organization and its members refused to go back to work?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Some of them refused to go back to work.

Mr. RAKER. What percentage went back to work?

Mr. MEAD. Approximately 75 per cent.

Mr. RAKER. If those men went back to work and the companies met their demands, they would then be in the same position as they were the year before, and would be able to cultivate and to handle and mill the same amount of sugar as they did before?

Gov. FARRINGTON. You mean the sugar plantation?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Would be in the same position?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. In so far as the ordinary routine of their crop is concerned?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. The most serious point that is involved there is the recognition of that organization, because once they accept the management of the labor forces by the alien organization there is no known limit of the demands that might be made and where the control of the industry would rest.

Mr. RAKER. Now, Governor, I asked you this question a moment ago and I understood you were not able to answer it and I will ask you now: What percentage of this organization were American citizens; do you know?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No; I do not.

Mr. RAKER. Then when you say it was an alien organization, you are not able to state the number of American citizens, although of Japanese nationality, that were in that organization, are you?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No, sir; except that a very small percentage was American citizens.

Mr. RAKER. Now, can you answer my question if those men went back to work and the other demands of the labor organization were met, would that supply the same amount of labor for 1921 as they had in 1920?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I assume it would supply the labor—a fair supply.

Mr. MEAD. Oh, yes. The shortage has not grown out of the fact that these men have not returned to work; the shortage has occurred by reason of large numbers of laborers having gone back to Japan and to the Philippines.

Mr. RAKER. Who knows whether or not if these men that struck in 1920 went back to work you would be in as normal condition for 1921 as you were in 1920, before they struck?

Gov. FARRINGTON. The immigration commissioner who came on here to represent the Territory.

Mr. RAKER. They will know that fact?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They can give you that information.

Mr. BOX. Governor, I note in the figures introduced here yesterday, showing the population of Hawaii of the different classes, a decrease in the population of Hawaii of the number of Hawaiians during the last 10 years?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOX. That decrease has gone on for a great many years, has it not?

Gov. FARRINGTON. There has been a steady decrease of the native Hawaiian population for a period of years.

Mr. BOX. That is a regrettable fact. What is the cause of it?

Gov. FARRINGTON. One cause of it, I think, is the intermarriage. You will notice in those figures there that the Asiatic Hawaiians and Caucasian Hawaiians have increased. Now, the pure Hawaiian has steadily decreased. Their death rate is high and they have intermarried to quite an extent so that in the net Hawaiian population, as we of Hawaii class it, you might say there has been a decrease.

Mr. BOX. There has been a partial amalgamation with other races, so to speak?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOX. This decrease in the number of pure bloods, is that about right?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir. The man who could answer that question for you very fully is Senator Wise of the Territorial Legislature of Hawaii. That is my solution of it.

Mr. WILSON. Governor, my understanding of this situation is that, by natural processes or otherwise, the population in Hawaii has not increased sufficiently to take care of your expanding industries and especially agriculture?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. That you now have a shortage of labor?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. That you can only secure this labor by an inflow of population from some other country?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. You can not get that from the United States?

Gov. FARRINGTON. We have been unsuccessful up to the present time, but not for lack of effort.

Mr. WILSON. I also understand that you can not get it from the Philippines or Porto Rico?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Not in adequate quantity.

Mr. WILSON. What efforts have been made to supply this labor from Porto Rico and the Philippines?

Gov. FARRINGTON. We have been endeavoring for some years past to secure immigration from the Philippines. We have now in the Territory, as shown by the last census, 21,000. That is an increase from 2,000 in 1910, and that increase is mainly due to the immigration that has been fostered by the Territory or by the sugar planters' association.

Mr. WILSON. What attitude does the Philippine Government take toward immigration to Hawaii?

Gov. FARRINGTON. They want their people for their own Territory.

Mr. WILSON. What about Porto Rico?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I have understood the same situation prevails there.

Mr. WILSON. I understand, further, that of the laboring classes in these particular industries, such as sugar, rice, and pineapples, that about 65 per cent is Japanese?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. About what per cent is Chinese?

Mr. WEEBER. One thousand seven hundred out of 38,000.

Gov. FARRINGTON. A very small percentage.

Mr. WEEBER. Less than 5 per cent.

Mr. WILSON. While, of course, you are willing to take this agricultural labor from any country from which you may be able to get it, still, as a practical proposition, the only available supply, as you see it, is from China? Is that the situation?

Gov. FARRINGTON. We know that we can get them there; or we feel certain that we can get them there.

Mr. WILSON. In the last analysis, that is what is contemplated?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Now, this resolution deals with a particular situation?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. And ultimately it will be construed as establishing a policy for the Government, and those are the things that address themselves to the committee. Now, the resolution provides any inadmissible aliens shall, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Labor, be admitted to Hawaii?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. For the purpose of engaging in a certain kind of labor; that is true, is it not?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Agricultural labor?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. And it fixes a limit of time for their sojourn in the islands?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. And prohibits them removing to any other territory belonging to the United States?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Now, a very serious question in my mind is the power of Congress, under our laws and the decisions of our courts, to impose those conditions on any nationality coming into our Territory. If we can do it in Hawaii, of course we can do it in the continental United States. Now, you see, if you admit the fact that he is an Asiatic and incapable of citizenship, it does not change that situation; if you admit them and take charge of them, you might say—and this must be done under some governmental authority?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. And you must engage in a certain kind of labor and you must do that for a certain period of time, and you must confine your residence to a certain territory. Of course, this resolution does not fix the penalty, but the effect is the same. Now, have you had a legal opinion upon the power of Congress to do that thing?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I have not. That question would have to be answered by the commission. I assume we would not be coming on here asking Congress to do something that was not within its power.

Mr. WILSON. I will say it is presumed that they would not do that, but that is a very serious question in my mind about this resolution. There is another thing about that: If you say to these people—if we reach the conclusion that we can legally enact such a law, then what authority is going to carry out that portion of it that says to this 20,000—is that the number you think you need now?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Twenty thousand.

Mr. WILSON. What authority is going to carry out that part of it providing that they shall engage in a certain kind of labor? To whom is it contemplated that that authority shall be delegated?

Gov. FARRINGTON. To whom shall it be delegated?

Mr. WILSON. Yes.

Gov. FARRINGTON. My idea is that that is a program to be worked out by the Secretary under the Department of Labor.

Mr. WILSON. But is the Department of Labor going to be called upon to execute that provision of the resolution?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I should say that it would have to be executed under the general supervision of the Department of Labor. Whether it should be territorial and whether those expenses should be borne by the Territory or the industry. I assume it should be borne by the industry.

Mr. WILSON. It is contemplated, then, that some official there answerable to the Department of Labor of the territorial government in Hawaii shall see that that part of it is carried out?

Gov. FARRINGTON. I should consider that that is absolutely necessary.

Mr. WILSON. And the same would be true as to this prohibition against removing to any other portion of the United States?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir; that is a matter that would be comparatively simple in Hawaii with the immigration, for it would be difficult for them to move from Hawaii to the mainland of the United States. For instance, that prohibition is at present directed against the Japanese in the islands.

Mr. WILSON. But not against the native born?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No; not native born.

Mr. WILSON. Native-born Japanese or native-born Chinese?

Gov. FARRINGTON. No; but the foreigners of Japanese nationality; they are not allowed to go to the mainland of the United States.

Mr. WILSON. But any Chinese born during this 5-year period on the islands would be admissible to the United States?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You say the foreign-born Japanese are not permitted to go?

Gov. FARRINGTON. That is a detail of the regulations established under the "Gentlemen's agreement."

Mr. WEEBER. That is prohibited by the presidential proclamation issued on March 14, 1907. Alien Japanese, Chinese, or Koreans can not emigrate from the Hawaiian Islands to the continental United States.

Mr. RAKER. May I ask you a question right there? Will it interrupt you?

Mr. WILSON. No.

Mr. RAKER. Is it your view that under Article XIII of the Constitution the last proviso of this bill that they should only work in an agricultural pursuit and should be returned if they did not, and at the end of the five years should be sent back, would contravene that section of the Constitution which prohibits involuntary servitude?

Mr. WILSON. I have made no investigation of the question. I thought somebody else might have done so.

Mr. SABATH. Will you permit me—in 1904 or 1906, up to that time there were several Southern States that had entered into agreements and had a permit to import contract labor.

Mr. RAKER. And that was held immediately, and as quick as it was brought to the attention of the Federal authorities that it was subjecting them practically to peonage and therefore in contravention of the amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. SABATH. No; certain contracts that have been entered into have been held in violation of the Constitution.

Mr. RAKER. But has it been held any place that a man could be put at certain work and could be deported and moved back and forth as the parties saw fit?

Mr. SABATH. Yes; where there was misrepresentation made to these people who have been imported; but they had to show that there was a misrepresentation. I had the matter up with the department in 1908 and 1909 and I made the charges of peonage and I called for an investigation.

Mr. WILSON. Here is the proposition: This is not just the phase of it that I had in mind, but whatever is done about this relative to these people coming in the Government must be a party to, you see?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. The two Governments?

Gov. FARRINGTON. Possibly.

Mr. WILSON. I have made no investigation myself, but this discussion has impressed me and I thought that probably that question had been gone into. It is not a question of some organization of

business men down in Hawaii bringing over labor; it is a question of the Government being a party to it through the Secretary of Labor.

Gov. FARRINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. So it is not on all fours with the case suggested at all.

Mr. SABATH. In that case the States were authorized to establish immigration commissioners and import and bring over labor from other countries, and they did bring several vessels.

Mr. WILSON. My recollection is that either some individual or some corporation was bringing them over.

Mr. SABATH. This was under the jurisdiction of the State and received the sanction and approval of our Federal Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all you desire to ask the governor, gentlemen?

Mr. WILSON. Yes; that is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, that is all. We are thankful to you for the information you have given and we wish you much success in your administration of the government of the Territory of Hawaii. I think that all Members of Congress realize that Federal control, under the territorial plan of government, of a domain so far removed from the National Capital as Hawaii, is difficult in the extreme, and I for one have often given expression to the statement that the governors of our two Territories—Alaska and Hawaii—should have more individual power than is now accorded to them. I regret the delay which so often occurs in the ratification by Congress of the acts of the Hawaiian and Alaskan Territorial Legislatures.

As you leave to take up your official duties I beg to assure you that all members of this committee, regardless of political adherence, will do all that we can to assist you.

STATEMENT OF MR. ROYAL D. MEAD, HONOLULU, HAWAII.

The CHAIRMAN. State your name, residence, and business.

Mr. MEAD. My name is Royal D. Mead, my residence is Honolulu, Hawaii, and I am appearing before this committee as a citizen of the Territory, not as a representative of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, by which I happen to be employed.

Up to November of last year I was the secretary and treasurer of the association and director of their labor bureau and I have had to do with their labor matters for the last 20 years. I left Hawaii in November to come to Washington to represent them in labor matters and have spent two months in Porto Rico with the intention of getting Porto Ricans to go to Hawaii. The matter which I believe you want me to touch upon particularly is the question of wages paid by the sugar planters; that is the question you suggested yesterday before you adjourned.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one question.

Mr. MEAD. We have very many classes of labor on the plantations in Hawaii. The basic wage for the unskilled field hands runs from \$30 to \$32 a month of 26 days, depending largely on the location of the plantation. Now, there are other unskilled laborers, such as mill hands, teamsters, ditch men, and there are dozens of occupations where the unskilled wage is higher than the minimum wage, and it varies on the different plantations; but I think a very con-

servative statement as to the average of the wages of unskilled men would be \$1.50 per day at the present time—\$39 a month.

Seventy-five to eighty per cent of the plantation work and plantation labor is performed under contract. There are contracts for all plantation operations from the planting of the seed cane to the loading of the sugar into the cars after it is manufactured—everything that can be done is done under the contract system.

The cultivation contractors, the long-term contractors as they call them, take the fields after planting, or from the first or second irrigation, and carry on the cultivation up to the time the cane is matured and harvested. Those long-term contractors make more money than the unskilled day men, and I should say that their average earnings are from \$1.50 to \$1.75 a day; perhaps \$1.50 would be conservative.

Mr. RAKER. What do you mean by contractors? Will you explain that?

Mr. MEAD. The cultivation contractors are men who take selected areas of cane fields and do all the necessary work of cultivation. The plantation is divided up into areas, and a number of men are given the privilege of doing the work on a certain area from the time it is planted, or from the time of the first and second irrigation, and they are paid so much per ton for the cane raised upon that area, varying according to the growth of the cane. They are given their fertilizer, and advances are made to them from month to month for their living expenses and that sort of thing, and then settlement is made when the cane is harvested and the weight determined. I think I said \$1.50; I should say \$1.75 is a closer estimate for the earnings of cultivation contractors on the average.

In addition to that, those men work in other occupations. When the field does not require their attention, they get off for a few days, or a week, perhaps, and work at other things, so that their earnings are considerably increased.

Then we have the short-term contractors—men who do ditch work or other short-term contract work. Two of our principal short-term contracts are cutting and loading. Loading cane is a particularly hard job, and the men do not work very many hours a day at it. They usually get out very early in the morning and quit early in the afternoon. Cutting is also a hard job. Those men make considerably in excess of the ordinary wages, and I should say a conservative statement of the earnings of that class of labor is \$2 a day.

Mr. RAKER. Do you mean in that contract that you divide the plantation off into 100 acres or 50 acres, and the man takes it and employs his labor?

Mr. MEAD. There are two systems. Some plantations employ boss contractors, who in turn employ the necessary men. The more common system is to have individual contractors.

In addition to the wages paid day men and the rates paid contractors, we have a bonus system which applies to all laborers on the plantations, even up to skilled laborers. That bonus system is based upon the price which Hawaiian 96° sugar brings in New York. It begins with a bonus of 10 per cent for sugar at 4 cents, or \$80 a ton, and runs up at the rate of 1 per cent for every \$2 increase in the price of sugar. I have not followed exactly the price of sugar—I have been out of the country so much—but the bonus begins the 1st of November and runs on for 12 months. I think the price of sugar

in November, December, January, and February was something over 5 cents—6 cents. Since then it has dropped, and now it is 4 cents, but I think the average has been well over 5 cents. So that they have been obtaining the bonus from November on on sugar at an average of 5 cents, say, or 20 per cent bonus, which would be added to their wages.

The condition of that bonus is that they shall work 20 days per month.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the highest bonus received during the war prices of sugar?

Mr. MEAD. The highest bonus during war prices—I do not have that figure exactly, but it ran up to something over 300 per cent in one month. Sugar went up to 23 cents at one time—raw sugar—and it made a perfectly enormous bonus.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you roughly give us one example that would show what the common laborer would receive in profits by that bonus?

Mr. MEAD. Well, I have some figures on the bonuses here. Take the month of May, for instance, in 1920; the total bonus percentage that month was 466½. At that time the base wage was \$20. That man received \$70 in addition to his wages.

The CHAIRMAN. And he received \$20 in pay?

Mr. MEAD. And \$70.

The CHAIRMAN. He received \$20 and a place to live in?

Mr. MEAD. I am coming to that in a moment.

The CHAIRMAN. He got \$70 as a month's bonus?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; and \$20 as wages.

Mr. RAKER. Just before you pass that; with whom does the contract man enter into the contract?

Mr. MEAD. With the plantation.

Mr. RAKER. With the owner?

Mr. MEAD. With the plantation as represented by the manager.

Mr. RAKER. With one man?

Mr. MEAD. No; usually there are many men in the contract. If a dozen men take a field under a contract, they sign that contract individually, each one of them, with the plantation, and the settlement is made at the end of the time.

Mr. RAKER. Then he has to work a certain plot of ground?

Mr. MEAD. He has to work a certain plot of ground, a certain area.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I was asking you. Supposing a man has 1,000 acres; he divides that off in plots from 5 acres up?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; it varies. I do not know of any contracts covering as low as 5 acres.

Mr. RAKER. What is the lowest?

Mr. MEAD. I could not tell you about that; I do not know.

Mr. RAKER. Supposing it is 20 acres: There will be four or five men take a contract?

Mr. MEAD. The average, I think, is about one man to 9 or 9½ or 10 acres. It usually works out that way, I believe.

Mr. RAKER. I think I get that now.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Depending on what part of the island the plantation is located, the number of acres that a man can cultivate properly is determined?

Mr. MEAD. Oh, very largely so.

Mr. RAKER. He gets how much a month?

Mr. MEAD. Well, the advances vary. I think the last year they were discussing advancing \$20 a month, or more per month.

Mr. RAKER. Supposing we take 100 acres and there are five men who take that 100 acres. They are given \$20 a month and then the bonus. Supposing there is no production on that 20 acres; then what do they get?

Mr. MEAD. Then they are settled with according to the day wages, depending very largely on the contractor. If the contractor has been very efficient and has done good work, then the plantation makes a settlement with him at a rate somewhat above the day wages.

Mr. RAKER. What would that be?

Mr. MEAD. I should imagine a good contractor would probably be settled with now at the rate of perhaps \$32 or \$33 a month.

Mr. RAKER. So that if there was no production on those 100 acres—

Mr. MEAD. That is, if the production failed, so that he did not get back his advances, you mean?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; then those five contractors and laborers would get about how much?

Mr. MEAD. I think they would be settled with at the rate of about \$30 or \$32 a month, if they had done good work.

Mr. RAKER. And if he had not done good work?

Mr. MEAD. Then they would settle with him at the rate of day wages.

Mr. RAKER. That would be what?

Mr. MEAD. \$30; that is, of course, discretionary with the plantation manager. It depends on whether the men have been diligent, or whether they have been loafers.

Mr. WILSON. Now, I understand that under this contract system, say, a planter has 100 acres that he wants planted and cultivated to sugar; he simply takes Li Hung Chang and associates and enters into a contract for its cultivation?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. And the planter signs and the laborers sign that contract?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. And then they will cultivate it in sugar for a year?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; until it is harvested.

Mr. WILSON. At a certain stipulated price?

Mr. MEAD. At a certain stipulated price per ton for the cane that is raised on that plantation.

Mr. BOX. The cultivation of the crop extends over more than one year, does it not?

Mr. MEAD. Oh, yes; these contracts usually run for 18 months.

Mr. WILSON. What are the stipulations in this contract relative to what happens during the time of a strike?

Mr. MEAD. If the men leave their contract, the plantation has the right to pay them off for the work they have done and take over the field. If they go on strike, I believe there has never been, so far, a provision in the contract which would protect the plantation. I believe the contracts entered into this year are drawn to protect the plantation on that point. For instance, during the strike of 1920, the contractors, notwithstanding their agreement, left the fields and it was a question when they came back to those fields whether

or not they should be paid for the cane that was harvested in those fields—whether they should be paid the full rate or just what sort of a settlement should be made with them.

Mr. RAKER. Why don't they pay a regular monthly wage?

Mr. MEAD. Because the contract system is far better for our conditions. The men work better; they have a stake in the cane and they cultivate the ground better and look after the fields better in every way. Their compensation is dependent very largely on the efforts in getting good crops; they do not require the supervision the daymen require, and in every way it is better. If we had to go back to the old system of the day wage, it would require a good many more men than it does now.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does that bonus begin on the plantation? Does the bookkeeper get any of that bonus?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; right now. They have had various systems for dealing with skilled men, what we call skilled men, receiving \$50 or over a month. This year that bonus, as I understand, applies to all the laborers and all the men.

The CHAIRMAN. To everybody employed?

Mr. MEAD. So I understand.

Mr. WILSON. Is that rated as a profit-sharing proposition?

Mr. MEAD. It is not profit sharing, because it is not dependent on the idea of profits, exactly. You probably might call it a prosperity sharing bonus. If the price of sugar is high, he gets a large bonus; if the price of sugar gets below a profitable price, then the laborers do not share.

Mr. WILSON. Then it is profit sharing.

Mr. MEAD. Well, profit sharing, of course, in the ordinary acceptance of the term "profit sharing," means you set aside a certain portion of your profits for the purpose of distribution among the labor. Now, a lot of our plantations are paying a bonus, and they are not profitable.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, they pay the bonus, and they might not make as much as 6 per cent on the investment?

Mr. MEAD. A number of the plantations have not paid dividends for a good many years, but, nevertheless, they pay the bonus.

Mr. HORNER. Is not the bonus paid on the price of sugar, regardless of whether the planters make a profit or not?

Mr. MEAD. Oh, absolutely.

Mr. BOX. They share in the gross receipts?

Mr. MEAD. Now, on the question of the perquisites: In addition to the wages and bonus which the laborers receive from the plantations, they are provided, without charge, with a house, in the case of families; with living quarters in the case of single men; with fuel, water, medical attendance, and with hospital treatment for themselves and their families. I have tried in the past to get more or less definite figures of the cost to the plantation of these perquisites, but it has been a very difficult matter. Water, for instance, on some of the plantations is a very valuable commodity; on other plantations where the rainfall goes up as high as 200 inches, it is more or less of a waste commodity. The question of fuel is also a very difficult matter to determine, as to what the value of it is. Fuel on nearly all of the plantations is a very expensive item. They have to go up in the mountains and get the wood down, and I know of one plantation that

supplies coal to the laborers, and I know others, when I left there in November, that were discussing the advisability of giving them kerosene stoves and supplying them with kerosene as fuel. So that you can not find out from any general figures the value of the various perquisites. Hospitals, for instance—some of the plantations have very elaborate hospitals—hospitals equal to any they have in the State that I have ever seen; very well equipped with a full medical corps and nurses, and others have more modest establishments, and I think a very conservative estimate of the cost of these perquisites, the cost of the houses, fuel, water, hospital, and medical treatment, and so forth, equals about \$10 per month per laborer; that is, as a matter of plantation investment.

Mr. BOX. That is for the house?

Mr. MEAD. For the house, water, fuel, and all the prerequisites. For the laborer to have to go out and rent a house and provide himself with the things that the plantation provides him with free of charge, I should say it would cost him up to \$20 or \$25 a month.

Mr. RAKER. What kind of a house do they get?

Mr. MEAD. Well, they get a pretty good house. Some of the houses, of course, are better than others; but the average house is pretty fair.

Mr. RAKER. Do they get hot and cold water?

Mr. MEAD. No; they do not get hot and cold water; but every plantation camp, most all of the plantation camps, and I guess I can say every plantation camp, has a bathhouse, where especially the Japanese have hot water, where they bathe every day. The Japanese are very clean; the Chinese the same. They have to have hot water. The other people bathe in their own houses or avail themselves of the facilities furnished by every or nearly every camp.

Mr. RAKER. Do they have separate compartments or separate rooms, or are three or four required to be in one room?

Mr. MEAD. The single men, I think, are put two in a room nowadays. They used to put more in a room, but I think nowadays they only put two in a room.

The CHAIRMAN. They compare with the houses which the Japanese erect for themselves in California, do they not?

Mr. MEAD. I have been in the Philippines and Porto Rico, and in neither of those countries or on the mainland have I seen any common laborers housed as well as the laborers are in Hawaii, and improvements are going on all the time. They are increasing their facilities and building better houses. There are still some of the plantations, some of the unprofitable plantations, where the houses are not as good as others, naturally; but, as the plantations can they are replacing those older types of houses and putting in better houses.

Mr. RAKER. About what is the size of the force working at one of those plantations? It varies, I suppose?

Mr. MEAD. Oh, it varies. It varies according to the size of the plantation, naturally. I think the Hawaiian Commercial employs up to 3,300 men. That plantation produces normally about 50,000 or 55,000 tons of sugar a year.

Mr. RAKER. Does each plantation have its own mill on the plantation?

Mr. MEAD. Yes. There are a few plantations where they do not. Their cane is ground in the adjoining mill. They have grinding contracts.

Mr. RAKER. So that they keep their growing and mill laborers all on the same plantation?

Mr. MEAD. Yes. Now, there is no seasonal employment, such as exists on the mainland, Porto Rico, or in Cuba. The laborers in Hawaii are afforded employment for every day in the year if they want to work. That does not seem a very large proposition, but it is a very important matter—the proposition of continuous employment throughout the year. When the mill closes, the men go out in the field; so that there is never unemployment such as you have in the States here after the harvest season and such as exists in Cuba after the harvest season, or in Porto Rico.

Those wages I consider compare very favorably with the wages in the east of the United States and in the South. They do not compare with the wages in California or the West, where they have the highest wage for farm labor paid anywhere in the United States.

Mr. RAKER. So that there will be no misunderstanding, say a plantation has 5,000 acres, the growing of the cane and the milling of it and putting the sugar in the raw state is all done on that plantation?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And that is ready, when it is hauled to the wharf, to be shipped to the refinery?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. Box. And there is no separation, so far as your general employment classes are concerned, between those who work in the fields and those who work in the mills?

Mr. MEAD. Oh, no. The mill is run for 24 hours a day during the harvesting season; and when the mill closes then they go out in the fields.

Mr. Box. And those brought in for these agricultural pursuits named here would work in those mills, too?

Mr. MEAD. I assume so. The mills down there are not considered as manufacturing industries; they are considered as part of the agricultural industry, as a part of the plantation.

Mr. RAKER. And none of the sugar is refined in Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. There is only one sugar refinery in Hawaii, on the Honolulu plantation, where they produce about 20,000 tons of refined sugar.

Mr. RAKER. And the rest of it is put on the boat in the raw state and shipped to the various refineries in California, Philadelphia, and New York?

Mr. MEAD. Up to the present year, and for several years past, they sent nearly all their sugar to the California-Hawaiian Sugar Refining Co. to be refined in California. This year, I believe they are sending 150,000 tons to eastern refineries.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I am obliged to leave, and I desire to ask this gentleman a few questions. You say you have been in the Philippines and Porto Rico for the purpose of trying to secure labor?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. That was last year?

Mr. MEAD. The Philippine immigration started in 1909. I was there in 1910, 1912, and 1914, looking over the field. We have a force of men out there working for us. The Filipinos and Porto Ricans, of course, can always come to the United States; they have the same rights and privileges of travel as I have.

Mr. SABATH. But there are some aliens in Porto Rico that are employed there from time to time, who migrate from Porto Rico, foreign labor, is there not?

Mr. MEAD. No; there has been no immigration to Porto Rico.

Mr. SABATH. None at all?

Mr. MEAD. There has never been any immigration to Porto Rico that I know of. Porto Rico is a small island of less than 4,000 square miles.

Mr. SABATH. They have some Chinese there, have they not?

Mr. MEAD. No; they have 1,300,000 Porto Ricans on that island, and have the most crowded conditions I have ever seen anywhere, even in China. I have never been any place where the conditions of the laboring man and the lack of opportunities for advancement so depressed me as in Porto Rico.

Mr. SABATH. One more question and then I am through. What effect will this immigration have upon the conditions on your islands? For instance, if this measure is favorably acted upon and you will secure 15,000 or 20,000 of these men, what effect will it have upon the laborers now upon your island?

Mr. MEAD. It will have no effect upon them that I know of.

Mr. SABATH. Won't that throw a great many people out of employment?

Mr. MEAD. Oh, no. Of course, I have not been in Hawaii since November, but I have talked with this commission in regard to the present shortage and I would say that 15,000 people could be very easily absorbed—15,000 laborers can be absorbed in Hawaii at the present time.

Mr. SABATH. Is it the aim in securing these laborers to supplement those now on strike?

Mr. MEAD. No.

Mr. SABATH. Or is it to relieve a general shortage in addition to those?

Mr. MEAD. I think there is a little misunderstanding in regard to the question of that strike. There were about 6,000 Japanese on the plantations on the Island of Oahu who went on strike. When the strike was over I would say that from 75 to 80 per cent of those men returned to their former employments. When the final bonus period came in November and the laborers received their final bonus, already having received a considerable monthly bonus, a great many of them returned to Japan and a great many of the Filipinos to the Philippines. I do not think that the shortage of labor out there is in any way due to the strike of 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the bonus is so great they are taking a vacation?

Mr. MEAD. They had more money than they knew what to do with, and they went back home, mostly.

Mr. RAKER. You speak of the condition of Porto Rico: Those Porto Ricans can go now to the Hawaiian Islands even under the present law?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. They can go anyhow?

The CHAIRMAN. You can take 50 shiploads of them?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, if they wished to go.

Mr. RAKER. Now the condition being as you describe in Porto Rico, of there being so many people there that it is more thickly and densely populated than China, with these wages you pay and with the conditions you offer people in Hawaii, why don't you get them there?

Mr. MEAD. I was there for two months for that purpose exactly. I made an agreement with the Government there reciting the wages and conditions of employment regarding which I have already testified to before this committee, and went out in the field with my men to recruit.

Mr. SABATH. Where, in Porto Rico?

Mr. MEAD. In Porto Rico. I got all sorts of encouragement from the men themselves and I felt so happy over the situation that I entered into negotiations for a charter of the steamer *Princess Matioka*, and it was going to cost the Hawaiian sugar planters \$225,000 to get that steamer to take that shipment of Porto Ricans. While I was out in the field getting the shipment ready the two most influential newspapers in Porto Rico began an attack on the immigration, and the reason for the attack—I will have to go back a little bit. They had an emigration of about 50,000 Porto Ricans to the States during the war, and they had an emigration of Porto Ricans to Cuba, and in each instance the emigration was apparently so poorly conducted and they took people apparently not suitable for the kind of work in which they wanted to employ them here in the United States, that a great many complaints came back and there are now several hundred Porto Ricans in New York who are pestering the Porto Rican Government to bring them home. And the newspapers took the stand they were opposed to emigration anywhere; that the emigration to Hawaii, as we did not propose to repatriate them, was a bad thing for the Porto Ricans, and advised them not to go to Hawaii.

I went to a town called Penuelas, where our recruiters got together something like 50 families for examination by a doctor we had in our employ, and a planter there read them a lot of these newspaper clippings and dispersed every man in that bunch. I went to a town called Guayanilla and found the mayor of the town had done exactly the same thing. And I found the same thing in Lajas, where there is a tremendous population, where the people work a few days in the sugar fields there and the rest of the time starve, and found this same propaganda had gotten in there and it defeated our purpose there. I went then to one or two other places, to a place called Adjuntas, up in the mountains, where we were getting a very nice class of people that these newspapers did not reach, and those people stayed with us. How long they would have stayed, I do not know; but after going over the field and finding out the feeling and what the leading newspapers said, I canceled the *Matoika* and left a man in charge and came back here. Just before leaving there we started a counter propaganda, and I believe we are going to make some headway.

Mr. SABATH. Where were these 40,000 Porto Ricans taken during the war?

Mr. MEAD. To the South somewhere; I do not know just where.

Mr. SABATH. And they went to work with the understanding they would go back?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know the conditions of employment; I do not think there were any conditions of repatriation.

The CHAIRMAN. They were solicited by the United States Department of Labor; and if the war kept on longer there would have been a great many more.

Mr. MEAD. We had the same trouble in 1900. We took some Porto Ricans to Hawaii then. The recruiting was done by an agent of the association in Porto Rico. He was not directly connected with us and he recruited anybody and everybody. The result was we got a lot of people from the towns; we got a lot of criminals and generally bad people, and they made a great deal of trouble for us. They complained and kicked and refused to work and did everything they could to make trouble and to make trouble for the Porto Rican Government also.

Mr. RAKER. I do not quite understand what you mean, that there was objection on the ground of repatriation. Could not those people go from Porto Rico to Hawaii and still be American citizens?

Mr. MEAD. Oh, yes. By repatriation, I mean we refused to pay their passage back to Porto Rico; refused to repatriate them at our expense.

Mr. RAKER. Would they have come if you had done that?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know whether they would have come if we had done that, or not; but it was something we could not stand for. In the first place, there are no regular lines of steamers between Porto Rico and Hawaii, and we have to charter special steamers to get them there; and we can not agree to send them back, after a few years, because of the enormous expenditure.

The CHAIRMAN. People emigrated from Spain to the United States in very considerable numbers and within the last eight months they have found themselves out of work and that Government is appropriating money for their return to Spain. I suppose that is repatriation?

Mr. MEAD. I have been following the labor situation in Hawaii for so many years, I am more or less proud of the advance the Hawaiian planters have made and, before I forget it, I would like to read what a very impartial observer says. This is an address by Dr. Franklin L. Hoffman, who is the statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Co. He has a wide reputation along statistical lines. In this address he made this statement:

It has been my privilege to examine personally perhaps half of the labor camps on the principal islands, and, broadly speaking, their conditions conform as nearly as possible to a reasonable ideal as could be expected in the case of a population largely of oriental, or otherwise Asiatic, origin. It is something very considerably to the credit of the Hawaiian sugar planters that in this respect they should have set an example of humanitarian consideration and conformity to the exacting principles of sanitary science far in advance of most of the plantation housing conditions in the Southern States of the mainland, or of Cuba and Porto Rico. It is even more to their credit that they should have provided better hospital facilities and free medical aid to a relatively low class of oriental or Filipino labor on the Hawaiian sugar plantations than is available at the present time to most of the agricultural population, rich and poor, white and black, on the mainland of the United States. Such hospitals as are to be found on the island of Kauai at Lihue and on the island of Maui at Puunene challenge comparison with any similar institution as regards the equipment, nursing care, medical supervision, and even the keeping of card records, on the mainland. It is primarily due to the persistent efforts on the part of the planters to improve sanitary and housing conditions, hospital facilities, and provide food at reasonable

prices for plantation laborers, combined with adequate wages, free fuel, pure water, etc., and the hearty cooperation of an efficient and thoroughly well organized Territorial board of health that such far-reaching sanitary results have been achieved in recent years.

There is the testimony of a man who had no connection at all with the Hawaiian sugar industry. He went out there and made an examination of general conditions for the Prudential Life Insurance Co.

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, I have just found an opportunity to look into the report on labor conditions in Hawaii, and a letter from the Secretary of Labor transmitting the Fifth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics on labor conditions in Hawaii for 1915. In the letter of transmittal it is stated that this is a report transmitted by Dr. Victor S. Clark, under authority of law, and the Department of Labor says that this is a work for which Dr. Clark is especially qualified. I find a number of very interesting statements here, I take it, covering a lot of the matters which we are now trying to examine into. This covers the conditions in 1915. It is an extremely readable report. Is that a report which is made annually?

Mr. MEAD. It was made annually up to 1904, when they changed it to a five-year report. It is now published every five years instead of annually. I think Dr. Clark has, with the exception of the first report, either made or assisted in making each of the reports since that time. At one time Dr. Clark was in charge of the Hawaiian territorial board of immigration, so he is particularly well qualified to report on labor conditions in Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. He is in the employ of the Federal Government, is he?

Mr. MEAD. He was at that time. I understand he is now the editor of The Living Age.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have the authority to put in any extracts you wish as a part of your statement, and it might be a good idea to put in the record some extracts from this report.

Mr. MEAD. I will be glad to do that.

Mr. RAKER. May I ask Mr. White a question which will save a good deal of time? Mr. White, in Kansas, during the last three years about what was the average wage for agricultural laborers, without board?

Mr. WHITE. Does the gentleman mean—I want to be very careful, if this is in order—does the gentleman mean the wage for consecutive laborers employed by the year, with houses and fuel furnished?

Mr. RAKER. No. What I mean is this: Suppose a man worked a month or two months or three months; he worked by the day, and he was paid by the day?

Mr. WHITE. You mean for seasonal work?

Mr. RAKER. Seasonal work?

Mr. WHITE. Harvesting and thrashing?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. Well, I should say the wages ran from \$5 to \$10 a day and found.

Mr. RAKER. And found?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOX. What does "and found" mean?

Mr. WHITE. That means board and lodging.

Mr. BOX. I know what it means, but I would like to have you state that for the record.

Mr. WHITE. That is in harvesting and threshing.

Mr. RAKER. This will save a good deal of time, and I just want to make the comparison and ask a few more questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness has not dealt with seasonal labor at all.

Mr. RAKER. I am going to ask that question in a moment. What was paid for seasonal labor, where there was no "found"?

Mr. WHITE. I do not know of any such labor. You refer to agricultural work?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. A man who works on a farm in Kansas gets three meals a day and a bed. If he does not get that it is because he does not work.

Mr. RAKER. During the last three years how much, per month, has he gotten for that work?

Mr. WHITE. That labor is by the day, that seasonal work.

Mr. RAKER. But there are others who do work by the year?

Mr. WHITE. I am only able to speak for my own locality.

Mr. RAKER. Let us get that, it will probably make a comparison possible.

Mr. WHITE. Well, I will give the gentleman from California this illustration, if he will allow me to complete my statement. I have a man working on one of my farms and I pay him \$68 for the year, for four weeks, which is about \$74 per month, furnishing him his fuel. He cuts it; it is pretty tough. I furnish him his house with six rooms and a basement, and furnish him all the land he wants for the use of his family, on which to raise garden truck, vegetables, etc. I furnish him all of the fuel he cares to get cut.

Mr. RAKER. Now——

Mr. WHITE (interposing). Hold on. He has the use of three cows; I feed them. He owns one and I feed it. I furnish him with the other two.

Mr. SHAW. Is he not a farmer rather than a workingman?

Mr. WHITE. He is a manager, a superintendent, and he works himself.

The CHAIRMAN. He works for a wage?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir; by the year.

The CHAIRMAN. He gets no bonus from you?

Mr. WHITE. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. He gets the vegetables he uses for his family, and all those things?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; I should say it is equivalent to probably about \$2,000 a year.

Mr. RAKER. That is equivalent to about \$2,000 a year?

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOX. He is the manager of your farm?

Mr. WHITE. Yes; he superintends my farm and he furnishes me with a weekly report.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Mead, from your statement, I take it, that even with the bonus paid these men, the total amount paid them is not more than is paid the ordinary common laborer in agriculture?

Mr. MEAD. In the West, yes.

Mr. RAKER. Is there any other place in the United States, including its Territories, where a man is employed on terms similar to the terms of that employment in Hawaii, by a contract running for 18 months?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know anything at all about the contract system here in connection with the raising of agricultural products; that is, in the States. But if you will permit me, I would like to read an extract from one of the Washington papers, quoting something from Chestertown, Md. This is a dispatch from Chestertown, Md., under date of January 27. It says:

CHESTERTOWN, MD., January 27.

A new wage scale for farm labor was adopted at a mass meeting of farmers here. The scale calls for a day's work to be from sunup to sundown, with the following compensation:

The maximum wage for a month laborer to be \$25 a month with board and keep for laborer's horse, or \$30 a month with board and no keep for the horse.

The maximum wage for a day laborer for regular farm work to be \$1 a day and board.

The maximum wage for a woman's work in a farmhouse kitchen, including washing, to be \$15 a month, or \$10 a month without washing.

We pay our women laborers on the plantations in Hawaii \$22.50 a month.

Mr. RAKER. What I was trying to get at was this: You prefer contract labor?

Mr. MEAD. We prefer—well, I do not say we prefer contract labor. We prefer the contract system of doing our work.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I meant when I said contract labor. That practically holds a man down for a year or 18 months?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. So he is bound on his job for that length of time?

Mr. MEAD. No; I would not say exactly that, because he can leave at any time he wants to. But the avidity with which they take a contract of that kind would surprise you.

Mr. RAKER. If a man leaves you he loses the bonus?

Mr. MEAD. No; he does not.

The CHAIRMAN. I have been over there, and I know they seek such a contract.

Mr. RAKER. I would not doubt that.

The CHAIRMAN. The conditions are not bad. I have been down 60 miles from here in Maryland, in St. Marys County, and I have found that the condition of much of the colored population down there is worse than anything in Hawaii, in any area or on any plantation on any island of the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. RAKER. It all amounts to this, does it not, that so far as the laborer ever getting any hold in this business or any part of the land by his working and saving is concerned, he can not do it?

The CHAIRMAN. He has no more chance than he would have on certain plantations in California.

Mr. RAKER. Oh, now, Mr. Chairman, you ought not to compare these conditions with conditions in California.

Mr. MEAD. I would not say there is never a chance of his getting anything. There have been a great many homesteads of cane land taken up by Portuguese and other citizens.

Mr. RAKER. I mean so far as the plantations are concerned.

Mr. MEAD. So far as the plantations themselves are concerned, there is no chance.

Mr. RAKER. There are 43 plantations, according to the census report, and according to that report all of the sugar-cane industry is under the control of 43 corporations. Is that correct?

Mr. MEAD. That is not altogether true; no, sir. There are some of the plantations that are held individually—by individual owners—like the Grove Farm.

The CHAIRMAN. But to begin with, we ought to realize that the complete area of all the Hawaiian Islands is not large.

Mr. Box. I would like to get the names referred to in the census report.

The CHAIRMAN. These lands that can be cultivated are the lands known as the highly cultivated lands, which means cane land, and that is comparatively small in area. Sugar, as a crop to be produced, has to be produced on a large scale, or on a large plantation. We have had this same matter up in the Committee on Territories, of which I am also a member, and the one great trouble we have had there is the fact that leases to these sugar plantations, on some of the large areas, are about to expire, after having been in existence for 30 years, and the homestead laws are such that they have to be homesteaded, and when they are homesteaded, it is done by lottery, and our Japanese friends come in and win their full proportion in the lottery and will soon have what has been a large plantation in homestead tracts, and then if they are going to continue sugar planting they have to combine the tracts and have some kind of a big organization to cover enough land to make it profitable to run a sugar outfit, including railroads, storehouses, stores, and houses for the laborers, and all that sort of thing. Sugar raising is done on a big scale or not at all.

Mr. MEAD. It has to be a centralized industry to be successful. There are several plantations, Mr. Raker, which are owned and controlled by individuals, such as the Grove Farm, Gay and Robinson, on the island of Kauai, and on the Island of Hawaii there are the Hhawi, the Puakea and the Niuli plantations.

Mr. RAKER. That means simply a laboring proposition for the laboring man. There is no future hope of his getting an interest in the land and getting into the business himself, is there?

Mr. MEAD. I would say there is very little. I will make that statement very frankly. I think there is very little chance of a plantation laborer getting an area of land in a plantation.

Mr. WHITE. Can he acquire any interest in the stock?

Mr. MEAD. He can acquire it in the market. There is no more chance of my getting an interest in a plantation than there is of the laborer getting an interest in it; I can buy the stock in the market, and he can do it too.

The CHAIRMAN. That is where the land is owned and not leased?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Ultimately, following the present trend of things, the person who can not become a citizen is just as likely to have control of the land there as such a person is likely to have control of the land in California.

Mr. MEAD. If he could get control of the labor situation down there and thereby control the plantations.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, only last summer this committee was called upon to investigate a situation at Turlock, Calif., which was creating a disturbance. They had to deal with the cantaloupe industry. The cantaloupe raisers, who raise them on large areas, had employed Japanese as against the migratory union fruit pickers of the regular American Federation of Labor organization. These producers were paying 5 per cent less to the Japanese, who were being supplied by some invisible system, and they always came out in the night time, and the organized American citizens were out of work. There were 400 or 500 of them idle in the little town of Turlock. That is the trouble with oriental labor.

Mr. MEAD. I would like to say just a word in regard to some of the information which Mr. Farrington was called upon to give. The strike of 1920 started in January of that year, and it was not brought about by demands made by Japanese laborers on those plantations. The demands were made by an organization of Japanese called the Japanese Federation of Labor. The original directorate of that Japanese Federation of Labor did not have a single laborer on it. The men in charge, the Japanese in charge, were newspaper men, a storekeeper or two, and principally agitators, men who were undesirable from every standpoint and who were even considered so by the more responsible Japanese. There was not an American citizen among those organizers. They made the demands, the Japanese Federation of Labor made the demands upon the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association refused to have anything to do with them. They thereupon called the laborers out from the plantations, and the laborers did not make any demands at all upon the plantations until a considerable time afterwards. When the strike was over, as I have previously said, most of those men went back to their work.

(Thereupon the committee adjourned to meet to-morrow, Thursday, June 23, 1921, at 10 o'clock, a. m.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, June 23, 1921.

The committee met at 10 o'clock, a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

- The CHAIRMAN. I would like to state for the record that Hon. John I. Nolan, a Member of Congress from California, by letter dated May 23, 1921, has submitted to this committee a copy of resolutions adopted by the Iron Moulders' Union of North America, Local No. 350, Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, and also a copy of resolutions adopted by the Central Labor Council of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, with regard to the proposal to bring labor into the Territory and notice of opposition to that proposal. Representative Nolan also said he would like to be heard by the committee, and he will be called to appear before the committee before these hearings close. A representative of the American Federation of Labor resident here

in Washington has also asked to be heard, and will be called before the committee.

I will insert the resolutions by Mr. Nolan in the record at this point. (The resolutions referred to are as follows:)

IRON MOULDERS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA,
LOCAL No. 350,
Honolulu, T. H., May 5, 1921.

Referring to the concurrent resolution passed by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii authorizing the appointment of a so-called labor commission to go to Washington to urge the necessity of importing Chinese coolie labor into the Territory, we beg to present the protest of the Iron Moulders' Union of North America in opposition to any such scheme.

Our opposition is based upon the following considerations:

We maintain that there is not at present any serious shortage in the available supply of labor in this Territory, and that the representations of the sugar planters to that effect are false and misleading, being based upon data that does not cover the grounds, and that the efforts put forth in behalf of this scheme are for the sinister purpose of creating an oversupply of labor with the end in view of introducing a cheaper substitute for the present labor element, and thus inevitably lowering the present standards of living, not only among the Japanese and Filipinos but among those of the white race and of American nationality.

The whole wage system of any community is based upon the lowest wages paid to unskilled labor, and a material reduction of the standards of those at the lowest subsistence level must affect the entire structure of our social and economic life.

We can not endure to have a virtual system of peonage, with all of its attendant evils, introduced into an already complicated situation.

The present shortage of the sugar crop is not due to the lack of labor, but it is a direct result of the strike of last year, which affected the growing crop and reduced the production for the present year.

We call your attention to the fact that under the organic act it is required that an industrial survey of the Territory be held every five years, and we are advised that 1921 is the year in which this survey falls due. Any action that our legislature contemplates in this matter should be deferred until after the report of a competent and impartial commission such as would be appointed under the Federal Department of Labor. If such report shows an actual shortage of labor, which is now claimed, then and not now will be the time of devising some adequate and satisfactory remedy. Then, again, we wish to brand this idea of importing Chinese coolies or any other cheap labor from a foreign country as un-American. This Territory is already flooded with orientals; the last census will vouch for this. Our aim is to Americanize this Territory and make it a place where the middleman may earn and keep earning a living wage. To-day we are competing with the Jap, which is bad enough, and if the planters are allowed to flood this Territory with cheap foreign labor we Americans will be compelled to leave here.

We beg to remain, very respectfully,

MANUEL SOUGA, *President.*
PAUL GREGORY,
J. H. MULHALL,
M. GONDON,
ED BLUNDON,

Committee.

CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL OF HONOLULU, HAWAII,
May 2, 1921.

HON. J. I. NOLAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Referring to the concurrent resolution passed by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, authorizing the appointment of a so-called labor commission to go to Washington to urge the necessity of importing Chinese coolie labor into the Territory, we beg to present the protest of organized labor in opposition to any such scheme.

Our opposition is based upon the following considerations:

We maintain that there is not at present any serious shortage in the available supply of labor in the Territory and that the representations of the sugar planters to that effect are false and misleading, being based upon data that does not cover the ground, and that the efforts put forth in behalf of this scheme are for the sinister purpose of

creating an oversupply of labor with the end in view of introducing a cheaper substitute for the present labor element and thus inevitably lowering the present standards of living, not only among the Japanese and Filipinos, but among those of the white race and of American nationality.

The whole wage system of any community is based upon the lowest wages paid to unskilled labor, and a material reduction of the standards of those at the lowest subsistence level must affect the entire structure of our social and economic life. We can not endure to have a virtual system of peonage with all its attendant evils introduced into an already complicated situation.

The present shortage in the sugar crop is not due to the lack of labor, but it is a direct result of the strike of last year which affected the growing crop and reduced the production for the present year.

We call your attention to the fact that under the organic act it is required that an industrial survey of the Territory be held every five years, and we are advised that 1921 is the year in which this survey falls due. Any further action as the legislature contemplates in this matter should be deferred until after the report of a competent and impartial commission, such as would be appointed under the Federal Department of Labor. If such report shows the actual shortage of labor which is now claimed, then it will be time to think of devising some adequate and satisfactory remedy.

To send this commission of labor (so-called) to Washington at this time as the last act of the present session of the legislature would smell too strongly of "undue influence" and would bring into the present rather strained situation another element of suspicion and distrust. We state frankly that organized labor will resist to the last any such effort aimed at creating artificial unemployment in the Territory by flooding the plantations with a horde of coolies.

We beg to remain, very respectfully,

GEO. W. WRIGHT, *President*,
 JOS. I. WHITTLE,
 J. H. PASCOE,
 L. S. LLOYD,
Committee.

STATEMENT OF MR. ROYAL D. MEAD, HONOLULU, HAWAII, REPRESENTING THE HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSO- CIATION—Resumed.

MR. MEAD. There is one further statement I would like to make in connection with this matter before closing my part of it, and that is this: The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, whom I represent, have never instructed me in any way in connection with the work of this emergency labor commission. They have informed me that the commission was organized under a resolution of the Legislature of Hawaii, and that the commission, which has come on here, represents the Territory and all of the employing interests and no special interests, by which I take it that whatever I have to say is only my own individual statement, that whatever statements I may make are my own personal statements, and that the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association is taking no part in this at all.

I want to add also that early in this year, in March, I received cable instructions from them to proceed to Porto Rico to recruit 3,300 families of agricultural laborers for Hawaii, the labor conditions at that time being very acute. The Porto Rican immigration is going to be a most expensive proposition. The Shipping Board has fixed a rate of \$125 as fare for an adult from Porto Rico to the Hawaiian Islands, and I estimate that the families will run approximately 3 adults to the family, making 9,900 adults to be sent from Porto Rico to Hawaii. Figuring the cost at \$125 per adult, you can see that it will cost the Sugar Planters' Association, in transportation alone, approximately a million and a quarter dollars. That

shows what they are up against, and what they are willing to do in order to save their crops.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you reside in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; Honolulu is my home.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to give the committee any observations as to the future of the Hawaiian Islands, in regard to persons there who are nonassimilable people?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; I am willing to make those statements, if the committee desires me to do so. But I will say to you that I believe that is a matter which is more for the commission than for me. I have decided views upon the situation out there, which I have studied a good many years from the standpoint of labor and from the standpoint of population. But it is, perhaps, more a matter for the commission than it is for me to discuss with you. Some statements, perhaps, should not be put into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The point in my mind is this, that I would like to have this committee have as a matter of record the very statements which so many think should not be for the record. In the House of Representatives I happen to be ranking Republican member of the House Committee on Territories, and in that committee I have learned a good deal about land troubles and Japanese troubles and matters of that kind out in the Hawaiian Islands.

I am perfectly willing to state for the record that if these questions are left somewhat to the people over there to work out, I think the control of the Hawaiian Islands is absolutely in danger—that is, the control by the United States. I think it is inevitable, unless we get some legislative action that all of the lands that can be homesteaded, or at least a large proportion of them, will fall into the hands of American-born Japanese.

Mr. Box. Would not those lands also be held for the benefit of their racial kindred?

The CHAIRMAN. Exactly. When the time comes, the Japanese will out-vote the other population. Furthermore, my opinion is that as the Japanese are homesteading the highly cultivated lands, which are the lands used for the raising of sugar, they will themselves organize sugar companies.

I am not concerned with the statement made here yesterday that there are a limited number of corporations handling the sugar plantations. I happen to know that the sugar plantations have to be large or they can not be successfully conducted. I have been hoping that at some time some citizen of the Territory would outline the Japanese problem clearly and carefully. If no one will present the statements which really make the situation acute in Hawaii, that is, the race situation, then I am willing to place before the committee all of the matter that has come into my possession. Those who were members of the committee of inquiry in California last year will remember the statements of Chester Rowell, who had then just returned from Hawaii. Perhaps we shall discuss that phase of it a little later.

I want to ask you this question: Are you familiar with the wages paid on the sugar plantations in the United States?

Mr. MEAD. Labor in the continental sugar industry is largely seasonal, and wages depend on the section of the country and upon the demand for and scarcity of labor in the locality. No such conditions obtain in Hawaii, where fixed wages are paid to laborers.

with certain established perquisites, for continuous labor during the entire year. On account of seasonal conditions of mainland labor, wages vary widely according to locality and time and no reliable estimate is possible.

The CHAIRMAN. The sugar raised in Hawaii has to compete not only with the sugar grown in the United States, but also with sugar grown everywhere else?

Mr. MEAD. I would not say that the sugar grown in Hawaii competes, exactly. Competition is the other way. The competition is on the part of Cuba. When Cuba has an enormous crop, as it has had this year, it adversely affects the continental, the Hawaiian, the Porto Rican, and the Philippine industry. They can raise sugar in Cuba cheaper than it can be raised in any other part of the world.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood you to say you thought I meant the beet-sugar industry. I mean plantations in other parts of the United States as well.

Mr. MEAD. The only place on the continent where they raise any quantity of cane sugar is in Louisiana. The Louisiana conditions this year are well nigh hopeless.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. MEAD. They have had a bad year. They have had a very cheap price of sugar. Their costs have always been higher than those in any other sugar-producing country I know of, and they are really in a bad condition.

The CHAIRMAN. You are coming to the point I am trying to bring out; that is to say, the cost of producing sugar in Louisiana is high—

Mr. MEAD (interposing). Very high.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the labor costs high?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know that their labor costs are so high. They were last year. Just what they are this year, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. The sugar growers in Louisiana could not pay more for common labor than is paid in Hawaii and hope to compete with the Hawaiian sugar growers?

Mr. MEAD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And Hawaii can not pay more for common labor on its sugar plantations and hope to compete with Cuba?

Mr. MEAD. No; that could not be done.

The CHAIRMAN. How do the prices range for common labor on the sugar plantations, as between Cuba and Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. As between Hawaii and Cuba, I think at the present time they are about on a par. During the harvesting season in Cuba I think they pay their labor more than we pay ours. But that is purely seasonal labor, and it does not cost anything in addition to the mere wage. They do not house the labor down there, they do not keep the labor on their plantations all the time. They employ labor there during the time when they need the laborers. While, for a few months in the year they may be receiving slightly higher wages than the same class of labor in the Hawaiian Islands, the average during the year is more in favor of Hawaii than Cuba.

The CHAIRMAN. The cost of carrying that labor in Hawaii would make it cost more than the Cuban labor?

Mr. MEAD. Considerably more. Of course, there are other conditions which exist in Hawaii that do not exist in Cuba. Cuba has

practically none of the big problems that we have in Hawaii; none of the expensive problems that we have in Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. Hawaiian sugar is on the free list, and always has been?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; for many years.

The CHAIRMAN. And Cuban sugar is not on the free list?

Mr. MEAD. Cuban sugar, up to this year, paid a duty of 1 cent a pound. The emergency tariff raised that duty to 1.6 cents per pound, and immediately after that increased tariff went into effect the price of sugar dropped.

Mr. Box. Is not the duty on Cuban sugar the same as that from other countries, less 20 per cent?

Mr. MEAD. The full duty is 2 cents a pound, and the Cubans have a preferential of 20 per cent. There is practically no full-duty sugar coming into the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me go back to the subject we were discussing a few moments ago and ask you a few questions in reference to Porto Rico. Is much sugar raised in Porto Rico?

Mr. MEAD. Porto Rico raises about 500,000 tons.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the population of Porto Rico?

Mr. MEAD. The population of Porto Rico is 1,300,000 people, living on an island containing less than 4,000 square miles. They have a very extensive tobacco industry there which this year has been very hard hit. They have not sold a pound of tobacco that was raised this year, and a very large part of last year's crop has come back to them because of its inferior quality. Their fruit industry has no market and a number of the regular ships have been laid up. Hundreds of tons of fruit is rotting on the ground. I have never seen any conditions in any country worse than those in Porto Rico at the present time. The people are depressed, and they are in a very bad way. The island raises less of agricultural products in actual tonnage than Hawaii does. Hawaii produces 100,000 tons of sugar more than Porto Rico; last year we packed 150,000 tons of pineapples, and in actual tonnage production Hawaii exceeds the total production of Porto Rico, and we have one-fifth of the total population of Porto Rico.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the situation as to area?

Mr. MEAD. Most of the island of Porto Rico is practically in cultivation. They raise their tobacco up in the mountains.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the wage paid for common labor in Porto Rico?

Mr. MEAD. The highest day wage I found to be paid on the plantations there was 70 cents a day. The wage which the men with whom I talked told me they were getting was 40 cents a day.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any housing of labor down there?

Mr. MEAD. No; they do not have to house their labor in Porto Rico. Some of the American corporations have gone in for housing to a limited extent, but there is no such thing down there as we have in Hawaii, so far as housing is concerned. They do not have to do it. When they want some laborers, all they have to do is to send word down to the village that they want a certain number of laborers, and they can get them very easily in that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what nationality is the common labor in Porto Rico?

Mr. MEAD. I presume their original stock was that of the Caribbean Indians. Of course, they are mixed with the Spanish and Haitians. There is considerable of a mixture down there; some of the people are very black while others are as white as you and I.

The CHAIRMAN. The Haitian is black?

Mr. MEAD. Yes. There has been a considerable mixture. The original Porto Rican was of the West Indian stock.

The CHAIRMAN. In their field work, do they dress as the people in Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; about the same. The Porto Rican does not pay much attention to his dress. He wears trousers and a shirt, and that just about covers him.

The CHAIRMAN. What do the laborers in the Hawaiian Islands wear?

Mr. MEAD. They wear dungarees—overalls—while working. In comparing conditions in Porto Rico with the conditions in Hawaii, the only thing anyone could say is that in Porto Rico they are still in the dark ages.

The CHAIRMAN. Porto Rico is an insular possession of the United States, and Hawaii is a Territory?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; Porto Rico is an insular possession. They wish to have independence, as I understand it, with a United States protectorate; other than that, perhaps they wish statehood.

Mr. BOX. Have you in mind the quantity of sugar produced in continental United States?

Mr. MEAD. The total production of beet sugar in the United States, roughly, is a million tons. The production in Louisiana, of course, varies. There they run as high as 300,000 tons.

Mr. BOX. Between 250,000 and 300,000 tons?

Mr. MEAD. Yes. Of course, they have bad years down there; they have gone as low as 100,000 tons.

Mr. BOX. I understand.

Mr. MEAD. The Louisiana people produce what they call clarified sugar that goes directly into consumption, and this and the proximity to market has saved the industry.

Mr. BOX. Your production in Hawaii is about 600,000 tons?

Mr. MEAD. It runs from 550,000 tons—I think the highest crop we ever had was about 630,000 tons.

Mr. BOX. The United States produces about a million tons?

Mr. MEAD. Of beet sugar; yes, sir.

Mr. BOX. Your production is a little over half of the amount produced in the United States?

Mr. MEAD. It is about half of the beet-sugar crop.

Mr. BOX. I was talking about the entire production.

Mr. MEAD. I think the amount of the entire continental production is about 1,300,000 tons.

Mr. BOX. Then, your production in Hawaii would be a little less than one-half of the total production in the United States?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. BOX. You spoke of what you had to pay as the cost of taking Porto Rican labor from Porto Rico to Hawaii. I think you said it cost \$125 per head?

Mr. MEAD. It costs \$125 per adult fare; yes, sir.

Mr. Box. How many did you figure on taking from Porto Rico to Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. The Planters' Association has instructed me to get 3,300 families. That was their original order, and they have not amended it.

Mr. Box. If you count three to a family that would be practically 10,000 people?

Mr. MEAD. It would mean practically 10,000 adults. It would be more than that in the total number of people.

Mr. Box. And the original cost for their passage would be something like \$125,000?

Mr. MEAD. The cost of the 9,900 adults would be over \$1,000,000.

Mr. Box. How would you protect yourself in the collection of that money?

Mr. MEAD. In the collection of that money?

Mr. Box. Yes; you could not give it away.

Mr. MEAD. We have never yet, in any of our immigration dealings deducted anything from the wages of laborers for transportation. From the time they leave their homes until they get to work in Hawaii they have no expense.

Mr. Box. That is a general charge against the industry which gets the benefit of their labor?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. Box. It is not a charge against them?

Mr. MEAD. It is not, and never has been.

The CHAIRMAN. When these men are freed of that expense which is carried by the sugar industry, if, after a short space of time they should go to the pineapple orchards, you can not stop them doing that?

Mr. MEAD. We can not stop them. But they are adding to the general labor population of the Territory, which is a desirable thing at the present time, as well as the idea of getting labor there for the sugar industry.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been successful in bringing in Portuguese lately?

Mr. MEAD. We have had no Portuguese recently; that immigration stopped in 1913.

The CHAIRMAN. In those days you were permitted, as a Territory, to seek labor?

Mr. MEAD. There was a provision in the immigration law which permitted States, Territories, and the District of Columbia to advertise inducements which such State or Territory or the District of Columbia might offer to laborers in foreign countries. That provision was omitted in the immigration law in 1917.

Mr. Box. That related to the inducing of immigration and did it not affect the question of custody or peonage service?

Mr. MEAD. No; we have never brought in, under any conditions, any contract labor. But we have been very successful under that provision of the law in getting people; at least, the Territory was successful. There was nothing in that law which would prevent people going from Hawaii to the mainland.

Mr. Box. What did the people of Portugal do with reference to staying with you or going to California?

Mr. MEAD. A great many of them, as soon as they acquired the cost of steorage transportation from Hawaii to California, got out of Hawaii and went to California.

Mr. BOX. Where did most of them go?

Mr. MEAD. To California. If there could be a provision in the immigration law allowing us, as we have done, to induce people to go to Hawaii, and to advertise our inducements and pay their passage to Hawaii, and, in addition to that, a provision so that if a passport is issued to a man to go to Hawaii that passport shall not be usable for that man to go to the continental part of the United States, then we would have, during the five-year period in which he may apply for naturalization, time to anchor him there as a part of the permanent population. I believe the only hope that we have of settling a permanent white population in Hawaii depends upon some provision which would give us time to make them permanent citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that not a far better plan for this committee to be considering than the plan now before us.

Mr. MEAD. It is a better plan as endeavoring to seek a permanent white population for Hawaii. The matter before the committee, however, as I understand it, is an emergency proposition to meet an emergency which exists in the labor situation.

The CHAIRMAN. The emergency exists now?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You could not hope for this legislation short of several months. I can not see how an emergency would be recognized as so much more acute than it might be in California or Florida as to make it an emergency sufficient to attract the attention of the Members of the House and Senate, and with the certainty in my mind that the last piece of legislation that would be touched by this or any future Congress is the Chinese exclusion act.

Mr. MEAD. I am sorry to hear you say that, because I really believe that the emergency is such that there must be congressional legislation to help out the situation. That is the way I feel about it.

The CHAIRMAN. I say that in my capacity as a Member of the House from a Pacific Coast State. We have the Japanese problem the same as you have, and as I see it, if at the time we passed the Chinese exclusion act we had made it an oriental exclusion act we would be free from our present problem.

Mr. BOX. As I understand your statement, in answer to an inquiry made by Chairman Johnson, any plan you adopt will, in order to have any chance to succeed, have to carry with it something that will confine them to the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. MEAD. That is, something which will confine them to the Hawaiian Islands while they are aliens; yes, sir. I would not, of course, advocate anything that would say that any citizen could not move. If we could have them there during the period of naturalization, while they are aliens, and could have time to anchor them there and improve their conditions so that they would not want to move, I think it would be a very desirable thing.

I have discussed this matter with other Members of Congress, and I prepared, at one time, a provision which could become a part of the immigration law, if the committee wanted to do that, which I think would cover the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have you submit that, if you have it.

Mr. MEAD. You mean submit it now?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MEAD. I will be glad to submit that to you.

The CHAIRMAN. This brings us to the discussion of a subject which we hear talked about all the time, and in regard to which a great deal of mail comes to the committee. It is a subject which lecturers are discussing, and chambers of commerce are advocating all the time under the indefinite terms of selective immigration and placement. I have never been able to figure out how distributed immigration could be anchored.

Mr. BOX. That means one thing in the mind of one writer and another thing in the mind of another, and when you come down to the final analysis of it you will find they are speaking from the standpoint of their own interests and their own local situation, and the kind of selection they would make would be to select the people who are adapted to their work and their environment, and not for the education and development of citizens. When somebody else goes to select immigrants you will find that they want them for some particular trade or work, like the people who wanted 5,000,000 on the eastern border. That is what half of the talk about selective immigration means with the sugar producers in the United States.

The gentleman has just stated a fact in reference to a condition where the sugar beet growers are getting their laborers under a dispensation which I do not think was legal. It is a big question. I think these gentlemen have brought a big question to us and I think they are entitled to our best consideration. I think it is a mighty serious thing, as the chairman's questions would indicate.

The CHAIRMAN. You mentioned the present form of passport control in Hawaii. I want to ask you about that. I judge that an alien in Hawaii with a passport from some other country is limited in the use of that passport to the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; under a presidential proclamation I think it is limited now entirely to orientals. You are familiar with the passport provision in the immigration law. It says that "Whenever the President is satisfied that passports issued by any foreign government to a citizen to go to any country other than the United States or to any insular possession of the United States or to the Canal Zone, are being used for the purpose of enabling the holder to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein, it is made the duty of the President to refuse to permit such citizens of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such country or from such insular possession or from the Canal Zone." The President's proclamation was issued in 1913; it is confined to orientals.

The CHAIRMAN. Since that enactment, as a result of the war, we have enacted other passport legislation and now require all aliens to come to the United States to have passports from their country, viséed, and I was wondering whether a man living in Hawaii, coming from Sweden with a passport, could then move on to the United States?

Mr. MEAD. I could not tell you that.

The CHAIRMAN. He could with a visé, I presume?

Mr. MEAD. I presume so.

Mr. BOX. Is there not some special arrangement by which labor has been carried to Panama?

Mr. MEAD. There was some special Panama legislation on that subject. They took a great many people from Jamaica, from the Virgin Islands, and other West Indian islands to Panama, but most of them, I think, have left.

Mr. BOX. There were provisions that kept them out of continental United States?

Mr. MEAD. There were provisions that kept them out of continental United States.

Mr. BOX. What became of them later?

Mr. MEAD. They were repatriated, as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. Taken back, or called back?

Mr. MEAD. Well, they were taken back.

Before reading this provision, which I had suggested could be inserted in the immigration law, I should like to say that between 1906 and 1914 a total of 15,012 Portuguese, Spanish, and Russian men, women, and children were brought to the Territory of Hawaii by the Government thereof. This was done under the provision of the law allowing assistance of immigration by State boards with funds raised by public taxation. Agents of the Territory cooperated with Federal officials in the selection of agricultural families. The total cost of assisting these people to the Territory was approximately \$1,250,000.

During that same period, from 1906 to 1914, a total of 12,041 men, women, and children of the same nationalities, Portuguese, Spanish, and Russians, left the Territory, and from 1914 to 1919, inclusive, 5,912 more left the Territory, none having come in except a few coming back from California. The people who came from 1906 to 1914 amounted in total figures to 15,012, and the people who left amounted in total figures to 17,953.

Mr. BOX. Then it would appear that heretofore your efforts to get immigrants have resulted in the dumping of that very element on the continental United States?

Mr. MEAD. Very largely so. We have done everything we could to hold them, but the lure of California has been too great for them. You can not blame them for that.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of the fact that there is a great amount of unemployment in the United States now, particularly among a great many of the colored population who were attracted north by reason of the war wages, so much unemployment that in Chicago to-day there are 20,000 or 30,000 Negroes out of work, would you be able to get that kind of labor?

Mr. MEAD. I doubt very much whether they would go out there. I very seriously doubt whether they would go there to work in the cane fields.

Mr. WILSON. I know more about Negro labor than almost anything else. These Negro laborers will not mix with Asiatics or any other foreign population.

Mr. MEAD. There have been efforts made to get Negroes, but they have not been successful.

shows what they are up against, and what they are willing to do in order to save their crops.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you reside in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; Honolulu is my home.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to give the committee any observations as to the future of the Hawaiian Islands, in regard to persons there who are nonassimilable people?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; I am willing to make those statements, if the committee desires me to do so. But I will say to you that I believe that is a matter which is more for the commission than for me. I have decided views upon the situation out there, which I have studied a good many years from the standpoint of labor and from the standpoint of population. But it is, perhaps, more a matter for the commission than it is for me to discuss with you. Some statements, perhaps, should not be put into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The point in my mind is this, that I would like to have this committee have as a matter of record the very statements which so many think should not be for the record. In the House of Representatives I happen to be ranking Republican member of the House Committee on Territories, and in that committee I have learned a good deal about land troubles and Japanese troubles and matters of that kind out in the Hawaiian Islands.

I am perfectly willing to state for the record that if these questions are left somewhat to the people over there to work out, I think the control of the Hawaiian Islands is absolutely in danger—that is, the control by the United States. I think it is inevitable, unless we get some legislative action that all of the lands that can be homesteaded, or at least a large proportion of them, will fall into the hands of American-born Japanese.

Mr. Box. Would not those lands also be held for the benefit of their racial kindred?

The CHAIRMAN. Exactly. When the time comes, the Japanese will out-vote the other population. Furthermore, my opinion is that as the Japanese are homesteading the highly cultivated lands, which are the lands used for the raising of sugar, they will themselves organize sugar companies.

I am not concerned with the statement made here yesterday that there are a limited number of corporations handling the sugar plantations. I happen to know that the sugar plantations have to be large or they can not be successfully conducted. I have been hoping that at some time some citizen of the Territory would outline the Japanese problem clearly and carefully. If no one will present the statements which really make the situation acute in Hawaii, that is, the race situation, then I am willing to place before the committee all of the matter that has come into my possession. Those who were members of the committee of inquiry in California last year will remember the statements of Chester Rowell, who had then just returned from Hawaii. Perhaps we shall discuss that phase of it a little later.

I want to ask you this question: Are you familiar with the wages paid on the sugar plantations in the United States?

Mr. MEAD. Labor in the continental sugar industry is largely seasonal, and wages depend on the section of the country and upon the demand for and scarcity of labor in the locality. No such conditions obtain in Hawaii, where fixed wages are paid to laborers,

Mr. RAKER. You want people to go to Hawaii who are laborers, skilled or unskilled. Would you make it general, applying to all nationalities?

Mr. MEAD. I think I would, yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. You would then permit any of the Asiatic laborers to come to Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. No; that is not my intention at all, under this provision.

Mr. RAKER. That may not be your intention, but that is what that would mean?

Mr. MEAD. No; I do not think it would, because this does not in any way amend your Chinese exclusion act, and it does not amend the gentleman's agreement as to Japanese.

Mr. RAKER. Then you would not have that provision applied to the Chinese so that they might come under that provision?

Mr. MEAD. My intention in that was to provide a white labor population for Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. Your idea would be not to permit the Chinamen to come under that provision as those from Porto Rico and elsewhere?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. You would?

Mr. MEAD. I would not permit Chinese to come under that provision. They could not come in under the present laws.

Mr. RAKER. Would you permit Japanese to come in under that?

Mr. MEAD. No; I would not.

Mr. RAKER. You would exclude the Chinese and Japanese?

Mr. MEAD. I would.

Mr. WILSON. From where?

Mr. MEAD. From Hawaii. My idea in connection with this proposition is simply and wholly that of getting a white population for the Territory of Hawaii. It does not propose to take the place of this emergency immigration legislation at all. It is simply with the idea of trying to get white people to come there and to give us a chance to have them settle there.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, your proposition would be to have people who come to Hawaii, skilled and unskilled labor, from all countries of the world, without any limitation, to remain there as long as they wanted to, but at no time to allow them to come to the continental United States, with the exception of the oriental laborers?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir. Chinese and Japanese are excluded under the present laws.

Mr. RAKER. That is, including the Japanese and Chinese?

Mr. MEAD. At no time while they are still aliens to let them come to the United States. I have no intention, and it is clearly stated there, that they shall not be permitted to come so long as they are aliens. This would give us the naturalization period of five years in which to make conditions in Hawaii so attractive to them that they would remain there and become a part of the white population.

Mr. RAKER. Then, let us put it this way: Your idea would be to allow all nationalities of the world, without any restrictions, skilled and unskilled labor, excepting Asiatic coolie labor from Japan and China, to remain there as long as they wanted to, to become naturalized if they desire, and when they become naturalized to have them come to the continental United States, but not otherwise?

Mr. WILSON. The American white man is the only man the Negro wants to cooperate with, and it is impossible to get him to do that with anybody else. If you had 15,000 or 20,000 down there with people who knew how to handle them, you might keep them there, but the other proposition is impossible.

Mr. MEAD. Yes; that is true.

Mr. RAKER. Have you tried Hindus?

Mr. MEAD. No; there were a few Hindus who came in there. I think they came from British Columbia, but there were only a very few of them. We could not recruit Hindus, of course. I am told that 227 of them came in 1910, but they got out rapidly.

The CHAIRMAN. The Hindu, as a matter of fact, is in the barred zone.

Mr. RAKER. I mean before the barred zone went into effect.

Mr. MEAD. All the efforts in the Territory of Hawaii to get labor have been directed to getting white labor. There has never been any effort on the part of the Territory to get anything but white labor to build up the citizen population.

Mr. RAKER. Did the Hindus who went to Hawaii remain there?

Mr. MEAD. No.

Mr. RAKER. Most of them went to California?

Mr. MEAD. Most of them went to California. They are particularly in the northern part of the State, in the lumber country.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be very glad to have you give us your suggestion of the amendment you referred to awhile ago.

Mr. MEAD. This is my suggestion of an amendment which could be inserted in the law in its proper place, as a proviso:

Provided, That any alien laborer, skilled or unskilled, not having become a citizen of the United States, who has gone to any foreign country or to any insular territory or possession of the United States or Canal Zone under a passport issued by his government, permitting him to proceed thereto, shall not be allowed to enter the continental territory of the United States from such foreign country, insular territory or possession of the United States or Canal Zone.

Mr. WILSON. Will you read that again?

Mr. MEAD. This suggested proviso reads:

Provided, That any alien laborer, skilled or unskilled, not having become a citizen of the United States, who has gone to any foreign country or to any insular territory or possession of the United States or Canal Zone under a passport issued by his government, permitting him to proceed thereto, shall not be allowed to enter the continental territory of the United States from such foreign country, insular territory or possession of the United States or Canal Zone.

Mr. WILSON. That would apply to those aliens who have adopted United States citizenship as well as those who have not?

Mr. MEAD. Under this provision any alien who goes to Hawaii, to an insular territory or the Canal Zone would not be permitted to go into the continental territory of the United States under a passport which entitles him to go to any one of those places.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not think that would run counter to our treaties?

Mr. MEAD. No; it is a passport issued by his government to him.

Mr. RAKER. You would make that general, applying to all people?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. You would put no restriction on it?

Mr. MEAD. As far as the Japanese and Chinese are concerned, no—it would not be necessary. This provision would be merely supplemental to the present immigration laws, not amendatory.

Mr. RAKER. You want people to go to Hawaii who are laborers, skilled or unskilled. Would you make it general, applying to all nationalities?

Mr. MEAD. I think I would, yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. You would then permit any of the Asiatic laborers to come to Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. No; that is not my intention at all, under this provision.

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Mr. RAKER. In other words, your proposition would be to have people who come to Hawaii, skilled and unskilled labor, from all countries of the world, without any limitation, to remain there as long as they wanted to, but at no time to allow them to come to the continental United States, with the exception of the oriental laborers?

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Mr. RAKER. That is, including the Japanese and Chinese?

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Mr. RAKER. Then, let us put it this way: Your idea would be to allow all nationalities of the world, without any restrictions, skilled and unskilled labor, excepting Asiatic coolie labor from Japan and China, to remain there as long as they wanted to, to become naturalized if they desire, and when they become naturalized to have them come to the continental United States, but not otherwise?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Now, you have tried to get the nationalities of all countries to the Hawaiian Islands, and up to this time you have practically failed, except in the case of those from Japan and China?

Mr. MEAD. We have not failed in getting them; no, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Getting them and keeping them?

Mr. MEAD. Getting them and keeping them; yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Then, by this resolution you would not hope to get any other nationalities save and except the Chinese and the Japanese?

Mr. MEAD. We would not hope to get any other but the Chinese and the Japanese?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. MEAD. By this resolution before you?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. MEAD. The resolution is a resolution of the Territory of Hawaii, presented by a commission from the Territory. What their instructions are and what they desire to get is something I do not know about. Personally, I hope they will get the Chinese.

Mr. RAKER. We have to read what is presented to us. Having failed in all the other cases—and I will say you have made a very clear presentation of it and put it to us in a splendid way—there could be no other result of the resolution than to secure otherwise inadmissible Chinese, except that we have them from China.

Mr. MEAD. I believe you have stated it correctly; yes, sir. Asia is the closest place to Hawaii, where there is an available labor supply. It is the only place we can go at the present time and get labor at anywhere near a reasonable cost. In the first place, your immigration laws prohibit us from going to Europe and getting people.

The CHAIRMAN. To get labor?

Mr. MEAD. To get labor; the cost is prohibitive. Our natural source of supply is Asia, and when we go to Europe we are going to an unnatural source of supply, but we are willing to do it if we are permitted.

Mr. RAKER. The object of this resolution is to secure laborers for Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. For a temporary supply to meet an emergency.

Mr. RAKER. You understand that under the resolution now before the committee no Japanese would come in?

Mr. MEAD. Absolutely not, under that. The situation in regard to the Japanese in Hawaii is perhaps well known to all of you.

Mr. RAKER. It has been drawn with that proposition in view?

Mr. MEAD. The Japanese situation?

Mr. RAKER. To exclude the Japanese from the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. MEAD. Absolutely; I think they would not consider getting any Japanese into the islands.

Mr. WHITE. The terms of the resolution exclude the Japanese, do they not?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. We will discuss that phase of it with the members of the commission. I want to ask you about this paragraph of this proposed amendment to the immigration law to see if my mind is clear in regard to it. I have another angle of it. Following the plan you have suggested, if an alien laborer—skilled laborer—came to the

Hawaiian Islands from England with a passport, he would have to stay in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; or go back home. He could not go to the continental territory of the United States.

Mr. WILSON. In other words, if a laborer comes to the Hawaiian Islands, although he may be admissible as an American citizen, he must reside during the entire period of naturalization in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. MEAD. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that would not interfere with any of our treaties?

Mr. MEAD. No, sir. If the Government of Great Britain issued a passport to a man to go to Hawaii, it shows that Great Britain does not want him to go anywhere else.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it might be all right if it were an insular possession.

Mr. WILSON. I want to ask you about your statement that when Great Britain issues such a passport to an Englishman it is because the Government of Great Britain does not want him to go anywhere else than to Hawaii. Has not the passport been issued because the man applied for a passport to go to Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. That might be the construction of it, but for the purposes of getting labor and of getting a population down there you have to look at the practical situation in connection with it. You have to get people who want to stay there and build up that country. They want people who are going to make their homes there.

Mr. WILSON. If you had this clause in the immigration law that a man shall apply to his government, for instance, Great Britain, to get a passport to go to Hawaii, of course the Government would issue this passport in view of these restrictions; it would have knowledge of these restrictions?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. And a man who came to the country would come with a knowledge of the conditions under which he would go to Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. His government would know about it and he would know about it.

Mr. WILSON. Although he might make a good citizen of the United States, your idea would be to retain him in the Hawaiian Islands during the time of naturalization, during the period of five years, in order to pin him to the soil?

Mr. MEAD. In order to pin him to the soil; in other words, to anchor him there.

Mr. RAKER. Unless there was a positive provision prohibiting a common laborer, who at a certain time went to Hawaii, who was otherwise admissible to the United States, coming to the United States after he had gone to Hawaii, notwithstanding his passport, you could not exclude him from the continental territory of the United States, could you?

Mr. MEAD. Under this provision you could, yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. There would be no law to prevent him, if he got tired out there, from leaving Hawaii?

The CHAIRMAN. While I have this paper before me I want to read into the record some remarks made by Mr. Mann of Illinois during the debate on the immigration suspension bill. Mr. Mann said:

I think Hawaii is in danger because the great mass of the people who work there are Japanese. They have a very large Japanese population and the children of the Japanese population born there are citizens of the United States. It is highly desirable to get the Portuguese or any other European nationality to send their people to Hawaii and let them remain there, and have families there, rear their children there, and become the class who do the work there, instead of compelling the Hawaiians to depend upon the Japanese. It would be easy of course to forbid these people coming to the United States from Hawaii.

That is from volume 60 of the Congressional Record, No. 5, page 136.

Then this paper goes on to say:

There are two precedents for taking such action as suggested by Mr. Mann. Chinese laborers are not allowed to enter any state or territory of the United States from Hawaii. The Immigration Laws of 1907 and the President's proclamation based thereon, keep out of the continental territory of the United States all Japanese or Koreans who have gone to any foreign country or insular possession with a passport permitting them to proceed thereto. You are of course familiar with the provisions referred to which at the end of section 1 of the act of February 20, 1907.

The paper further says:

It would be highly desirable, for military reasons, if for no other, that immigration into Hawaii from nations other than Japan, be assisted and encouraged, and an opportunity be given to induce such immigrants to remain. We are confident that the military authorities are alive to the situation and will concur in the statements herein made.

Mr. BOX. Where does that come from?

The CHAIRMAN. That is from a statement prepared in advocacy of some kind of relief.

Mr. RAKER. Take the statement that has been read. The proposition there is not what was contemplated by what you presented just now before the committee?

Mr. MEAD. No; this was entirely outside. This was simply my own personal idea of the way it could be done.

Mr. RAKER. It is perfectly clear.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a right to consider any substitute, and have it explained.

Mr. MEAD. This is not a substitute. This is merely my own idea of the way in which you can acquire a permanent white population for Hawaii. It is not a proposition in any way to meet the present conditions that exist in Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. Your idea would be that with certain restrictions as to health and other conditions, the bars are thrown down for immigration to Hawaii from all countries of the world, save and except Japan and China, and that after they get there they should remain there and not be permitted to come to the United States for five years; you think that would be a good thing?

Mr. MEAD. I would not say from all countries of the world.

Mr. RAKER. What would you exclude?

Mr. MEAD. All of Asia. I would exclude anything but Europe.

Mr. WILSON. In other words, under this proposed amendment to the immigration law, the people who would go to Hawaii would be the same people who can immigrate to the United States now?

Mr. MEAD. Exactly.

Mr. WILSON. From the same territory?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. Would it be your intention in doing that to remove the restrictions in the immigration law relative to the literacy test?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; you would have to remove the restrictions of the literacy test, so far as the kind of people we would want to come are concerned. The literacy test operates to bar pretty nearly all agricultural people.

Mr. WILSON. In other words, your idea would be to have practically an unlimited opportunity to emigrate to Hawaii from European countries, under the restrictions that the passport upon which a man came must hold him there during all the period and processes of naturalization?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, let us put it this way. With the same restrictions now in the immigration law, under the act of 1917, with the exception of the literacy test, you would exclude all Asiatic laborers, allowing it to apply generally to Hawaii, and you think that would meet your situation, do you?

Mr. MEAD. Hardly. There would have to be other exceptions. You would have to permit us to assist them and to advertise the inducements we offer to them. You would have to amend your provisions for a literacy test.

Mr. RAKER. I eliminated that.

Mr. MEAD. We would have to be allowed to assist them, and the literacy test would have to be eliminated that we may get them. The agricultural people that we want to come are poor people. They are illiterate and they have to be assisted. But I tell you the second generation of the Portuguese we have brought in make just as good American citizens as you find anywhere in the United States.

Mr. RAKER. Let us get your statement fully. First, you would eliminate the literacy test. You would eliminate the provision which prohibits advertising abroad, and third, you would give them assistance?

Mr. MEAD. And I would include also the payment of their passage. You would still keep the contract-labor provision in there.

Mr. RAKER. And then exclude the orientals?

Mr. MEAD. You are already excluding them.

Mr. RAKER. You would also put a provision in that they should not within five years enter the continental territory of the United States?

Mr. MEAD. While they are aliens they could not enter the continental territory of the United States.

Mr. RAKER. While they are aliens those people should not enter the continental United States—you think that would meet your situation?

Mr. MEAD. That would meet the situation for a permanent population. It would not meet the situation at the present time. It would be an experiment perhaps, but one worth trying.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with the general movement in central Europe to get out of that part of the world, and you are familiar with the fact that a large portion of those people want to leave central Europe and come into the United States or go to South America?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; I have heard of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think that will be of some assistance in your permanent population proposition?

Mr. MEAD. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not think they would be lured to go to Hawaii and have to stay there five years before coming on to the United States?

Mr. MEAD. I do not think they are the kind of people we want to get in Hawaii. The people that I would personally prefer would be the people from Portugal, from the Azores, and from the Madeira Islands, and perhaps from the northern part of Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. If we undertake to enact such amendment, Hawaii would be open to all people who could get passports to Hawaii, would it not?

Mr. MEAD. They would not go because they could not, owing to the fact that transportation from Europe to Hawaii is a very expensive proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. If people from central Europe, upon failing to get passports to the United States directly, can go to Vera Cruz, leave the ship there, and then take the railroad for a thousand miles or so across the Mexican border, and then find their way to St. Louis or New York, they could become American citizens under that, could they not?

Mr. MEAD. If they ever got as far as California they would not want to go any farther.

The CHAIRMAN. If the way was open by which, without all that expense, they could go directly to Hawaii, they could go there and locate for five years?

Mr. MEAD. In theory they could, but in practice they would not.

Mr. RAKER. You have your statistics all there before you, or you can get them from your assistant. Can you give to the committee, briefly, the production of sugar in tons and the value of that sugar in 1890, and from that year down to the present time?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; I can give you that, although I am not sure that I can give you the value.

Mr. RAKER. Give us what information you have along that line, or go as far back as you can.

Mr. MEAD. You want to go back as far as 1900?

Mr. RAKER. Go back, say, 10 years.

Mr. MEAD. I can give you the Hawaiian sugar crop from 1911 to 1920, in tons, showing the production upon each plantation in Hawaii, by years, from 1911 down.

Mr. RAKER. What was the production in 1911?

Mr. MEAD. The production in 1911—and this is all in short tons, 2,000 pounds for the ton—was 566,821 tons.

Mr. RAKER. And the value?

Mr. MEAD. The value you would have to get from the customs statistics; I do not have it. In 1912 the production was 595,258; in 1913, it was 546,798; in 1914 it was 617,038; in 1915 it was 646,455; in 1916, it was 593,483 tons; in 1917, it was 644,574 tons—that was a banner crop—in 1918 it was 576,842 tons; in 1919 it was 603,583 tons; in 1920 it was 556,871 tons. I can get you the production from 1900 if you desire it.

Mr. RAKER. You might give that to us.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Weeber can give those figures to you.

**STATEMENT OF MR. CHARLES F. WEEBER, SECRETARY OF
THE HAWAII EMERGENCY LABOR COMMISSION.**

Mr. WEEBER. The production in the year 1900 was 289,544 tons of sugar; the production in 1901 was 360,036 tons; the production in 1902 was 355,611 tons; the production in 1903 was 437,931 tons; the production in 1904 was 367,475 tons; the production in 1905 was 426,248 tons; the production in 1906 was 429,231 tons; the production in 1907 was 440,317 tons; the production in 1908 was 521,123 tons; the production in 1909 was 535,156, and the production in 1910 was 518,127. Mr. Mead has given you the production by years from 1911 to 1920.

Mr. RAKER. Can you give to the committee the same data relative to the pineapple production from 1900, giving us the gross production?

Mr. WEEBER. The production of pineapples, by years, since and including 1910, is as follows:

	Cases.		Cases.
1910.....	650,000	1916.....	2,609,483
1911.....	730,000	1917.....	2,607,031
1912.....	1,313,363	1918.....	3,847,315
1913.....	1,667,122	1919.....	5,071,976
1914.....	2,268,781	1920.....	5,978,182
1915.....	2,669,616		

Mr. RAKER. I would like to have, for the benefit of the committee, the gross production of coffee and rice for the same periods.

Mr. WEEBER. Coffee was exported, by years, since and including 1910, as follows:

	Bags of 100 pounds.		Bags of 100 pounds.
1910.....	23,656	1916.....	27,661
1911.....	28,789	1917.....	11,709
1912.....	16,182	1918.....	99,833
1913.....	27,955	1919.....	28,042
1914.....	32,146	1920.....	16,316
1915.....	24,266	1921 to date.....	17,257

In addition to the coffee exported, a much smaller quantity, which it is impossible to estimate, is consumed in the Territory.

Mr. RAKER. Can you give us the same figures for rice production?

Mr. WEEBER. No, sir. Rice is produced in the Territory by independent growers, most of whom are Chinese. This same statement is true of the rice produced in the past 20 years, and there are no compiled figures to show the production by years during that time. In 1904, however, there were practically 9,000 acres of rice land under cultivation, producing approximately 4,600 pounds of rice to the acre, making a total production of about 414,000 bags of 100 pounds each. In 1920 there were some 2,800 acres of rice land under cultivation, producing only about 168,000 bags of the same weight, a reduction of 59.2 per cent.

Mr. RAKER. Can you furnish us with the number of laborers employed by years in the sugar, pineapple, coffee, and rice industries?

Mr. WEEBER. The number of laborers employed in the sugar industry, by years, since and including 1900, were as follows:

	Laborers.		Laborers.
1900.....	35,040	1911.....	45,048
1901.....	39,587	1912.....	47,345
1902.....	42,242	1913.....	45,600
1903.....	(¹)	1914.....	46,043
1904.....	45,860	1915.....	45,654
1905.....	45,243	1916.....	43,961
1906.....	41,525	1917.....	45,000
1907.....	44,447	1918.....	44,708
1908.....	46,918	1919.....	45,311
1909.....	41,702	1920 (May).....	43,371
1910.....	43,917	1920 (December).....	38,348

The sugar industry is the only one of the four industries in question in which there has been maintained a central organization which is able to furnish accurate statistics with reference to production and labor. The records of the Bureau of Census are also incomplete so far as segregating the agricultural laborers employed in the coffee, rice, and pineapple industries is concerned.

In the year 1900, when there was no pineapple industry, census reports show that there were 45,413 farm laborers in the Territory, of which number 35,040 were employed in the sugar industry alone, leaving less than 10,373 for both the coffee and rice industries. In the year 1910 there were 425 farm laborers employed in the coffee industry, 1,962 employed in the rice industry, and 862 listed by the Bureau of Census under the heading of "Orchard and fruit-farm laborers," the pineapple laborers being included in this number.

Estimates made by the Bureau of Census from preliminary work sheets, which are still subject to revision, show that the following laborers were employed in the industries in question in 1920:

In the coffee industry.....	948
In the rice industry.....	1,661
In the pineapple industry.....	2,917

These figures are as of the 1st of January, and the total for the pineapple industry does not, therefore, indicate the maximum number employed during the midsummer harvest season, this number being estimated at between five and six thousand.

Mr. RAKER. You might give us the names of the concerns engaged in the sugar industry.

Mr. WEEBER. I have those names here. They are as follows:

On Hawaii: Olaa Sugar Co. (Ltd.), Waiiakea Mill Co., Hilo Sugar Co., Hawaii Mill Co. (Ltd.), Kaiwiki Milling Co., Onomea Sugar Co., Pepeckeo Sugar Co., Honomu Sugar Co., Hakalau Plantation Co., Laupahoehoe Sugar Co., Kaiwiki Sugar Co. (Ltd.), Kukaiau Plantation Co., Kukaiau Mill Co., Hamakua Mill Co., Paauhau Sugar Plantation Co., Honokaa Sugar Co., Pacific Sugar Mill, Niulii Mill and Plantation; Halawa Plantation, Kohala Sugar Co., Union Mill Co., Hawi Mill and Plantation, Puakea Plantation, Puako Plantation, Kona Development Co. (Ltd.), Hutchinson Sugar Plantation Co., and Hawaiian Agricultural Co.

On Maui: Pioneer Mill Co. (Ltd.), Olowalu Co., Wailuku Sugar Co., Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., Maui Agricultural Co., Kaeleku Plantation Co. (Ltd.), and Kipahulu Sugar Co.

On Oahu: Honolulu Plantation Co., Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.), Ewa Plantation Co., Apokaa Sugar Co. (Ltd.), Kahuku Plantation

¹ No figures available.

Co., Waianae Co., Waialua Agricultural Co. (Ltd.), Laie Plantation, Koolau Agricultural Co. (Ltd.), and Waimanalo Sugar Co.

On Kauai: Lihue Plantation Co. (Ltd.), Grove Farm Plantation, Koloa Sugar Co., McBryde Sugar Co. (Ltd.), Hawaiian Sugar Co., Gay & Robinson, Waimea Sugar Mill Co., Kekaha Sugar Co. (Ltd.), Estate V. Knudsen, Kilauea Sugar Plantation Co., Makee Sugar Co., and Kipu Plantation.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a representative here of the American Federation of Labor, and before the morning session ends we would like to have a statement from him.

STATEMENT OF MR. EDGAR WALLACE, REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Chairman, I wish to state that I have sent for some information on this subject to Denver, but it has not yet arrived. I wish you would defer my examination for a day or two.

The CHAIRMAN. How long do you think it will take you to get that information; how long do you wish to have your statement deferred?

Mr. WALLACE. The information will probably be here to-morrow.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean when you say "information"? Do you mean instructions from the officers?

Mr. WALLACE. No; it is some information which came to them from Hawaii and which they took with them to Denver, which I have wired for and expect to have here within a day or two.

STATEMENT OF MR. ROYAL D. MEAD—Resumed.

Mr. RAKER. Now, Mr. Mead, there has been a remarkable increase in the production of sugar, in tonnage, since 1900?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And also a remarkable increase in production in the pineapple industry?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. There has also been an increase in the number of men employed?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Wages have increased or decreased?

Mr. MEAD. Wages have been on the increase right along?

Mr. RAKER. From 1900 up—

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. In these three industries?

Mr. MEAD. I can not speak definitely for the pineapple industry; I can speak for the sugar industry.

Mr. RAKER. Taking the other industries, such as peanuts, potatoes, and the products that you raise there, has there been an increase in the production of those other articles?

Mr. MEAD. It is a surprise to me they are raising any peanuts down there for export. The only peanuts I have ever seen there were in the back yards.

Mr. RAKER. Well, other agricultural production; has it increased?

Mr. MEAD. I believe the production of coffee has increased. I have no accurate information on that, sir, but I think there has been a general increase in all agricultural products in Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. And a general increase of the wages, too?

Mr. MEAD. And a general increase of the wages, too; and a very marked improvement also in the general conditions surrounding labor.

Mr. RAKER. I notice in the census report there are 43 institutions, corporations, that handle the sugar industry in Hawaii, and the report puts it at 100 per cent?

Mr. MEAD. That is not entirely accurate. The table that has been submitted shows all the producers in the Territory. Altogether there are 56 various organized bodies or individuals producing sugar in Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. All right. The census report here puts it at 43.

Mr. MEAD. That, sir, I think relates to 43 mills.

Mr. RAKER. I called up the Director of the Census yesterday morning and read this to him and asked him—it says here “sugar cane.” I said, “Does that mean the production of sugar in the field and the handling of it until it is ready to ship?” and he says that is his understanding.

Mr. MEAD. Well, I took exception to that statement when I read it in that report.

Mr. RAKER. You took exception to it?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; and I wrote to him about it.

Mr. RAKER. I do not know; I am seeking information, that is all.

Mr. MEAD. I wrote to the Director of the Census particularly in regard to that statement, and I think his statement was they were then dealing—I am speaking from memory now—with those who manufacture the sugar, the mills.

Mr. RAKER. Have you the list of the corporations which was read a few minutes ago?

Mr. MEAD. Oh, yes.

Mr. RAKER. Have you any objection to letting that go in the record?

Mr. MEAD. That has already gone in, the whole list.

Mr. RAKER. Are those practically foreign corporations, so far as Hawaii is concerned?

Mr. MEAD. No. The great proportion of those, the vast majority of them are all Hawaiian corporations; but there are some California corporations in there. There are no foreign corporations in the sugar business in Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. I will put it the other way: Most of them interested are nonresidents of Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. Most of them interested?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. MEAD. Most of them interested are residents. We have no nonresident ownership there to any extent.

Mr. RAKER. Most of the stockholders are nonresidents, then?

Mr. MEAD. They are nearly all residents of Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. They are?

Mr. MEAD. They are; yes, sir.

Mr. SABATH. But there are some California people—

Mr. MEAD. There are some California people. The Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. is incorporated in California. Honolulu Plantation is owned very largely by San Francisco men. The Makaweli Plantation is a California organized corporation, and some of the

W. G. Irwin plantations—the old W. G. Irwin plantations, which are now under the agency of C. Brewer & Co., I do not know just where the control of those plantations is held; I think C. Brewer & Co., a Hawaiian corporation, has purchased the control of one or two of those plantations, but when the Irwin Co. had the agency they were owned very largely in San Francisco or California.

Mr. RAKER. In regard to your labor strike—were you there during the strike?

Mr. MEAD. I was.

Mr. RAKER. Now, did I ask you the question—I think not—whether these men who were in this strike were seeking better wages?

Mr. MEAD. The demands were made, sir, by the Japanese Federation of Labor—the so-called Japanese Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that affiliated with the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. MEAD. It is not. They attempted to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor but, to the best of my information, they were turned down.

The CHAIRMAN. It is affiliated, with other labor, into one big union?

Mr. MEAD. It is one big union in Hawaii; it has no affiliations outside of Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not affiliated with what we call the radical element of the labor organizations?

Mr. MEAD. No; not that I know of. The Japanese laborers on the plantations in Hawaii are or were members of the Japanese Federation of Labor, nearly every one of them. The Japanese Federation, an organization of Honolulu, was organized by people who were not laborers; they were school teachers; they were newspaper men and rank agitators. There was not a laborer and there was not a citizen on the directorate of the Japanese Federation; or, at the beginning, as a member of the Japanese Federation of Labor.

Mr. RAKER. Those school-teachers—are they not citizens?

Mr. MEAD. They are not; no, sir. They are Japanese school-teachers. They are sent to Hawaii usually by the Buddhist Church of Japan, under the auspices of the Japanese Government. I believe their appointments have to be approved by the minister of the interior.

Mr. IRWIN. You are speaking there of the foreign-language schools?

Mr. MEAD. Of the foreign-language schools; the teachers of the Japanese schools.

Mr. IRWIN. They were striking for what?

Mr. MEAD. They demanded higher wages; they demanded a recognition of the federation. There were no demands on the part of the laborers on the plantations; the demands were refused by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, and then the Japanese Federation called out the laborers on the plantations of Oahu. It was not until sometime after they had gone out on strike that any demands or requests were made.

Mr. RAKER. Are they good laborers?

Mr. MEAD. The Japanese?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. MEAD. If the Japanese wants to work, you can not beat him.

Mr. RAKER. Then what is the matter?

Mr. MEAD. The Japanese thought they had us down there; that is what is the matter; they thought we needed them absolutely, and could not get along without them—that was what was the matter.

Mr. RAKER. What do you mean—that the Japanese intended to run the situation in Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. Well——

Mr. SABATH. Is not that what you always claim about the Japanese in California, Judge Raker?

Mr. RAKER. I am not on the witness stand, and I beg the gentleman's pardon.

Mr. MEAD. Well, my views on the situation are perhaps pretty strong. I have had to do with the two different strikes we have had out there of the Japanese, and I have never had any delusions in regard to Americanizing them.

The CHAIRMAN. Your views are the same as those of most of the California people?

Mr. MEAD. I presume so, although I have not talked much to the Californians about it. But I do not believe there is any prospect of Americanizing them. Without doubt, as a race, the absolute coherence and solidarity of the Japanese is marvelous.

Mr. RAKER. Irrespective of whether they are born in Hawaii or not?

Mr. MEAD. Absolutely, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And that is one of the things you have to contend with?

Mr. MEAD. That is the big thing we have to contend with. Not only do we have to contend with it from an industrial standpoint, but it is a thing the United States Government has to contend with from a military standpoint.

Mr. RAKER. If they get stronger and more numerous, they will practically control the whole situation so far as the industries and labor is concerned in Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. They have nearly control of the labor situation out there now.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they go into business in cities like Honolulu?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Open barber shops?

Mr. MEAD. Everything.

The CHAIRMAN. Tailor shops?

Mr. MEAD. Everything.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything—plumbing and carpentering?

Mr. MEAD. Every blessed thing you can think of.

Mr. RAKER. Then it is really sort of a contest between the American white owners and laborers of all kinds, on the one hand, and the Japanese owners and laborers on the other hand?

Mr. SABATH. I do not think that question is proper. You know what is in my mind?

Mr. RAKER. I do not want to make any comments. The judge has so many good things in his mind; if I knew, of course——

The CHAIRMAN. You may answer the question.

Mr. MEAD. I would not say there is any contest out there exactly, because the Territory of Hawaii is now and is going to be American; it is going to remain American under any condition and we are going to control the situation out there—the Americans are going to control

the situation out there; the United States Government is going to control the situation out there. If it becomes so bad that any alien race gets control of the electorate, I expect the Government will step in and form a commission-form of government.

Mr. RAKER. What I mean is in numbers.

Mr. MEAD. There has got to be some offset to the Japanese out there; there is no question about it.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I mean.

Mr. MEAD. They are a constantly growing population. The main object of the Japanese woman is to bear children; that is her purpose in life; there is no question about it. The statistics of population show you the Japanese are increasing very rapidly.

Mr. RAKER. There is an economic situation as between the two races as to which shall dominate in Hawaii at the present time?

Mr. MEAD. I do not think there is any contest as to who shall dominate; the white race, the white people, the Americans in Hawaii are going to dominate and will continue to dominate—there is no question about it. There is an economic question as to what we are going to do with those people, as to whether we are going to bring in anything to offset them; that is the question.

Mr. FREE. Do the women work in the fields in Hawaii, the same as they do in California?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREE. And the children?

Mr. MEAD. The Japanese children not to any very great extent. I think, Mr. Chairman, that some of these statements should not go into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just about to say I have been advising here with members of the committee and, while this is an open hearing, it may be advisable to strike from this record certain statements. However, the question was before the committee last year, and here it is again.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the right, later on, to object to some of the questions asked and to some of the answers given, relative to a matter which I think is not pertinent to the resolution.

Mr. RAKER. This is for the record—

The CHAIRMAN. Just wait a minute. I say now we will run thoroughly through the hearing, and unless there is objection the chairman will use his judgment in either striking from the record, or adding to the record, matters presented and under controversy.

Mr. RAKER. They are seeking by this resolution to bring in laborers, evidently Chinese laborers, to come in competition with the Japanese that are there, and I suppose we should get all the facts bearing on the matter; and we have put the soft pedal on this matter for years, instead of meeting it as we ought to have met it and saved these people in Hawaii and elsewhere.

Mr. SABATH. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have always been ready to save the people of Hawaii, and I am also willing to save our Government from unnecessary complications, and a great many of these questions that the gentleman from California, Mr. Raker, has asked, he knows more about it than any man in this room; he has lived with the question and is thoroughly posted on the question.

Mr. RAKER. Yes, but——

Mr. SABATH. He knows more about the question than any other man, I think, in this room. It is not that he desires the information; he has the information. I must concede that he is better posted than any one I have ever had the pleasure to meet, on the Japanese question. We all know his standing and his position, so it is not necessary to rehash it and put in the record things that are known to the members of the committee. And I hope that he is not trying to prepare a record for some one else, for some outsiders.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me make a statement to the effect that when this committee considers it necessary to discuss certain phases of this question, if that question is properly before this committee, we shall discuss the same. If necessary we can secure authority to send a subcommittee to Hawaii. We can make trouble here by certain disclosures. Questions can be asked in open hearing without doing any good to any one.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, may I state this, in conclusion. I feel that my duty as a member of this committee and as a Member of the House, representing a State that has an interest and representing the Government to go thoroughly into this matter; and I say to you, sir, frankly and candidly, that we have pussy-footed this question for many years.

Mr. SABATH. What question, sir?

Mr. RAKER. Whether we should give proper treatment to Hawaii and the other parts of the United States, and to bring out the facts that the American people and the world might know just our attitude; and if we come out boldly and frankly, as a matter of fair dealing with these people, as we ought, with a firm hand instead of a jelly-back proposition, we will get results without any trouble. That is now my attitude publicly and privately expressed and that is the only thing I am trying to do, to the end that we get all the facts before this committee on which to act. It is unquestioned from the testimony presented that they are not seeking or can not get any other nationality save and except Chinese, and the question now is ought we not to go to the very bottom of the thing.

Mr. SABATH. If the gentleman is satisfied, there is no use bringing in side issues. I am ready to vote on the resolution now; I have heard enough to satisfy me that they are in need of this labor; and if the gentleman from California is satisfied, what is the use of wasting all this time.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no more questions, Mr. Mead, we want to thank you for the information and the very good evidence you have given the committee and also for your patience.

Mr. RAKER. I want to thank Mr. Mead for his kind and courteous treatment of myself in the few questions I have asked him.

Mr. MEAD. At any time, Mr. Raker, that you want to go into the Japanese situation in Hawaii with me, I will be very glad to discuss it with you.

Mr. RAKER. I am sure you will present it in all frankness.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, who wants to proceed? Mr. Wallace, if you will give us a little discussion, we would like to hear you on the matter for a few minutes.

STATEMENT OF MR. EDGAR WALLACE, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the stenographer your name.

Mr. WALLACE. Edgar Wallace, American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. And your position with the American Federation of Labor is what?

Mr. WALLACE. Legislative representative.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard this discussion?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have read this resolution?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any views in regard to the labor situation on the plantations of Hawaii?

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the conditions that surround the people of Hawaii are very much like those that surround the people in other sections of the country. It appears there has not been enough inducements to bring people to that country voluntarily to labor. We did not bring about this Japanese situation; we deplore it; we warned against it. We do not think it would be the part of wisdom to try to change it by bringing in another oriental people in bondage. It can not be called anything else but in bondage. Men will be bound down for five years and then sent back; and if they undertake to return, they must come again in bondage. In my opinion, it is worse than the condition that antedated the revolution in this country, when men were indentured and served out their time and then became citizens of the country—freemen in the country. I do not see anything in this resolution that would prevent them from bringing in Solomon Islanders, man eaters, or any kind of labor that they thought could be handled cheaply.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything in the immigration laws of the United States to prevent these people coming to the United States voluntarily?

Mr. WALLACE. Which people, the Chinese?

The CHAIRMAN. The Solomon Islanders.

Mr. WALLACE. I do not know that there is. They would be admitted if they could fulfill the literacy test.

The CHAIRMAN. Forty words.

Mr. WALLACE. Naturally there would be some objections raised. Our objection is that these men should be brought in there as bondsmen. The Japanese labor was a kind of labor that they chose to get in there because that labor was cheap; it was abject, and submitted to anything until they got power and then they became tyrannical, as I see it—as I understand it now. I recognize that it is a political question as well as an economic question; but I do not think that that question can be remedied by bringing in another problem just like it, another danger just like it—by bringing in other orientals to take the places of those men, possibly cheaper, to displace them and then there will be another danger to the country.

As I stated to you, Mr. Chairman, when you first asked me, some protests came in to the American Federation of Labor from certain American labor unions on the island in Honolulu. They had gotten information that this measure was to be brought up here and they sent this information in to the American Federation of Labor and

The CHAIRMAN. But what are you going to do when you come to Seattle, with the Japanese barbers? The white barber is protesting against the admission and the activities of the oriental barber. The white waiter objects to the oriental waiter, and so on.

Mr. WALLACE. The particular union should have, and has, according to the American spirit, complete jurisdiction over these cases.

The CHAIRMAN. They can not be controlled by the central labor council?

Mr. WALLACE. It can not be controlled by the central labor council nor by the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point I want to bring out.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes.

Mr. MALONEY. That is controlled by the different local unions?

Mr. WALLACE. It is controlled by the different local unions.

Mr. MALONEY. The union of whichever trade he works at?

Mr. WALLACE. We might suggest, we might counsel that they should, but we can not say that they shall take in even colored men born in this country.

Mr. FREE. Is it not a fact that some of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, like the stevedores union, which has a large Hawaiian membership, have placed themselves on record as in favor of this proposition?

Mr. WALLACE. Absolutely not. I have never heard of anything; in fact, the protest comes direct from them, and I am instructed to protest.

Mr. FREE. From whom does the protest come?

Mr. WALLACE. From Honolulu, first, and through that Honolulu Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Labor, and we are speaking for both. The American Federation of Labor feels the danger of any such resolution being adopted for any part of the Territories under the jurisdiction of the United States and, if it is adopted and becomes a law, and they are permitted to bring men in under such conditions in Hawaii, why under the same supposed emergency they could be brought in in Florida or California or any other part of the country. It would be a precedent that would be dangerous; it would be a step backward.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any member want to ask any questions?

Mr. CABLE. Have you ever been out to Hawaii?

Mr. WALLACE. No, sir.

Mr. CABLE. You do not know anything about the conditions there; that is, how many of these people belong to the unions out there? Can you give us some idea about that?

Mr. WALLACE. I can not tell you the exact numbers, but in the cities we have locals of molders and, as was shown here, they have unions of the other skilled trades.

Mr. CABLE. What I want to get at is this: If these Chinese come in, are they going to compete with any men that belong to any of your local unions out there?

Mr. WALLACE. It would not make any difference; it would establish a system. We would be establishing a system of slavery in countries dominated by the United States. I believe they would eventually aim to put those men under certain restrictions, and some way or other, they will get them under that restriction whenever the necessity arises. If some of these sugar planters have other interests and they have trouble with their men, I do not believe that

Mr. MALONEY. They have not, as far as the plantations are concerned?

Mr. WALLACE. On the plantations there are only the Japanese laborers and men of that kind, and they have organized among themselves, I understand from what I hear here, but not through my connection with the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. The Japanese in Honolulu, we will say, go into business: Can they join the American Federation unions there?

Mr. WALLACE. They may.

The CHAIRMAN. That is open to them?

Mr. WALLACE. That is open to them; if they belong to some craft, they can join that organization as an individual.

The CHAIRMAN. And they probably do that?

Mr. WALLACE. And possibly they do.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had presented for the record this morning two sets of protests from unions in Honolulu. If there were Japanese members there, they would be instrumental in getting those resolutions passed?

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Chairman, my opinion is—and that is why I wanted to wait on the information—that these protests come from distinctly white-dominated unions—unions that are composed largely of Americans, or possibly foreigners who are naturalized Americans, American citizens—and they are not dominated at all by any Japanese on the Island.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Wallace, right there, so that your statement may be clear: It does not make any difference to a man joining the union of the American Federation of Labor whether he is a foreigner or whether he has taken out his first papers, or whether he is naturalized, does it?

Mr. WALLACE. No, sir. We have to take the men such as they are—the men who are brought in there and hired.

Mr. RAKER. I inquired yesterday—I wanted to get at the fact and I have not found out—and I was advised by the different ones that an alien, one who had made application for his first papers, or a citizen of the United States, all were permitted to join the unions in the American Federation of Labor? Is that so?

Mr. WALLACE. They are permitted to join the union. We have certain unions, the Mine Workers of Ohio, for instance, that make it a provision that while an alien can join the organization he must apply for his first papers as soon as that is possible—as soon as sufficient time has elapsed.

Mr. RAKER. But, generally speaking, an alien is eligible for membership in the unions?

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Raker, the employers hire the men. We try to organize them. We do a great deal towards Americanizing them; we try to Americanize them.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, then, when an alien gets to the point, as he might do in Honolulu, where a man who is not eligible to citizenship may apply for membership in the union, have you any rules to prevent that, or is that a local matter?

Mr. WALLACE. No; we would consider those men eligible if the employers insist upon employing them. We are going to organize them if we can, so that they shall not come into unfair competition.

The CHAIRMAN. But what are you going to do when you come to Seattle, with the Japanese barbers? The white barber is protesting against the admission and the activities of the oriental barber. The white waiter objects to the oriental waiter, and so on.

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they would have any scruples in removing some of those Chinese into the factories to take the place of the Americans they have.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, if you were to bring enough laborers in to take the place of those who are in the fields now, enough Chinese laborers, it would remove all those now in the fields, drive them out and drive them into the cities to compete with the Americans there in the other industries?

Mr. WALLACE. It would be a very poor way of Americanizing the Hawaiian Islands to bring in orientals. Yes, it would have that effect in my opinion; whenever the necessity arose they would use them anywhere that they could be used.

Mr. CABLE. Do you know whether any of those men who are employed in the fields belong to unions at the present time?

Mr. WALLACE. It is evident that those Japanese have joined a union of their own.

Mr. MALONEY. Your point is that these people who are employing Japanese over there, that the Japanese were all right with them as long as they could control them; but now that they have gotten outside of their control, they are beginning to recognize they have some rights as to fixing the conditions under which they work, that now the employers are objecting and want to bring in a class that they can control and also control the conditions under which they work?

Mr. WALLACE. Absolutely. And, as I said before, it might be South Sea Islanders, and, if there is anything below that, they can choose them—anyone that they can absolutely hold down and have them work under conditions that they wish to impose upon them.

Mr. RAKER. What is the matter with those Soloman Islanders? That is a new one on me.

Mr. WALLACE. They are a man-eating class. I do not know, but I have read some of Jack London's stories.

Mr. FREE. Don't you think it would be a good thing to let some of them get in there and eat up some of the Japanese?

Mr. WALLACE. That is my impression. They had this black-birding system among those islanders; they would go to those islands and some chief would sell them a certain number of young men for a certain length of time and he would get a consideration and they would have to go in there and work for a certain length of time and then they would turn them back and so many more would come. That is the system under which they raised copra in the South Sea Islands, according to my reading.

Mr. CABLE. I would like to ask you another question. You are here representing the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CABLE. You are here in response to a protest filed with the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. WALLACE. I am here in answer to a protest filed with the American Federation of Labor by the Honolulu Federation of Labor, consisting of the labor unions over there.

Mr. CABLE. What I want to get at is to find out the condition over there in Hawaii and Honolulu, as to who are in back of this protest. Is it the Japanese and the Japanese unions, or employees of the Government, or who?

Mr. WALLACE. I have not the information here; I have not the originals.

Mr. CABLE. In other words, I want to get the origin of the protest, if it is possible. I am not asking you to give away any state secrets.

Mr. WALLACE. No, sir.

Mr. CABLE. But we want to get all the information.

Mr. WALLACE. This is not a secret at all. I was anxious to bring this before the committee, but I do not have the original papers. But here is an answer to Mr. H. N. Tyson, president of the Central Labor Union.

Mr. CABLE. Now, who is Mr. H. N. Tyson?

Mr. WALLACE. He is not a Japanese.

Mr. CABLE. What does he do out there, do you know?

Mr. WALLACE. He is president of the Central Labor Union; I do not know what else. He is in some trade, no doubt, working. I have not the information here, and that is why I asked to wait until the papers came.

Mr. FREE. Isn't it a fact that a man by the name of Wright is president and Mr. Tyson is not the president?

Mr. WALLACE. This is all I have—Mr. Tyson, president of the Central Labor Union.

Mr. CABLE. Can you give us the benefit of the names of those who protested and who they represent?

Mr. WALLACE. I will bring that here as soon as I get the information.

Mr. CABLE. I believe it would help the committee in acting fairly in this matter, to find out the source of the objections filed in the resolutions.

Mr. WALLACE. I want to say one thing, that we, as a federation of labor, do not feel called upon to support the nationalistic hopes of any race of people in any part of this country or its Territories.

Mr. CABLE. That is exactly what I want to get at; whether this is a Japanese problem and whether you are in back of it, or whether this is entirely an American Federation of Labor problem.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Cable, we protested against the admission of Japs in this country or any of its Territories. They were brought in in spite of our protest as long as they would labor and labor cheap and were obedient and even abject. I want to say this, also, that if the time comes when we either have to admit any race of people into this country or fight, at my age I am willing to take a gun. I am not here representing any foreign race of people or any race of people; I am here to try to protect conditions of labor in America; I am here to protest against slavery in any part of the United States.

Mr. CABLE. You will find this committee unanimous, I think, against importing any labor into this country.

Mr. WALLACE. Or any of its Territories.

Mr. CABLE. We are not against hearing American labor here, but what we want to find out is whether or not the situation there in Hawaii is different or not.

Mr. WALLACE. It seems to me that the way for you to correct that situation is not by importing another oriental situation, and under conditions even worse than those under which the Japanese were brought in.

Mr. FREE. What would be your solution of that problem? You realize we have a problem out there?

Mr. WALLACE. If this industry can not get along without some kind of slave labor, I say it is a parasitic industry. I believe if the inducements there were sufficient men would go there. I see no reason, even in that country, if there are certain advantages in going over there, why they can not advertise those advantages in this country and get a plentiful supply of labor. There are 5,000,000 idle men in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. They would not work on crops in the fields, would they?

Mr. WALLACE. Oh, I do not know; why not?

Mr. CABLE. You would not favor American labor going over there and working for the wages they give, would you?

Mr. WALLACE. Not for the wages they give, but if the wages are good enough, if they could give fair wages, I know of pretty good American citizens who work in the fields. They call them farmers, but they work in the fields.

Mr. FREE. A white man can not work in the fields of that country, can he?

Mr. WALLACE. My impression has been that when a job becomes a Negro's job, to use that expression, or a Jap's job, why, then, the white man won't work there; and that is the objection they have to going there to work.

Mr. RAKER. Is not that the condition that has occurred in the Western States, that our best young men and women from the schools, during their vacations, went out and picked prunes and gathered up almons and gathered the greater part of the crop of apricots, and then on to the hops, and did that work until the Japs came in, and then the white boy and the white girl would not go out there and work?

Mr. WALLACE. Of course they would not; why should they? Why, those men were brought in first because they would work cheap; and then this migratory importation—I have seen men, white men, Americans, driven away from the mines, driven away from the factories by the cheaper labor that was imported. They spread over the country and kept going westward, without homes, without families, until they met the incoming flood, the yellow flood, and they were driven back, and those men have a grouch against the Government. They are called the I. W. W's, and they are nothing but disgruntled men. They have a grouch against the Government and hatred, and I think it is partly justified.

The CHAIRMAN. You say they have a grouch?

Mr. WALLACE. I say they have a grouch.

The CHAIRMAN. Their leader, Bill Hayward, seemed to have a graft.

Mr. WALLACE. I have read that, too.

Mr. SABATH. In what way do you think they are justified in part, when the conditions of the men who labor have been getting better and better and better? Have they not improved the laboring conditions of the American in the last 20 or 30 years?

Mr. WALLACE. Since organized labor has gotten some hold. The conditions were miserable and the harm was done and the potential family was driven out before organized labor got a chance.

Mr. SABATH. I would grant that the Federation of Labor or united labor has done a great deal to improve the conditions and they have done so especially in the last 30 years. Now, what I desire to ask is, in view of the improved conditions, What reason or justification have these men to have this grouch? They have been earning more money than ever before; they live better than ever before; they have nearly everything. Of course, here and there there may be some shortcomings.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Sabath, I am not a patriarch yet; but I remember when all of the iron mills, all of the coal mines, most of the textile mills were manned by Americans and the early immigrants. I have seen them driven out from those places until not 1 per cent remain. These men that drifted out into the building of railroads, into the lumber camps of the West, into the quartz mines and new places, they have never married. It is the womanless man, the man who has no stake in the country, that is a menace to this country. He has nothing to lose. And from that kind of people you get all your labor radicals.

Mr. RAKER. We brought in this cheap foreign labor to take their places?

Mr. WALLACE. To take their places and drove them out of every place. They have no wives; they have no family; they have no plot of ground—they have no stake.

Mr. RAKER. And we do not have to go very far and very many years back?

Mr. WALLACE. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Over in Illinois, less than four years ago, their agents went down South and brought up trainloads of Negroes, with promises, that came to the door where these men worked and went in and took their jobs?

Mr. WALLACE. Absolutely, and drove them out. Those are the radicals.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all, and when you have that evidence, we will be glad to have it.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, sir.

(The committee thereupon adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, June 24, 1921, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, June 24, 1921.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Your chairman has given some thought to the question raised yesterday that discussion in detail before this committee of various phases of the Japanese problem in Hawaii might not be proper subject matter to come before this committee, and that such discussion of these problems might embarrass the State Department.

Mr. RAKER. I want to go on record as opposed to that statement
The CHAIRMAN. If you will just wait a minute.

The chairman has examined questions and answers in the hearings of the past three days and finds that the questions involved are identical, or nearly identical, with those which furnished the basis of the inquiry by this committee in California, Oregon, and Washington during the Sixty-sixth Congress.

Therefore the chairman gives it as his opinion that, inasmuch as the present labor situation in Hawaii is alleged to be largely the result of Japanese settlement within the islands and Japanese solidarity there, it is pertinent for this committee to hear statements on any and all phases of the question in open hearings.

At the proper time, unless there is objection, I may present a statement with the views I have gathered here and elsewhere. Pertinent questions may be asked of any witnesses appearing here after.

Mr. RAKER. The chairman will present a statement for the witnesses?

The CHAIRMAN. No, I will present a composite statement which seems to give the whole thing in a nut shell.

Mr. RAKER. Then, after that has been presented in a nut shell, there might be some necessity to crack that nut a little bit, and we will be given the opportunity to see what is inside of the nut?

The CHAIRMAN. If the matter is not considered sufficiently discussed for this committee to come to a conclusion and act on the resolution directly, we can go on and hold hearings all summer, although many other matters are pressing.

Mr. RAKER. That is perfectly satisfactory to me, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Representative Nolan is present and desires to be heard, we will hear him now.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN I. NOLAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

Mr. NOLAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, there are two phases of the subject covered by this resolution about which I desire to say a few words.

As a Californian and as one of the California Delegation in the House, I felt it my duty to transmit to this committee certain protests that I have received. In addition to that, I feel it my duty also to enter my protest against any legislation or any resolution by the Congress of the United States that would permit the tilting of the lid regarding Asiatic immigration, whether it happened to deal with Chinese, Japanese, or other Asiatics.

The people of our State, in fact the people of the West coast, are pretty generally solidified on the matter of complete Asiatic exclusion. We have had an opportunity during the last four or five years to try out all sorts of suggestions regarding relief to the agriculturists and horticulturists of the Western States. One little experience we had I would like to call to the attention of the committee—that was when the Secretary of Labor, in interpreting the Burnett immigration bill, decided that certain classes of labor would be permitted to come over our borders, practically in bond, for agricultural purposes. I do not know what the experience of the rest of the border States was in that regard; I do know this, that some of the Mexican laborers that came over into California and got up into our beet fields, did not receive the consideration that was promised them.

They were not in bond as proposed practically by the terms of this resolution; but they did not get the consideration they should have received from the beet growers and the sugar men. That was our only experience with tilting the lid for agricultural purposes.

A movement was started in California by certain interests to bring about a sentiment there among the farmers and agriculturists generally for the admission of Chinese in bond; a well-financed movement in this country was started and it had its headquarters in New York and undoubtedly you gentlemen received plenty of literature. I can not recall the name of the gentleman who had charge of the matter over there, but I know he circularized Congress time after time in regard to this movement. The people of our State had an opportunity to go on record, through the farmers' organizations, and they went on record solidly against any importation of Chinese for agricultural purposes, in bond or otherwise. So I just preface my remarks on this situation, as it applies to Hawaii, to tell you just exactly how our people feel.

You know what happened in the alien land referendum last fall; you know how our people feel about Asiatic labor generally, and if the suggestion was even made out there that we would admit Chinese for any purpose, it would be overwhelmingly defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. What did happen on the alien land referendum?

Mr. NOLAN. A four to one vote against it; a four to one vote against permitting Japanese or Asiatics from owning or leasing land in the State of California.

Mr. RAKER. That applied to Chinese as well as Japanese?

Mr. NOLAN. To all Asiatics—all those ineligible to citizenship.

The other phase of this on which I would like to say a word, before going into the situation in regard to Hawaii, is that I do not know how we can justify any action by the American Congress that would mean bonded or forced labor; and if you admit labor in any considerable numbers, in bond, you are tying them to the particular jobs they are supposed to do.

Mr. RAKER. Is not that specifically inhibited by the Constitution, as well as by the decisions of the Supreme Court, since the thirteenth amendment?

Mr. NOLAN. I will leave that to you lawyers. I am not a lawyer; I only happen to be a layman. But I think we put that thing behind us many years ago and the struggle cost the lives of many good men on both sides in doing it. We settled the question of bonded labor; and whether it is the continental United States or one of our possessions or anybody we have under our wing, we ought not to give it a moment's consideration. If an industry can not live in this country or in any of our possessions without bonded labor or enforced labor, it should not thrive at all; it does not belong to us. That is about all I have to say in that regard.

Now, gentlemen, I want to tell you my experience as far as Hawaii is concerned. I went over there first in 1900 and stayed there 13 months and came back to the United States in 1901. I went there again in 1904, stayed eight months and came back in 1905. When I first went over there, the Japanese were coming in in droves; they were also leaving the islands for the mainland, and they continued to do that until 1907.

I had some opportunity to observe conditions over there. The first strike, I think, of the Japanese—and I mention the strikes because that is largely responsible for this resolution, the experiences of the planters and people of Hawaii generally with the Japanese strike last year—the first strike I have any knowledge of occurred on one of the plantations on the island of Oahu in 1901. I can not give you the name of the plantation, because it has gone out of my mind. I remember very well, though, that the then high sheriff of Honolulu, Sheriff Brown, and several of his deputies—and, if I remember right, I think one of the members of this commission happened to be with them at the time, Mr. Chillingsworth, and I do know Mr. Duffie and some others went along—went out to the plantation to settle the Japanese strike. Luckily they had the consul general of the Japanese Government with them, and he was able to talk to them and quiet them down; otherwise, somebody would have been hurt.

From that time on they have had considerable trouble with the Japanese, due to the fact they began to feel their strength—they were dominating the labor situation on the plantation. I am not going to blame the planters; I think they have probably been penalized heavily enough without criticizing them for the situation that exists there. But they turned everything on the plantations over to the Jap—not along the laborious work in the fields, but the building of pipe lines, contracting for the building of ditches, and work like that. They turned over to them practically everything of a mechanical nature on the plantations with the possible exception of the chief engineer's job and a few other important jobs of that kind.

In 1904, when I was over there, the planters—I make the suggestion it was the planters, because I do not know of any other interest that would have started the movement over there except the planters—made a proposition to the builders' and traders' organization in Honolulu and the Honolulu Trades and Labor Council, asking them each to appoint a committee of three to make a tour of all the plantations for the purpose of investigating the labor situation and making recommendations. That committee was taken in tow by Mr. Pinkham, former Governor of Hawaii, and I think he at that time was connected with the Territorial board of health. They made quite an extensive tour of the islands and came back to Honolulu and wrote a report memorializing Congress to admit into the Territory of Hawaii, for a period of 10 years, 30,000 Chinese in bond for agricultural purposes. I was a delegate to the Central Labor Council out there, and I bitterly opposed the proposition. The council then took no action, favorable or unfavorable, for the simple reason everything broke up in a row whenever a discussion took place.

Mr. RAKER. Where was this meeting, in Hawaii?

Mr. NOLAN. In Honolulu. The people who were interested in having that resolution adopted sent for the delegates to that council, practically everyone of them, and tried to induce them, by various methods, to vote in favor of the adoption of the report, which would have been a memorial from a representative gathering of labor over there to the American Congress to admit Chinese in the Territory of Hawaii. In return for their support to admit Chinese into the Territory of Hawaii, they promised to discharge every Japanese holding a skilled mechanical or semiskilled position on the plantations and to turn those positions over to citizen labor.

The American Federation of Labor was communicated with and immediately, in their convention in San Francisco in 1904, they entered a strong and vigorous protest to the Government of the United States against any action of this kind. Some of the local unions over there that had adopted the report were disciplined by their international unions through a loss of their charter. It shows you the very strong feeling that the people of this country, especially the workers, had against any admission of Chinese, in bond or otherwise.

The thing was dropped; no effective action was had upon the proposition. But I would like to call the committee's attention to this fact, that as far back as 1904 the proposition of admitting Chinese into the Territory of Hawaii was a live issue, and considerable time and money was spent in sending this commission around to the different islands and in compiling this report for the purpose of getting effective action.

Now, the same arguments were advanced in 1904 that you find advanced here to-day. I have not had an opportunity of being present before this committee, but I have discussed this matter with Mr. Dillingham and Senator Wise, and I have also discussed it with a man I know very well and who has had a great many years' experience in Hawaii, Mr. McCrosson, and I went into it very fully with them; and the very same arguments are being presented to you to-day, gentlemen, as were presented in 1904—the sugar industry in Hawaii could not live unless they got cheap labor, unless they were relieved from the terrific situation they were living under at that time, on account of the economic control of those islands, as far as the labor situation was concerned, by the Japanese.

Notwithstanding that, Hawaii has continued to prosper. I would like you to have, Mr. Chairman, an opportunity of going over the stock reports in reference to the stock of the different plantations in Hawaii and the different institutions interested in sugar over there, and you can get them very readily enough through the clerk of this committee, for 1904, 1920, and the present time. You can then see whether Hawaii has prospered, notwithstanding her claims at that time.

Now, the sugar industry has not alone prospered, but they have built up what to-day is a tremendous business, and that is the pineapple industry over there. And Hawaii has prospered, notwithstanding the statements made at that time, and is going to prosper without Chinese and without forced labor.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they build up the pineapple industry?

Mr. NOLAN. They had no pineapple industry when I was there, and I am calling your attention to the fact, Mr. Chairman, that it has prospered. They made the statement that they had to have this cheap labor for their plantations in 1904, and they wanted 30,000 Chinese to save the islands. I do not know how they did it, but I am telling you you can get the facts as to how the pineapple industry prospered, because they found a common-sense, practical method of canning pineapples and have a very effective organization over there, not alone for distribution but for advertising the excellent qualities of pineapple as a food.

The CHAIRMAN. That is done by organization, beginning with the introduction of capital?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes. But at that time they had no pineapple industry. I am calling your attention to the fact that not alone the sugar industry has been able to survive over there and live with the labor conditions complained of in 1904, but they have built up this added industry and I hope many others.

Mr. RAKER. And in that industry a great many young people, young women, are used in canning?

Mr. NOLAN. I could not give you the facts in connection with the class of labor; but I am calling your attention to the fact, in a broad way, that Hawaii has prospered since 1904, notwithstanding the claims of the commission at that time and the planters that they had to have relief through forced or bonded labor to save the situation and relieve them from the Jap.

Mr. RAKER. From your personal observation over there, Mr. Nolan, and knowledge of the labor condition generally, just what is the trouble with those people in Hawaii in regard to labor? Can you tell us?

Mr. NOLAN. Well, it is no different, Judge, so far as the Japanese are concerned—which is the class of labor that is largely used on the plantations—than it is in California. From my investigations over there and from what I could find out, when the Jap was first brought there he got \$16 a month and the same conditions of house, fuel, light, water, a little patch of ground and medical attention, and the Waihani woman got \$12 a month, in the fields. Since that time, I understand it has gone up to approximately \$24 or \$26 a month—a dollar a day. When he first came there, he did not have control in the cane fields and he did a good day's work, according to the statements of the planters—he was considered a good laborer, because he had not gotten control. As they gradually came along, he diminished the amount of the labor he did in the cane fields and in other lines over there, until he was doing what he considered \$16 worth of work, and the statement was made it took three Japanese in 1904 and 1905 to do the same amount of labor that was done by one, when they did not have control of the plantations, several years before.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, he was fixing his labor according to the amount he was paid?

Mr. NOLAN. He was doing what they call striking on the job. He was making a place for another fellow to come along, because he did not get what he considered he was earning. Now they were making room for more of them. What they had in the back of their head, in making room for more, I do not know; but that situation has gone on until last year.

You have the history of the strike down there. They had a pretty hard time of it.

Mr. MALONEY. Will you give us the history of that strike?

Mr. NOLAN. I could not give it to you for last year; I was not over there and all I know are the newspaper reports. But I think these gentlemen here have given you the exact facts and, as far as I know, I have no reason to doubt one word they say in relation to the strike situation over there last year. Knowing the people they had to deal with, as I do, I do not think they can exaggerate anything they did. We know what they did in California. They have my entire sympathy as far as that situation is concerned, whether they are responsible for it, or not; because we have it in a milder way in California.

Now there is not a farmer in this country, or not any great number of farmers in this country, that are not oppressed from time to time on account of the labor cost. In yesterday's paper, a statement was made that they had to pay \$6 a day to farm labor in the State of Kansas, on account of the shortage——

Mr. WHITE. That is right.

Mr. NOLAN (continuing). And we know there is a tremendous number of men hundreds of thousands or a million or two, of farm laborers available some place in this country without the necessary means of transportation, distribution or anything else to take them to Kansas to relieve that situation. It is not a question of \$6 a day: it is a question of shortage, and that is exactly what labor costs mean. Wherever there is a shortage, it goes up.

This Congress recently passed an immigration bill. Now, you had all of the calamity howlers in this country before your committee protesting against the limitation of immigration—the representatives of the big interests and everybody else that was interested—and they could put up just as fine a tale as the gentlemen from Hawaii. Now, if they can get relief under legitimate conditions, I am willing to go as far as anybody else to give it to them.

Mr. RAKER. From your observation, Mr. Nolan, are not the Hawaiian people in a little different situation than they are in continental United States, in that the Japanese are of such a large percentage now of the labor that instead of really being a labor organization, by classes as to each occupation, they make it a national organization, and, therefore, they are in a position practically to dominate the entire situation?

Mr. NOLAN. I do not know anything about the national aspect. I do know something about the Japanese and their methods. Whether it is in California or Hawaii, there is nobody that has a closer feeling of kin than the Japanese—whether it is out in the field as a laborer, or whether it is in the formation of small cooperative organizations with a limited amount of capital to start with, branching out and sending their people out into the world to work until such time as they need to draw them in to take their part in this particular line of business, or whether it is trying to capture some fertile valley in the State of California or some place else, through methods they know so well how to practice; that is, for a number of years they have had a monopoly in furnishing labor to that particular section of a State and have driven out every other class, and then, when the time comes and the crop is about to ripen on the trees, they withhold labor and will not gather the crop at any price; and through that means eventually they get control not only of the crop but the land itself.

We are trying to reach that situation in California in a straightforward way——

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if you were trying to meet it in Hawaii, then what?

Mr. NOLAN. I say I am willing to give every legitimate help. We in California have got to find a way to meet that thing legitimately. We think we have done it. Some people are telling us we are going to plunge the country into war by doing it—by depriving those people within the State of the right of holding, leasing, or owning land.

Mr. CABLE. Is your chief objection to this resolution the fact a bond is required for the return of these people?

Mr. NOLAN. My principal objection to the resolution is that behind it I feel they want Chinese labor, and they are not curing the race question over there except in another direction. Those of us who were raised in California know how much of a menace the Chinaman is. Now he happens to be of good standing throughout the country; to-day he happens to be in fairly good standing in California, because many years ago he ceased to be an economic menace. And when he ceased to be that to the field worker and the manufacturer and agriculturist, he took on a new being. When he went into the restaurant business and went into the curio business and went in the households, as a household servant, why he ceased to be an economic menace to anybody; but when he used to come over by the thousands he, first of all, was a menace to the worker; when he started to go into business, then he became a menace to the retailer; when he became a manufacturer, then he became a menace to the manufacturer, and, when the people began generally to buy from him direct, he became a menace to everybody and we got the Chinese exclusion law.

Now, we do not want Chinese to enter into any of our possessions any more than the Japs. I have probably a little bit more fear, in the matter of competition, of the Japanese, but I do not want the Chinese; that is, I do not want to see us return to the proposition of forced labor and bonded labor in any case.

Mr. CABLE. If there was no bond, would it be bonded labor?

Mr. NOLAN. If you admit them to this country?

Mr. CABLE. No; to Hawaii, I mean.

Mr. NOLAN. If you admit them to Hawaii for a certain specific purpose and confine them to that, what are you going to do with them when they leave the plantation?

Mr. RAKER. Arrest them and send them back.

Mr. NOLAN. You are chaining them to the job again.

Mr. RAKER. Surely.

Mr. NOLAN. What is the difference between that and a bond?

Mr. RAKER. None whatever.

Mr. NOLAN. You are only doing in this instance what you relieved or tried to relieve the seamen from. The seaman, when he quit his ship in any port in the United States, up to a few years ago, was returned to the ship. We stopped that. And I say on the Hawaiian question, no matter what he may look like or what color they are, do not introduce another race problem in the Territory of Hawaii; if you can relieve them in any way at all, for God's sake give them the kind of labor we can assimilate.

Mr. CABLE. What would you recommend? Provided what they have said is true, that they paid the Japs so much money last year that a good many of them are leaving and there is a labor shortage and a failure of crops in the field, what is your idea for remedying that situation?

Mr. NOLAN. I will give you my idea, but I want to say to you, frankly, that I do not think Congress is going to pass any legislation of this kind; I do not think they are going to give any special privileges.

Mr. CABLE. I want to get your idea for the benefit of the committee.

Mr. NOLAN. I will tell you what I think is going to happen over there; they are going to take the Jap and work the Jap, but they will work him under different conditions—they will put him on a basic wage, which will be better for the planter and for everybody else. The mistake was made on the bonus, because the price of sugar, under conditions that we ourselves are somewhat responsible for, went so high that the wages over there, the plantation wages, were all out of proportion. A basic wage, fixed from time to time as we fix the wage for farm labor in this country, would have been the better proposition for the plantations of Hawaii, and that is the best thing he can do to-day, whether he deals with the Jap or anybody else; that is, to deal with them like the farmers in this country deal with them.

Just imagine, gentlemen, what is going to happen. You have a cane-sugar industry, not on such a large scale, down here in the State of Louisiana. What would the Louisiana cane planters think if you are going to give any special privileges to Hawaii; what will the beet-sugar men of California, Utah, Colorado, Nebraska, Michigan, and all the rest of those Middle Western States think if you are going to give special privileges to the growers of Hawaii? They are entitled to the same consideration. They have to market their product in competition with Hawaii, and you must give them the same consideration.

Mr. CABLE. Is not their chief competitor Cuba rather than Hawaii?

Mr. NOLAN. Competitor of who?

Mr. CABLE. Of the sugar industry in this country?

Mr. NOLAN. It is all in the same boat. The fact of the matter is that the price of sugar is fixed by the trust. The trust buys the sugar from the Hawaiian planter; it buys it from the Louisiana planter, and it buys it from the planter in Cuba and buys it from the rest of the world, and it also negotiates with the men who control the sugar industry in this country regarding prices.

Mr. RAKER. And they fix the price through their refineries?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. The Louisiana planters refine their own product; they are in competition with the trust.

Mr. NOLAN. I say the arrangements are generally consummated through the American Sugar Refining Co., even though there are a lot of independents. In other words, they are not out in the markets competing. Whether they have a signed agreement or not, they have some sort of an understanding.

Mr. CABLE. That understanding does not hold good to-day though, does it?

Mr. NOLAN. No understanding holds good to-day so far as commodities are concerned. You can do it with the building material and you can do it with the stuff that doesn't perish, but you can not do it with farm products. If you could, the farmers in this country would be more prosperous than they are.

Mr. WILSON. The Louisiana sugar planters, of course, must compete directly with the Hawaiian sugar producers.

Mr. NOLAN. Surely; just as much as they compete with Cuba and the illustration I was trying to make is what are the Louisiana planters going to say if you are going to give Hawaii Chinese or some other type or class of cheap labor and deny it to the United States?

Mr. WILSON. I will say right there, Mr. Chairman, it has already gone into the hearings that the continental American sugar producers

took the position at their New York meeting that if this resolution should pass, extending this privilege to Hawaii, they are going to demand of us that the same privilege be extended to the continental United States.

Mr. NOLAN. And I can tell you that the fruit growers of California want the same thing, if you are going to give any special privileges.

Mr. WILSON. I did not know that.

Mr. NOLAN. I mean they would expect it. There was a group of them that wanted it and I will say this much for them that they were patriotic enough, and have shown their patriotism, to turn it down. I am not talking for political effect, because the only farmers in my district are those that I make myself through the annual distribution of garden seed; but the farmers out there were patriotic enough to stand pat on this proposition and 9 out of every 10 of them voted against the admission of all Asiatics.

Mr. RAKER. But notwithstanding that, Mr. Nolan, the large fruit producers and the large hop growers and others have been feeding this question up to the limit right along.

Mr. NOLAN. When you are talking about the fruit producers you are not talking about farmers; and when you are talking about the hop growers, you are talking about men who employ Hindus and all sorts of labor in the hop fields, and they are the men who are largely responsible for that custom.

Mr. RAKER. But I say they have been feeding this stuff right up to the limit to see if they could not get a letting down of the bars and let them have Chinese.

Mr. NOLAN. I say 9 out of 10, and these fruit producers and hop growers you speak of being the tenth—I say 9 out of every 10 farmers in California have opposed it.

Now, gentlemen, I do not see how the planters in the Territory of Hawaii can expect this special consideration. They have got, as they call it, a trickle from the Philippines; they are making an effort in Porto Rico. They might try some of the rest of the islands and get labor that is admissible to go over to the Territory of Hawaii. I would advise them, as a Member of Congress, to devote most of their energies to that end of it and give it a severe trial. I am not a bit fearful of the future of the Hawaiian Islands, if they do not get this sort of special relief. I have called your attention to the fact that they have prospered since 1904 up to this year of 1921, and they raised the same issue then and the chairman of this committee and I believe Judge Raker and a few others on the committee remember a Mr. Hindle who came over here not as representing the planters but, he frankly stated himself, a group of very wealthy Chinese in the Hawaiian Islands who were desirous of bringing large numbers of their countrymen into the Territory some years ago.

Now, I just want to register the protest of a number of organizations in California, the Exclusion League, State Federation of Labor, and other organizations there, that are opposed to the admission of any Asiatics to either the continental United States or any of our insular possessions.

Mr. KLECZKA. There is no shortage of labor in the farming communities of California, is there?

Mr. NOLAN. No; not now.

Mr. KLECZKA. That is, a shortage of unskilled labor?

Mr. NOLAN. There is no shortage of unskilled labor just now. They have had their shortages, but during this period of unemployment in the cities they can get about all the labor they need.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with your suggestion and recommendation to the planters, that they try to secure labor from elsewhere, I will call your attention to a proposition coming before the committee, not in the form of a bill, but in the form of a suggested amendment to the immigration act. [Reading:]

Provided, That any alien laborer, skilled or unskilled, not having become a citizen of the United States, who has gone to any foreign country or to any insular territory or possession of the United States or Canal Zone under a passport issued by this Government, permitting him to proceed thereto, shall not be allowed to enter the continental territory of the United States from such foreign country, insular territory, or possession of the United States or Canal Zone.

Can you see in that the nucleus of legislation that might help the situation?

Mr. NOLAN. No. I can only see in that a letting down of the bars as far as our immigration laws are concerned to suit a particular condition that the Territory of Hawaii feels it is confronted with and that a great many of the States of this Union could also justify.

The CHAIRMAN. This does not apply to any aliens barred from admission by the present law.

Mr. NOLAN. I understand. This would clearly bar out those that are not admissible at the present time, but I can not see any justification for a broad proposition of that kind, that is, for any special section of our domain.

The CHAIRMAN. You think, then, that if the planters in Hawaii are sincere in their statement that they are suffering for labor or see that they will be suffering, if they can not provide relief from those that go naturally to the Territory, the sugar industry out there had better perish?

Mr. NOLAN. I do not want to see anybody crucified. I do not think they are suffering from a want of labor. I think they are suffering from a want of the kind of labor that they are after. I think before very long they will reemploy the Jap on satisfactory terms and that the thing will settle down to such an extent that the Japanese will be willing to listen to reason and to go on the plantations and work. Now, if it is a proposition of driving all Japanese out of the Territory of Hawaii, that is another proposition. We have no right to do that. I want to know how, as the American Government, we are going to justify our contention—I will just divert a little bit on this international situation—how we are going to justify the position that we are asking the State Department to take to-day, through diplomatic channels, in trying to arrange with Japan for the complete exclusion of all of her nationals; and then to say, in another breath, get rid of your people who have come into the country under the law, and say now in the Territory of Hawaii we are going to extend special privileges to the sugar interests over there and business interests—

The CHAIRMAN. No; the problem is this, that while we are trying to arrange for the specific exclusion of one oriental race, we are suggesting that we might aid in that exclusion by extending special privileges to the people of another oriental race.

Mr. NOLAN. In other words, you would allow other immigrants to come into Hawaii who would not be permitted to come to the United States, and the idea in mind would be to relieve the planters over there from this labor situation and to drive the Jap off the plantations out into the labor market and there is no place for him to go, and he must go back to his own country. Is not that the fact?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, nearly so.

Mr. NOLAN. How are we going to justify our position with Japan in a diplomatic way, in asking them to enter into negotiations with us accepting the proposition of excluding her nationals?

Mr. RAKER. In other words, this proposition excludes the Japanese—the resolution that is before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The substitute you have in your hand there does not deal with oriental peoples at all.

Mr. KLECZKA. It deals with all races, all orientals, to prevent their readmission to the United States. That, in short, is its effect.

Mr. NOLAN. The inference is he would be eligible to become a citizen if he came into this country.

The CHAIRMAN. No; the proposition is that any alien could not leave the island with a passport to go to the United States until he has completed his citizenship; that is, unless he is a citizen he can not come to the continental United States.

Mr. NOLAN. That is a five-year tenure on the Islands of Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard all sorts of propositions put forward here with regard to the naturalization of aliens under various forms and an extension of time—forced naturalization and distribution and holding them in certain places—you have heard that proposed by lecturers and chambers of commerce?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, this resolution would permit all Chinese and Japanese that desired to come to Hawaii to come, the suggested resolution, but they never could come to the United States because they are ineligible to become citizens?

The CHAIRMAN. It is proposed to make this resolution, if the words are not clear, applicable only to those who could become citizens. As I remember the argument yesterday, it was designed and put forward with a view of admitting only those that would be assimilable.

Mr. RAKER. That is not what they want. They do not want to exclude Chinese. The resolution now before the committee, and I want to call Mr. Nolan's attention to it, which relates to the complications that are now in existence before the State Department and otherwise, would not allow any Japanese to come to the Hawaiian Islands. In other words, it says "but that such admission of aliens shall not operate to increase the number of persons of any one alien nationality in the Territory of Hawaii so that their total number at any one time should exceed 20 per cent of the total population of Hawaii as determined by the last census." Now there are 280,000 there and of course the Japanese have exceeded that 20 per cent. There are only 12,000 Chinese. Take that from 56,000 and it would leave about 44,000 Chinese that could be admitted under this resolution. So that we are excluding one of the Asiatic nationalities and admitting the other, which would bring about the same complication we have now, only intensified.

Mr. NOLAN. I was addressing myself to this proviso, which the chairman read. I do not believe we ought to have any of our outlying possessions used as an instrument to citizenship by having people serve a probationary period. And that is exactly what this would do and give them the opportunity of coming in there regardless of our immigration laws.

The CHAIRMAN. A question or two on other phases of the situation. The resolution of the Central Labor Council of Honolulu states, "We maintain there is not at present any serious shortage of the labor supply in the Territory." Do you agree with that?

Mr. NOLAN. I have no means of knowing whether that is a statement of fact or not.

The CHAIRMAN. They state, also, that the present shortage in the sugar crop in the island is not due to a lack of labor but is a direct result of the strike of last year, which affected the growing crop and reduced the production of the crop for the present year. You have no information concerning that?

Mr. NOLAN. No. The statement was made by Mr. Dillingham to me that it was stated in the Central Labor Council that white men would work in the cane fields. I want to agree with this commission that you can not get white men to work in the cane fields; so that any man who made that statement, whether on the floor of the council or anywhere else, is absolutely in error.

Mr. RAKER. What do you mean by that?

Mr. NOLAN. I mean that the white man will not work in the cane fields.

Mr. RAKER. Why?

Mr. NOLAN. Well, because of the conditions of climate and everything else. We have a hard time getting them to work in the delta up in the San Joaquin Valley on potatoes and on asparagus; and I think it is tougher work out in the cane fields of Hawaii than it is in the California Delta.

Mr. BOX. The organization you mentioned—what is the name?

The CHAIRMAN. The Central Labor Council of Honolulu.

Mr. BOX. I want to know whether that is a Japanese organization or does it represent American workmen?

Mr. NOLAN. All American workers.

The CHAIRMAN. The legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor stated here yesterday that the unions could take alien workers into their ranks.

Mr. NOLAN. Aliens, yes; not necessarily citizens. But, as far as I know, there are no Asiatics in any of those organizations. I do not know of any organization that takes in Asiatics.

Mr. RAKER. They are not excluded, are they?

Mr. NOLAN. I do not know that they are excluded specifically, but I have never known of any unions that have taken them in.

Mr. KLECZKA. The Japanese have their own labor organization in Hawaii, have they not?

Mr. NOLAN. I believe they have.

Mr. RAKER. This is one thing I have been unable to reconcile. Supposing there are 40,000 Japanese over there, American citizens. Now, as American citizens, having the rights of American citizens in every way, without any discrimination whatever, don't you think that Congress should not recognize legislation that would bring in

nonassimilable, nonadmissible, Asiatic laborers to take the place of and drive out those American citizens, although they were Japs, by depriving them of their right to participate in the working conditions and others of Hawaii?

Mr. NOLAN. I do not know how many thousand citizens there are of Japanese parentage, but I doubt very much whether there are 40,000.

Mr. WEEBER. There are 49,000 native-born Japanese.

Mr. NOLAN. Forty-nine thousand native-born Japanese that have reached the age of 21 years?

Mr. WEEBER. No, sir; they have not all reached that age.

Mr. RAKER. I do not fix the age, but there are 49,000 citizens who are Japanese.

Mr. NOLAN. I see the point.

Mr. RAKER. Now, they are in all branches of business, either agriculture or fruit. Could we, as the American Congress, consider for a moment, notwithstanding their nationality is Japanese, passing legislation that would deprive them of the right to work or labor and to handle their business in the island, whatever it may be, and bring in bonded Chinese? Let us get right down to fundamentals.

Mr. NOLAN. No; we could not under the Constitution; but our people would advocate an amendment that would permit us in the State of California to deprive even native-born Japs of the right to own land, and so forth.

Mr. RAKER. No; we have not.

Mr. NOLAN. We are advocating that.

Mr. RAKER. No.

Mr. CABLE. How did you handle that situation out in California?

Mr. NOLAN. Senator Phelan had a constitutional amendment pending in the Senate—

Mr. RAKER. No; I want to differ with you; that is not his amendment. I have had the same amendment pending in the House for four years. This is the amendment—that children hereafter born of alien parents, who themselves (their parents), or either one, could not become citizens, could not become citizens although born in the United States. That is the amendment.

Mr. NOLAN. The only difference is you are not making it retroactive; that is all. The principle is the same. Frankly, I am in favor of it, if it could be accomplished, knowing our experience with them.

Mr. CABLE. I just wondered how you handled the situation out in California that you described, where the Japs would get control of a valley or attempt to get control by refusing to work.

Mr. NOLAN. Why, they own the land now, they own the leases, and the way we are trying to correct it, at a rather late date, is through depriving them of the right to own or lease land in the State.

Mr. CABLE. By your State legislation?

Mr. NOLAN. By our State legislation. It is a little bit late, but we are trying to save the rest of the State from the conditions that exist in the Sacramento Valley and certain portions of the San Joaquin Valley and a large section of the Santa Clara Valley. They have control of the potato crop; they have control of the asparagus and berry crop, and largely control of the cantaloupe crop.

Mr. CABLE. What percentage of the land do they own?

Mr. NOLAN. Not in the aggregate such a great percentage of the land, but they own a fairly good percentage of the land in California that is under cultivation in fruits and vegetables.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all covered in the hearings held last year.

Mr. NOLAN. They own too much—I will say that—for the good of California.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice in the report of the Census Office published this morning that the Japanese population in the United States reported in 1920 is not nearly so large as the figures given to this committee by the agents of the Japanese societies.

Mr. NOLAN. Your United States census enumerators could not get them. I will tell you what we are doing in California and show you just exactly what happened. We had a very effective way of getting a Japanese alien census in our State, because the last legislature passed a law placing a tax of \$10 a year on all aliens, and when they started to collect from the Japanese and Chinese they were immediately informed by their representatives not to pay it and the Chinese Government made a protest to the State Department, and they are attacking the law in the courts of California.

The CHAIRMAN. They protest on the ground of the constitutional guaranty?

Mr. NOLAN. Yes. But the idea behind it is this: Whenever you get a man to set out to collect \$10 from each individual alien, he is going to get a pretty accurate census. Every man has to have something to show he has paid his poll tax, and these tax gatherers would have pretty nearly gotten every Chinaman and Japanese in California and we would have had a census of them, and they do not want that taken.

Mr. RAKER. This report this morning shows there are 71,952 Japanese in California from the last census, and you will remember that our own men said there were many of these Japanese that were not taken by the census enumerators because of their evading being enumerated.

Mr. NOLAN. I think the Japanese Association of America or their subsidiary organization in California, you will find, was somewhat instrumental in getting word out among them, as far as possible, not to register for the census.

The CHAIRMAN. But these associations took their own census of the Japanese in America and they did it at the instance of their own Government, Japan, and they gave out their own census figures.

Mr. NOLAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And I think their own census figures of Japanese in the United States is larger than the figures given in the United States census.

Mr. BOX. And it just shows our census is not complete and makes us dependent on theirs, and we do not know how faithfully they have taken theirs.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is all, Mr. Nolan.

Mr. NOLAN. I thank the committee for its courtesy in hearing me.

Mr. CABLE. I would like to ask a question. Judge Raker raises a constitutional question with reference to this resolution and I wondered if any proposed contract had been introduced in the record—that is, between the Chinamen who were supposed to come into

Hawaii and the persons who were bringing them in—to show under what terms and conditions they were being brought?

Mr. NOLAN. I think not.

FURTHER STATEMENT OF MR. WALTER F. DILLINGHAM.

The CHAIRMAN. Has your commission any form of contract which it proposes to enter into with the Chinese, or Chinese labor associations, or the Chinese Government.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We have no such form of contract and such a contract is not necessary under the proposed resolution. I have tried to cover in a statement I have here, in as few words as possible, the points that have come up in connection with the hearing, in the questions that have been asked by members of the committee of the different witnesses here.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any copies of contracts entered into between the French Government and the Chinese Government with relation to laborers during the period of the war?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No, sir; we have not, because it is not the intention to make that sort of a contract or any other sort of a contract. I think some of the witnesses, as well as some of the members of the committee, are laboring under a misapprehension as to the workings of this proposed resolution, and I have tried to cover some of those points in a short statement here, and this can be further developed by discussion, if it is agreeable for me to make this statement.

This commission has endeavored to put before your committee a statement of the industrial conditions in Hawaii, and has sought to make clear that, while there is a great labor shortage in our agricultural industries, the question is far greater than that of an inadequate supply of labor to maintain our industries and, by the same token, there is a much bigger question before us than any mere economic loss resulting from lessening production.

The history of our attempts to encourage and bring to our country labor which would form a base for an American population shows that, up to the present time and under the immigration laws of America, all efforts have been unsuccessful. It has been intimated before this committee that the reason that labor is not satisfied to remain in the fields of Hawaii is because it is underpaid and not well treated or has been underpaid and not well treated in the past. Our failure to keep labor in our agricultural pursuits that would be eligible to citizenship is due rather to the fact that it has been sufficiently well paid and otherwise provided for to enable it to accumulate such savings as to hasten its departure from the less desirable field occupations.

The fact that California offers to the small farmer an opportunity which the nature of our industry does not permit in Hawaii draws away the labor which we have at such great expense endeavored to hold in our fields. The planting interests of the islands have required of their labor only what is properly expected of the workers in any similar enterprise, and, as a matter of fact, the farm laborers in Hawaii work shorter hours than do any like laborers on the farms of the American mainland.

Bearing in mind that we must produce sugar in competition with other tropical countries, we cite the fact that the class of labor in

question is better paid, housed, and cared for in the fields of the Territory than in any like tropical country in the world, as is borne out by Government reports and investigations. As conclusive evidence that our labor has been well paid, over and above living costs, we invite your attention to the large sums of money which are annually sent to Japan by the laboring community, amounting to \$17,000,000,000 in the year 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, sent to Japan and not carried to Japan?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is sent; it is a matter of exchange.

The CHAIRMAN. Therefore it is a matter of record?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It is a matter of record.

It must not be thought that the question before this committee is merely one of providing for the continued maintenance of our volume of production or of sustaining the profits on our invested capital. The question is rather one that goes to the very foundation of maintaining our whole business structure and involves the continued employment of mechanics in our industrial and repair plants in the cities. Mechanics of long experience in the islands appreciate this fact, and it is with surprise that we find the American Federation of Labor opposed to a remedy for our situation which, unless secured, will certainly result in loss of employment to the very men the Federation claims to represent. It is a matter of particular surprise that organizations of laborers, beyond any other persons, should oppose this legislation, and our surprise is the greater because of the fact that resident citizen mechanics and group laborers, such as stevedores and teamsters, take the opposite position and support the proposed resolution.

The stevedores' union is the largest labor organization in the Hawaiian Islands, excepting only the Japanese National Federation of Labor, and the teamsters' union is nearly as large. These two unions represent more laboring men than are included in all of the branches of the American Federation of Labor in Hawaii; and, furthermore, they represent that class of citizen labor that has been longest resident in the Territory and is most familiar with conditions there. I present to the committee the indorsements of these two large unions.

I have here, under date of May 26, a cablegram addressed to Charles Chillingsworth, New Willard Hotel, Washington:

At meeting of the members of the Hawaiian Stevedores' Association a motion was unanimously passed favoring immigration. The members also voted that you represent them at such hearings as may be held.

McGUIRE, *President.*

Mr. RAKER. How many members are there in that stevedores' association?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have not the exact number, but I am advised there were about 1,000 to 1,200.

Mr. RAKER. What is their nationality?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. As I understand it, they are all citizens, or eligible to become citizens.

Mr. RAKER. What part or portion would you say were citizens?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We have with us here Senator Wise, who was president of the stevedores' union for, I think, two or three years, and perhaps he can answer that question directly. I have not the figure. Senator Wise, are you prepared to make a statement?

Mr. WISE. They are all citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. Including how many native Hawaiians?

Mr. WISE. There are about 800 to 1,000 Hawaiians and about 200 others.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have here, under date of May 29, addressed to Walter Dillingham, New Willard Hotel, Washington, the following cablegram:

At a meeting of the directors of the Teamsters' Union it was agreed to indorse the proposal to amend the immigration laws to allow Chinese to come to Hawaii as agriculturists so as to relieve the labor shortage.

M. T. ROBELLO,
President Teamsters' Union.

Mr. RAKER. Do you know how many men there are in the teamsters' union?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I am advised there are between three and four hundred. I will have to call on Senator Wise again to verify that statement.

Mr. WISE. That is the correct number.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have been advised that more than 90 citizen laborers and mechanics have individually addressed personal letters to this commission, indorsing the proposed legislation. These letters began to be received almost immediately after it was known that organized labor had opposed the legislation in question. I refer to the American Federation of Labor central committee's resolution, of Honolulu.

With your permission, I would like to read some representative letters from mechanics and artisans of many years of residence in Hawaii, who are thoroughly conversant with conditions throughout the industries of the Territory. I would not ask to have the record burdened with letters along the same line, but there are some here of particular interest and, if the committee would like to hear them, I would be very glad to read them. They come from mechanics of prominence in the islands and men who have been there for a long period of years.

The CHAIRMAN. I think Mr. Dillingham might read some of these, or extracts, and insert them in the record.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. This first letter was handed to me the day before I left home and is signed by one of the best citizens, I think, that we have in Hawaii, a man by the name of John A. Hughes, an Irishman. [Reading:]

As a workingman who has the interest of American workingmen at heart and as a citizen who prizes his citizenship higher than St. Paul, I wish you success in your mission to Washington to secure for the agricultural interests of this Territory 25,000 Chinese laborers.

I have resided in this Territory 32 years, being engaged by the late B. F. Dillingham in San Francisco to build cars for his railroad. I am still building cars for the same railroad. During those years I have consistently worked for the Americanization of the islands, helped to organize the Republican Party, was a member of its first executive committee and served one term in the legislature.

I am in favor of bringing in Chinese labor for our sugar plantations and pineapple canneries because the very life of those industries depend on this labor, and the commercial and business life of the Territory depends absolutely on these industries.

To say that white men can or will work on the torrid sugar plantations cutting and loading cane is an absurdity. The time is past, if it ever was, when he would do it. It is contrary to nature's laws for white men to toil at hard, laborious work under an equatorial sun; even the Japanese quit at the earliest possible time.

I am in favor of bringing in Chinese labor, because from a national and business point of view it is wrong to allow Japanese nationals to hold by the throat—and can throttle at any moment—the business and commercial life of an American Territory.

I am in favor of bringing Chinese labor here because, in the world's chaotic state, China is our loyal friend. Our Chinese business men are honest and progressive and there is no more loyal and patriotic American than our Chinese-Americans. Thirty thousand Chinese will help, not hinder, the Americanization of this Territory because they are honest and industrious workers and because they will squeeze out an un-American and undesirable element.

There is no one longer more ardently for the day to come when over our great land all will be good and loyal citizens, all shall live in peace and prosperity. To bring about this condition Hawaii, if allowed, will surely do her part. She can not, however, do it if she is made a desert of, and a refusal of your request by Congress would tend to that result.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN A. HUGHES.

Here is a letter that was handed to me on the steamer, on our way up from Honolulu:

HONOLULU, H. T., May 3, 1921.

MR. WALTER F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman the Hawaii Emergency Labor Commission, Honolulu, H. T.

DEAR SIR: As a mechanical engineer and a resident of Hawaii for nearly 40 years, I am very much interested in the objects of your mission to Washington in an effort to secure Chinese labor for agricultural purposes. I beg to state that my experience with this class of labor while acting in an official capacity on sugar plantations 30 years ago, was eminently satisfactory for industry and reliability, and such few of them as have remained on the plantations that I have knowledge of are still giving good service there.

Since the introduction of Japanese labor in the Islands I have noted with regret and alarm the steady decrease in the number of American mechanics which I believe is largely due to the intense competition which they have to meet from semiskilled mechanics who originally came to Hawaii for agricultural purposes and whose mode of living makes it impossible for any white mechanic to compete with them; and, when we had Chinese labor on the plantations, such conditions as these did not exist.

I have noted in the past few years that these semiskilled Japanese artisans have been leaving the agricultural districts and taking up their residence in the towns to such an extent that at the present time agricultural industries of Hawaii are suffering from a shortage of labor.

As an American citizen and a permanent resident of Hawaii, I am vitally interested in all that concerns the prosperity of the Islands; and I view the present situation with some alarm as the outlook seems to indicate that, owing to the foregoing mentioned conditions, the situation will get worse instead of better, and I firmly believe that a large majority of the reputable American citizen residents of Hawaii would gladly welcome the reintroduction of Chinese labor for agricultural purposes which would tend to alleviate our present industrial conditions and stabilize the prosperity of the Islands. In closing, I desire to say, without bias or prejudice, that many of us consider that, owing to their intense nationalistic characteristics and dual citizenship, the ever-increasing population of native-born Japanese are a distinct and serious menace to the Americanization of the Hawaiian Islands.

Hoping that the special labor commission will be successful in their efforts, I am,

Respectfully, yours,

H. G. WOOTTEN, *Engineer*

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you about a paragraph in the resolutions adopted by the Central Labor Council of Honolulu, as follows:

We call your attention to the fact that under the organic act it is required that an industrial survey of the Territory be held every five years, and we are advised that 1921 is the year in which this survey falls due. Any further action as the legislature contemplates in this matter should be deferred until after the report of a competent and impartial commission such as would be appointed under the Federal Department of Labor.

I suppose they mean to prepare that industrial survey. The resolution continues:

If such report shows the actual shortage of labor which is now claimed, then it will be time to think of devising some adequate and satisfactory remedy.

Have you anything to say in regard to that suggestion?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The United States Government, I understand, has made no arrangement for the survey of the industrial conditions of Hawaii for this year. I have not discussed the matter with the Secretary of Labor, but my understanding is that they do not feel disposed to spend money to investigate labor conditions in Hawaii. They state that they are more familiar with the labor conditions in Hawaii than with those in any other section of the United States; that if they can raise the money they would like to spend it in investigating labor conditions in Porto Rico, because they know practically nothing of the labor conditions in that country.

The CHAIRMAN. Did we not have a statement made here the other day in connection with the report of 1915 to the effect that the issuance of that report was mandatory?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That was my understanding of it, and that was the last report that has been made.

Mr. IRWIN. That is section 16 of the organic act.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, I will have the clerk of the committee make an official inquiry of the Secretary of Labor in reference to the next report of the labor survey.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I would like to state that under the resolution the obligation is on the Secretary of Labor to meet the situation. The obligation is certainly implied by the statement that he should ascertain, of his own knowledge, whether or not there is a shortage or a need of immigration to meet the situation in Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. That is to say, if this resolution should be passed by Congress, it would call upon the Secretary to make such an inquiry preparatory to authorizing this action?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, following from that and your statement that that sort of action was not contemplated, who would make the arrangement?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I will cover that a little further along in my statement.

Mr. RAKER. In connection with these letters you have read to the committee, particularly the letter from John A. Hughes addressed to you under date of Honolulu, T. H., May 3, 1921—your commission has examined this letter?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not know whether the commission has examined it. The records of the commission are before its members, and they have all had an opportunity to study these records, and I assume they have done so.

Mr. RAKER. I wanted to know whether your commission generally approves what Mr. Hughes said in this letter.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I am speaking only for myself, but I know that the commission approves of the resolution as it has been submitted.

Mr. RAKER. That is not what I am asking, Mr. Dillingham.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I understand what you are asking me, and that is whether or not we approve the sentiments of that letter?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We approve of the sentiments of that letter.

Mr. RAKER. You said you had a separate view. Do you approve, generally, the viewpoint presented by Mr. Hughes in this letter?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. If you will ask me directly what I approve of, I will be glad to answer you.

Mr. RAKER. I am asking you the question.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The letter covers a good many points. The general tenor of the letter is to Americanize the Territory of Hawaii. I absolutely approve of that.

Mr. RAKER. In this letter I find the following paragraph:

I am in favor of bringing in Chinese labor, because from a national and business point of view it is wrong to allow Japanese nationals to hold by the throat—and can throttle at any moment—the business and commercial life of an American Territory.

Does the commission approve that statement?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The commission does not approve of a condition which gives to any alien nationality the control of our industrial or other conditions in the islands.

Mr. RAKER. There is a clean-cut statement by Mr. Hughes. Does your commission generally approve the views as expressed in that paragraph by Mr. Hughes?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. You are trying to pin me down to a detailed expression of where the commission stands on this matter.

Mr. RAKER. No; I am not trying to pin you down.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We are on record as to where we stand with regard to this proposition and we will be further on record when I finish my statement to the committee this morning. I have tried to answer your question and do not want to quibble with you.

Mr. RAKER. I know you would not do that. It would be far from both of us to do it at any time.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us cut out the quibbling and get along.

Mr. RAKER. There is not any quibbling in this. This is fundamental. This paragraph contains two fundamental propositions, and I wanted to know from Mr. Dillingham—because he is a keen, capable, clear-headed fellow—whether or not the commission generally approve the views as expressed in that paragraph. That is all. You would not like to answer, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I consider I have answered your question, Judge.

Mr. RAKER. That is all right.

Mr. CABLE. In one of those letters it is stated that the people are leaving the fields and coming into the cities or villages and competing with mechanics. Why would it not be a further inducement if you bring in a large number of Chinese and take them from the field to compete further with the mechanics? Would it not have a tendency to injure the work of the mechanics if you had an overabundance of laborers and not a sufficient amount of work?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The field laborer is not a mechanic, but the system which has been in force has provided for a sort of promotion, so that a field laborer feels by making himself of value to the plantation he has a chance to rise to the skilled positions. When he is graduated, if you like, from a course of training at the pumps, in the mills, wherever it may be, he comes to the city and sets up in the contracting business or building business or as an automobile mechanic.

The shortage with us has never been a shortage of mechanics, but a shortage of men to do the heavy field work. That work is not considered desirable by any race or nationality of people we have been

Have you anything to say in regard to that suggestion?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The United States Government, I understand, has made no arrangement for the survey of the industrial conditions of Hawaii for this year. I have not discussed the matter with the Secretary of Labor, but my understanding is that they do not feel disposed to spend money to investigate labor conditions in Hawaii. They state that they are more familiar with the labor conditions in Hawaii than with those in any other section of the United States; that if they can raise the money they would like to spend it in investigating labor conditions in Porto Rico, because they know practically nothing of the labor conditions in that country.

The CHAIRMAN. Did we not have a statement made here the other day in connection with the report of 1915 to the effect that the issuance of that report was mandatory?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That was my understanding of it, and that was the last report that has been made.

Mr. IRWIN. That is section 16 of the organic act.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, I will have the clerk of the committee make an official inquiry of the Secretary of Labor in reference to the next report of the labor survey.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I would like to state that under the resolution the obligation is on the Secretary of Labor to meet the situation. The obligation is certainly implied by the statement that he should ascertain, of his own knowledge, whether or not there is a shortage or a need of immigration to meet the situation in Hawaii.

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will give him an opportunity to have some recreation or pleasure after he gets through with his work.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. My attention has just been called to the statement that Mr. Wooten, who signed one of the letters I have just read, was the president of the marine engineers' organization, and it was his organization that protested against the admission of the Japanese Federation of Labor to the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any information in regard to the application of the Japanese Federation of Labor to be admitted into the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The statement was made by a witness here the other day that an attempt was made for an affiliation, but it was turned down by the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. MEAD. I know that the Japanese Federation of Labor, at the instance of Mr. Tyson, who was mentioned by a witness yesterday, did apply to the American Federation of Labor for affiliation. The marine engineers, of which organization Mr. Wooten is the president, protested by resolution against the admission of that Japanese Federation of Labor into the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. At the last national convention of the American Legion in Minneapolis the following resolution was passed, indorsing in effect the plan now proposed in the joint resolution before this committee to diversify the oriental population of the Territory:

Whereas the complete and speedy Americanization of the Territory of Hawaii is of vital importance to the Territory and to the United States; and

Whereas the American Legion, Department of Hawaii, aided by many other agencies, is making every effort to bring such Americanization about; and

Whereas the people of Hawaii, for the best interests of the Nation, are willing to join with other parts of the country in closing the doors to further Japanese immigration in spite of the fact that the peculiar conditions of the islands make a supply of labor adapted for work under the climatic and other conditions peculiar to the islands essential to the continued contribution of Hawaii to the Nation's food supply and resources: Therefore be it

Resolved by the American Legion, in national convention assembled, That Congress be urged to make an impartial investigation of the labor needs of Hawaii with the view to possible modifications of policy which shall result in a larger population of distinctly American origin and a diversification of alien population with a view to military, social, and economic safety; and be it further

Resolved, That the work of the American Legion, Department of Hawaii, in securing the cooperation of employers in Hawaii to the end that citizens be given preference in employment when otherwise fitted, is indorsed; and be it further

Resolved, That the efforts of the American Legion, Department of Hawaii, to secure national legislation requiring the use of citizen labor on Government work is indorsed and Congress is urged to pass such legislation.

While the American Federation of Labor may have done much to improve labor conditions in this country, no credit of any kind is due it for the development of American interests in the islands, from the start of American industry there to the present day. That Hawaii stands to-day as an American Territory, controlled by American citizens, with as high a standard of living among its citizen population as is found in any part of the United States and a higher standard of living among its orientals than is found in any tropical country in the world, is due in no respect whatever to the efforts of organized labor.

To control the interests of the Territory for Americans, and recognizing the growing power of the Japanese through their numerical

preponderances and consequent control, the American citizens who have directed the destinies of the Territory for the past century, have endeavored, during the past two years, to curb the license of the Japanese foreign-language press and to regulate the Japanese foreign-language schools. In this endeavor, these American citizens have been opposed in their efforts not only by the Japanese but by the members and organizations of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Wallace, on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, has stated a formal opposition to this resolution; but neither he nor the organization which he represents has suggested any affirmative plan for meeting the positive situation which exists. I can not over-emphasize to this committee the fact that it is a situation and not a theory that confronts us. If this situation is allowed merely to drift, it is answering itself by the laws of mathematics.

Mr. RAKER. Why is it that the Hawaiian Legislature two years ago did not pass a bill which was then pending before it requiring American school teachers to teach in Hawaii, but let that bill be killed?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not know. Two years ago I was here in Washington. I was not in Hawaii during the session of the legislature and I do not remember any of the discussions in connection with that.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill was to require American teachers in alien schools, was it not, or was it in public schools?

Mr. RAKER. In public schools.

Mr. IRWIN. They have since passed the bill.

Mr. WEEBER. At a special session. Senator Wise is here, and he can answer your question.

Mr. WISE. They got word from the State Department to stop that.

The CHAIRMAN. To stop what?

Mr. WISE. To stop the passage of that law introduced at that session.

The CHAIRMAN. What did the bill provide for?

Mr. WISE. It provided for the elimination of the foreign-language schools.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That was at the time Mr. Wilson was in France.

The CHAIRMAN. The bill called for the elimination of foreign-language schools?

Mr. WISE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any bill to eliminate alien teachers?

Mr. WISE. That, as modified, passed at the last session.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that refer to the public schools of Hawaii or to the foreign-language schools?

Mr. WISE. It refers to the foreign-language schools alone. The public schools all have American citizen teachers.

Mr. IRWIN. No teachers but American teachers can teach in the public schools.

Mr. RAKER. But the bill that prohibited the foreign-language schools from going on was held up by reason of the request of the State Department?

Mr. WISE. The State Department.

Mr. RAKER. At Washington?

Mr. WISE. Yes.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It is no answer for Mr. Wallace to say that he will shoulder a gun and fight if necessary. We maintain that it is the duty of Congress to see that American citizens are not compelled to take up arms to meet any situation due to the domination of any single alien group in Hawaii, when that situation can be met and solved by peaceful economic methods.

The suggestion that the proposed voluntarily enlisted laborers would be bondsmen or slaves is made only for effect. Any fair-minded study of the proposed plan of relief will demonstrate beyond question that it means and entails neither bondage nor slavery nor coercive labor. It is our bona fide intention to secure labor from any practicable source. So far as the Chinese are concerned, alien Chinese are now permitted to enter the United States under certain restrictions: For example, they are permitted to enter the United States to-day to attend educational institutions or for purposes of traveling. In either case, they are obliged to return to their own country as soon as the object of their entry is accomplished. Under the proposed legislation now before this committee, this right of entry is extended to other Chinese with suitable restrictions applying to that class, and there is no more of a burden on this proposed class than exists at the present time with respect to the classes of Chinese who are now permitted to enter the country under restrictions.

It must be clearly understood that this resolution does not propose or contemplate the entry of contract labor, but provides simply for the granting of permission by the Department of Labor for the admission of laborers otherwise debarred, to enter the United States to engage in agricultural pursuits at the prevailing wage rates. There is no obligation, implied or otherwise, upon this Government to enter into negotiations with any other government or individuals as to the fixing of wage rates or the making of wage contracts. After entry into the country the laborers in question are free to move from one plantation to another and from one island of the Territory to another, so long as they continue to employ themselves in agricultural pursuits.

Your attention has been called to an actual shortage of labor in the fields of the Territory, and the intention of this proposed legislation and its only reason or purpose is the necessity of supplying labor to meet this actual numerical shortage. The resolution is distinctly not designed, nor would the Department of Labor permit it to be used, to create an oversupply of labor, looking to the reduction of the prevailing wage scales. It would be distinctly against the interests of the Territory to have an oversupply of labor, for there is no opportunity for such labor to migrate from one place of seasonal employment to another, as is possible and practiced on the mainland. The nature of the industries of Hawaii furnishes an opportunity for continuous employment the year round, so that no enforced idleness is ever occasioned by the absence of work to be done.

As a very probable medium for the handling of the details of this proposed immigration, the Territorial laws now provide for a board of immigration, with authority to handle just such situations as would be created by the resolution under consideration. Under this Territorial law boards of immigration have handled European immigrants to the Territory in large numbers and have not only brought them to the Territory, but have also attended to their distribution throughout the various islands.

At this point, we wish to say that this commission has no objection to amendments to the resolution in question with a view specifically to placing a part of the responsibility on the Territorial government or requiring the Territory to provide funds for carrying the measure into effect, should the committee consider amendments along these lines either necessary or desirable.

As this is a proposition of enlisted labor volunteering to be employed under certain restrictions and conditions known to it in advance, a very proper requirement would be that only young men, or men between the ages, say, of 18 or 20 and 25 years, be admitted under the plan in question. These ages correspond with the age of young men in this country who are attending technical and other schools and who have not yet acquired families with the accompanying responsibilities. Should such young men be admitted to the Territory, they would there be afforded an opportunity to acquire an industrial education in practical methods of agriculture, sanitation, and modern scientific methods of farming. That employment in the fields of the Territory constitutes a real education of great practical value to the laborer is amply demonstrated by the fact that Japanese and Filipinos who have returned from Hawaii to their own countries are to-day recognized as a prominent and invaluable factor in developing the agriculture of their own countries.

As evidence of the fact that the Territory of Hawaii is maintained on a high plane of live and let live, we cite the fact that the wage scale for the islands and the freedom and opportunities of employment are such that there is not a single poorhouse in the Territory of Hawaii, and that vagrancy and poverty are practically unknown. Under a system inaugurated a few years ago all of our eleemosynary institutions are provided for from funds raised annually by voluntary subscriptions. The welfare fund for this purpose amounted to \$375,000 in 1921. This fund is expended and used for maintaining hospitals, social settlements, open-air camps, and general welfare organizations, and it is seldom if ever necessary to use a part of this fund for the mere financial relief of the destitute.

In spite of the fact that the labor immigration experiments of the past 50 years have been generally unsuccessful, it has been clearly brought out in this hearing that Hawaii is willing and anxious to continue such experiments with a view to the development of a permanent Caucasian population. The people of the Territory still hope and believe, despite the discouragement of past failures, that a solution can be worked out in time, and we therefore urge that, in the preparation of a permanent immigration policy, due consideration be given to the problems of the Territory of Hawaii. Those problems require relief of a widely different nature. The first problem is the solution of the present grave labor shortage constituting a crisis which threatens the very existence of the industries of the Territory and even of the Territory itself. The second problem is the determination of a permanent immigration policy which will at once permit the creation of a white Caucasian base for the population of the Territory and effectively prevent the recurrence of such a labor shortage hereafter.

For the relief of the present situation, a rotation of immigration is proposed to the end that Hawaii may now secure adequate labor that will solve her instant emergency problem. Since this immigra-

tion is to be rotated and thereby prevented from becoming a part of the Territory's permanent population, the first and the only consideration in determining upon the nature of the immigrants is whether or not they can and will work in the tropical fields of the country so efficiently as to permit the continued operation and control of our agricultural industries by and for Americans.

The second problem of a permanent immigration policy will need no solution unless and until the present emergency has passed; for, if that emergency continue unrelieved, the industrial and political control of the Territory will pass into alien hands, and the country cease to remain an American community. The solution of these two problems, the one emergency and the other permanent must be founded upon a frank differentiation between labor intended to relieve the present crises and labor intended for a permanent population. For the former, Hawaii needs the most efficient labor available, regardless of race or color; for the latter, she needs a carefully selected agricultural people who can continue her industries, be assimilated into her population, and constitute the base on which to build a body politic essentially American.

Gentlemen, this committee has a responsibility to meet the problem of how to continue Hawaii as an American Territory. To take no action at all is to answer that she shall speedily come under the economic and the political control of an alien race. To postpone action exaggerates and makes more difficult the later adjustment and solution of the problem, and such adjustment is so necessary that now or later it can not be escaped. To refuse to provide a remedy for the present predicament of the isolated Territory of Hawaii, simply because the method of remedy proposed may not be adaptable to mainland conditions or because that method is new in principle, is not solving our problem or meeting the responsibility which is vested in your committee.

Mr. CABLE. Suppose this resolution goes through as it is drawn, and you were back in Hawaii. How would you proceed to get this labor? Would you send men to China, or what method would you pursue?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Many of the details for carrying out this plan, of necessity, would have to be provided by the Department of Labor. The burden would be upon the Territory to show to the Department of Labor, and it would be upon the Department of Labor to ascertain, the exact conditions in Hawaii. If it were possible to meet our situation by bringing in others than Chinese, for the sake of keeping away from the prejudice that is against the Chinese in this country, we would be glad to bring in some other people. If, however, it is impossible to bring people in from any other source, we will be glad to bring the Chinese in.

Mr. CABLE. You would have to pay their boat fare down there, would you not?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is right.

Mr. CABLE. About how much would that be?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not recall what the new rates are from China to Hawaii, but Mr. Mead, who knows the rates——

Mr. CABLE (interposing). Approximately?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I should say from \$50 to \$75.

Mr. MEAD. The rate is \$65.

Mr. CABLE. Then they would come to Hawaii and work for a month and become identified and refuse to work any longer. What would you then do with them?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. According to law, they would be deportable, just as a man who comes here from southern Europe and stays for a month and breaks any law of this country is deportable.

Mr. CABLE. Who would pay that expense?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That expense would have to be borne, probably, by the unfortunate who paid his fare over. The burden would have to be placed somewhere to assure to the Government his return at the completion of his time of work.

Mr. CABLE. Is it your understanding that this fare on the boat both ways would be deducted from the amount he earned?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That would be a matter of negotiation between the interests doing the employing there, the Territorial board of immigration supervising the arrangements made by the planters, who entered into negotiations with agents in China. Under existing law the Chinese Government requires that the form of the arrangement be approved by the Chinese Government before any of her citizens can leave for foreign lands. We have such a territorial board of immigration, but it is unable to function owing to present immigration laws.

Mr. CABLE. Is that form of arrangement in writing anywhere where we could get a copy of it? Have you seen one, or do you know the contents of it?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Have the members of your commission talked with any diplomatic or consular officer of the Chinese Government in relation to this matter?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No, sir.

Mr. CABLE. If that fare was deducted from the amount of wages, you could get him down there and he would have to stick some time before he got a nickel?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. If the Chinese Government is making arrangements such as suggested with Hawaii, I have no doubt but that provision of the individuals will be covered in such arrangements.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chinese Government could not make any arrangement with the Territory of Hawaii; they would have to make arrangements with the State Department.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No, sir; the arrangement is made with the approval of our Government, under a permit granted by the Department of Labor to import a certain number of Chinese for a limited period of time, as provided in this resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see about that. We have the law requiring all those coming to the United States to carry passports from their Government, and those passports have to be viséd by our consular

offices.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The State Department certainly would be notified of the coming of people coming in under those arrangements.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They would be notified that, under law, the

Department of Labor by the admission of a

certain number in a certain length of time, and passports would be

issued to them.

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Do I understand that the Chinese Government, as a Government, makes an arrangement with another Government to transport those of her nationals to the other country for labor?

The CHAIRMAN. It has done so.

Mr. RAKER. That was during the war. Now, I would like to have the facts about that.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They are sending labor, as I understand it, to the Malay Peninsula and other parts of the world where labor is required, but they are putting a very much more careful check on that; they are having a more paternal eye on that arrangement with labor to insure their labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any details of the provisions of those agreements under which certain money is sent home for the support of the families, or in reference to the amount of money required to be deposited by the companies who employ the coolie labor?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We have not gone into the details of any such arrangement as that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about it by hearsay, as to how it is done in other countries?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have a letter which was forwarded to me since my arrival here. It is very brief and I could not offer it as an exhaustive report on the arrangement. I will give it to you for what it may be worth.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a personal letter or a business letter?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It is a personal letter; it is headed "Personal." It is not the disposition of this commission, however, to hold back any information that we have, whether it is personal or otherwise, which bears on this subject. I do not wish to betray any confidence, but I feel sure that the addressee is interested, as we all are, only in meeting the situation in Hawaii, as evidenced by the fact that he has sent me this letter, which says:

With reference to our conversation on the question of Chinese labor for Hawaii. I wish to state that it would be the best thing for the islands if the planters can get Congress to pass a special act allowing a certain number of laborers to enter the Territory for the plantations. This is, of course, a matter to be taken up on the other side, but as regards the procedure that has to be gone through in order to secure the labor at this end, I would briefly summarize as follows:

First of all, I would suggest that the employment of laborers from the Swatow district, which supplied over 90 per cent of the farm laborers of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, be considered, and these are by far superior in physique and working capacity to the men from the Heung Shan and Sun Nin districts that have before gone into Hawaii.

Since there is a law passed by the Chinese Government prohibiting contract labor to go abroad, the question of securing the laborers in large numbers has to be solved, and the solution lies in that satisfactory arrangements will have to be made with the Chinese Government whereby the emigrants will be sufficiently protected before the sanction can be obtained. This has been the case with thousands of laborers that were sent to the Straits Settlements, Samoa, and Nauru Islands, and in every instance a contract was made between the Chinese Government, representing the laborers, and the foreign consul, representing the employers of laborers.

The gist of such a contract generally embraces the fixed terms of employment, the wages, and the supplies the men are to receive. At the present time thirty Mexican dollars per month should be satisfactory to the men, and on this basis thousands and thousands of men can be obtained.

Among the other terms of the contract, the stipulations that sufficient medical assistance should be rendered the men by the employers in case of sickness, healthy quarters should be provided, and the number of holidays in the year are also mentioned. Furthermore, on every batch of laborers sent numbering 500 or so, a sum of say \$5,000 or so, is required to be deposited by the employers with the Chinese Gov-

ernment for the purpose of rendering charitable aids or making compensation to any of the said laborers should they return home sick or disabled.

The above are, roughly, the conditions under which Chinese labor can be obtained and, to my mind, should not be difficult to follow.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a letter written by a representative of any company which acts as a go-between with the Chinese Government and those who would contract for Chinese laborers?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not know; I can not tell you about that. I knew the writer. I remember him—or I think I do—as a very small boy. He has been in China for several years and has been quite a factor in connection with the transfer of the Government from an empire to a republic.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the clerk of the committee will be asked to call on the Library of Congress for copies of the laws passed by the Chinese Government prohibiting the immigration of contract labor mentioned in this letter.

Have you any letters from any concern in China that might act as an agent?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No, sir.

[NOTE.—The Library of Congress was unable to find the information desired.]

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. ROYAL D. MEAD.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Chairman, may I make a statement in response to the suggestion made by Representative Nolan, that the trust, or the American Sugar Refining Co., the so-called trust, buys Hawaiian sugar?

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. MEAD. For many years the American Sugar Refining Co. has not purchased 1 pound of Hawaiian sugar. The Hawaiian sugar has been refined principally by the refinery of the sugar planters in California called the California-Hawaiian Sugar Refining Co., at Crockett, Calif. This year, however, a quantity of sugar will be sent to the eastern refineries, and the American Sugar Refining Co. has purchased, I understand, 70,000 tons of that sugar. But since 1909 up to this time there has not been a pound sold to the American Sugar Refining Co.

The CHAIRMAN. I take it that the sugar business has fat years and lean years?

Mr. MEAD. It has. Furthermore we contend that the price we receive for sugar has been fixed on the basis of supply and demand and not by any refinery.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had quite a number of fat years?

Mr. MEAD. We had a fat year last year, but the United States Government took a large part of that profit in excess profits and income taxes.

The CHAIRMAN. The fact that the Government has taken away some of your profits in excess profit taxes and income taxes, does not put you in any different position from any other corporation which makes money?

Mr. MEAD. No, but it does place us at a distinct disadvantage with the Porto Rican and Philippine producers who do not have that tax to pay.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the last year when you had any lull in the sugar business, which you might call a lean year?

Mr. MEAD. Previous to the war, in 1914, the price of sugar had gone down below 3 cents, and we were facing then a very bad year. Since that time our profits have been fairly good.

The CHAIRMAN. The sugar market is getting back to normal now is it not?

Mr. MEAD. No, not now. I do not believe it will be back to normal for several years—not until the present tremendous production has decreased. There is a very large oversupply.

(Thereupon, the committee went into executive session, after which it adjourned to meet to-morrow, Saturday, June 25, 1921, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Saturday, June 25, 1921.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the commission anything further to present this morning, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir; I would like for Mr. Mead to present some extracts from reports which were not put in the record the other day.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mead, you may proceed.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. ROYAL D. MEAD.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Chairman, there are two reports upon labor conditions in Hawaii particularly which I want to refer to, the two latest reports, 1911 and 1915, made by the Department of Commerce and Labor. The 1915 report is Bulletin No. 94 of the United States Bureau of Labor on labor conditions in Hawaii, and I am reading from page 694.

Mr. RAKER. And the report of 1914?

Mr. MEAD. 1911. It is a bulletin of the Department of Labor No. 94, and I am reading from page 694. This report you will bear in mind was made in 1911, and the idea of reading from this one first is to show the progressive improvement of labor conditions on the sugar plantations in Hawaii.

But no unbiased observer would question that the mass of working people on Hawaii plantations are now better off than ever before. Their wages are higher, their housing better, their standard of living higher, their opportunities for advancement broader. Moreover, public opinion in the islands and the sentiment of plantation managers and overseers as a class are predominantly in favor of the change in administering labor that have occurred, and sympathetic with the progress made by plantation workers under the new system.

Nevertheless, room still remains for improvement in plantation labor conditions—a remark that applies equally to mainland occupations. While five years have seen a betterment of plantation housing and camp sanitation, and in many places within another half decade every married couple will occupy a detached cottage and garden, yet the substitution of new residences and the introduction of improved sanitation take time, and occasion expense that in any business enterprise will be distributed over several years. It appears to be the rule that bad housing, poor sanitation, and overcrowding are more common in privately owned tenements outside the

plantation limits than upon the plantations themselves. The rate of wages obviously does not permit plantation laborers to adopt the standard of living enjoyed by white laborers in the United States; nor can wages be raised immediately to such a rate. There are no reliable means of knowing whether, taking into account cost of living as well as actual wages, the economic condition of Hawaiian workers is improving faster or slower than the condition of workers upon the Pacific coast. But there is no immediate prospect that conditions in these two places will be equalized. The differences of industries, traditions, and race are too great.

However, a comparison of Hawaiian conditions with those of California is hardly a fair one. More properly Hawaii should be compared with other tropical and insular countries, having similar industries. Yet this comparison must be conditioned by important distinctions. Without attempting either to confirm or deny a casual relation between the two facts, there is no cane-producing country in the world, outside the American tariff area, where sugar cane is so highly protected as in Hawaii. There is no important sugar-cane region except Queensland and Cuba where the rate of wages is so high for common field labor as in Hawaii. The condition of labor in Hawaii is better than in Madeira and the Azores—white labor countries—for the Territory is now drawing its main supply of immigrants from those islands. Wages are higher than in Porto Rico, and the material environment of labor is better than in most parts of the West Indies.

Furthermore, the autonomy of industry, which reflects itself directly in the general welfare of workers, is probably greater in Hawaii than in any other tropical country. Hawaii is not and never has been a colony.

There is more along the same line but that is a general summing up, as I understand it, of the conclusions of the investigators at that time. This report I believe was made by Dr. Victor Clark—or rather, by the chief of the bureau who was then Dr. Neill, assisted by Dr. Clark.

Mr. RAKER. Where was Neill from?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know what his State was, but he was then chief of the Department of Labor.

Mr. RAKER. Who was the other gentlemen?

Mr. MEAD. Victor S. Clark.

Mr. RAKER. And you do not know where he was from?

Mr. MEAD. Clark at that time had a dual employment. I believe he was employed by the Carnegie Institute and also did this special work for the Department of Labor. It may be that also in 1911 or after this report was made, I think he took employment under the Territory as superintendent of immigration. At any rate, it was on or about that time.

Now, the report of 1915 appears in Senate Document No. 432, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, "Labor Conditions in Hawaii." I believe it was also published as a bulletin of the Labor Department but it comes to me in this form. I am reading from page 10:

"A large oriental population and a tropical climate make labor conditions in Hawaii different from those on the mainland of the United States. But there is probably no other tropical country except northern Queensland where average earnings and the standard of living of workers are as high as in the islands. Cuban plantation hands receive more pay per day for part of the year, but employment at these wages is not so continuous as in Hawaii, while housing and sanitary conditions for ordinary laborers are below the Hawaiian standard. However, wages in the Territory are lower, and the opportunity for a common laborer to advance is less than in California.

Page 35:

Considering the demands of the climate, plantation workers are better housed than many rural laborers, mine workers, and unskilled city workmen on the mainland. However, when new laborers from the Orient are introduced, with low standards of living and primitive notions of hygiene, they invariably deteriorate the quarters where they are placed. The recent large immigration of Filipinos has had this effect. As they are mostly single they are often placed in long tenements or barracks, and some

buildings of this type—which it was hoped had been abolished from plantation camps—have been erected for them.

And they are being abolished, I will say. The question of barracks for single men is something we all frown upon, and just as rapidly as possible they are being eliminated; but I have gone into camps where they have put Filipinos and others into very nice houses and you would almost weep to see the way they have abused those good quarters, and my advice would be against the putting of Porto Ricans, who have not the slightest idea of sanitation, in new houses. They ought to be given first an opportunity of learning something in regard to sanitation and the care of their houses before they are given the type of houses now being erected for ordinary laborers.

Page 39:

Several facts indicate that plantation laborers receive more than a subsistence wage. The Japanese, including those not on plantations, send more than \$1,000,000 annually to their home country through the post office, and are said to transmit a still larger sum through the Yokohama Specie Bank, which has a branch in Honolulu.

Page 58—this is headed, "The question of the Asiatic":

This is the main question in Hawaii from all standpoints. The population is more largely Asiatic now than ever before, and that element is growing relatively faster than the rest of the people. The Japanese multiply through a high birth rate and the importation of picture brides. The planters' associations have brought in more Filipinos since 1909 than the entire north European and American population of the Territory. The Japanese women who come to Hawaii under the peculiar arrangement mentioned engage in field work. Their principal occupation, however, is the bearing of children. They and their children are not as yet self-supporting, so that the family expenditures have thus been enhanced. These importations have not thus far acted to depress wages of male workers. There are about 14 adult men among the Filipinos for every 3 women and children, and their importation has probably helped to lower wages or at least to prevent them from rising.

In which conclusion the gentlemen is entirely wrong because wages have been continually on the increase.

Mr. RAKER. Before I forget it, since the claimed landing of picture brides on the mainland during the year 1920, after August, have there not been picture brides coming to Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; that regulation or restriction did not apply to Hawaii. I do not know why, but it did not.

Mr. RAKER. Have you any idea of the number that have come to Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. I have not the figures; no, sir.

Mr. WEEBER. I can tell you the number that came in from 1910 to 1920, but not by separate years. The total was 10,617 in that decade.

Mr. RAKER. Picture brides.

Mr. WEEBER. Picture brides admitted to the Territory of Hawaii from 1910 to 1920.

Mr. RAKER. Could you give the committee the approximate number that came in in 1920?

Mr. WEEBER. Six hundred and seventy-six picture brides were admitted to the Territory of Hawaii in 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. Just at that point, did I understand you to say that the order of the Japanese Government forbidding the entry of picture brides into the United States did not apply to Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. It did not apply to Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. And those that came in in 1920, after August, and those that are coming in since August, 1920, up until the present time and bear children in Hawaii, those children will be American citizens?

Mr. MEAD. Children born there will be American citizens.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; and can come on to the continental United States at their pleasure.

Mr. MEAD. They can, as I understand it.

Mr. RAKER. And being American citizens, property in California could be deeded to them although they resided in Hawaii.

Mr. MEAD. Oh, yes. They are American citizens born in Hawaii, and their citizenship extends everywhere through continental United States, naturally. There is a significant thing, though, in connection with the children of Japanese born in Hawaii. I have followed the statistics of arrivals and departures of steerage passengers at Honolulu for a great many years, and I venture to say that for 20 years past and more the number of Japanese children leaving the Territory and going to Japan has exceeded by four to one the number of children coming from Japan to Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; but—

Mr. MEAD (continuing). In other words, the Japanese who have children in Hawaii send their children back to Japan after they have reached a certain age. Just what that age is I do not know, but they send them back to Japan to acquire their education in Japan.

Mr. RAKER. Exactly; and they get a Japanese education, and all the boys who are American citizens married in Japan would be entitled to reenter Hawaii as well as the mainland.

Mr. MEAD. Exactly.

Mr. RAKER. With their brides, which would be proper under the law because they would be American citizens; and the girls or the young ladies go there for an education and stay until they graduate and then can come back whenever they see fit to do so.

Mr. MEAD. I do not know when they come back, but it is significant that even though they are born in Hawaii and born into American citizenship, it is apparent that they send them back to Japan to acquire a Japanese education.

Mr. RAKER. From your observation, is not that the condition with reference to those born on the mainland?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know so much about those born on the mainland, but I know about those in Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. Do they not send them back to Japan for their early education?

Mr. MEAD. Just as an individual instance of that, I have had a Japanese working for the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association since 1901. He married in Hawaii; in fact, he has married there twice, his first wife having died. He has eight children. So far as I know, this young man has as nearly imbibed the ideas of Americanism, perhaps, or Americanization, as any Japanese I know of there. He is associated with white people in his work and has always been very loyal to me. Just previous to my coming away from Honolulu, this man came to me and said, "I want a vacation to go back to Japan," and I said, "Why? What are you going back to Japan for?" He said, "I want to take my children to Japan. I want to educate them as Japanese. I do not want them to grow up as Americans."

Now, that is an individual instance. I do not know that it is peculiar or anything of the kind, but there is a boy I would trust. I would certainly trust him where I would not trust any other Japanese, but he wants his youngsters to grow up as Japanese and not as Americans.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Mead, have you folks any statistics here to show the number, if any, of American-born Japanese who have become expatriated or who have requested expatriation from their own country?

Mr. MEAD. No; I have not. I do not know whether the commission has those figures or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we get to those figures, Mr. Weeber has here a table of aliens admitted to and departing from the Territory of Hawaii between the years 1910 and 1920, inclusive, by nationalities. I think it would be well to have that inserted, and without objection, it will be so ordered.

(The statement referred to follows:)

Aliens admitted to and departing from the Territory of Hawaii between the years 1910 and 1920, inclusive.

Race of people.	1910		1911		1912		1913		1914		1915	
	In.	Out.	In.	Out.	In.	Out.	In.	Out.	In.	Out.	In.	Out.
African (black).....			1		6	1	1		2			1
Armenian.....	1											
Bohemian.....	2		1				1					
Bulgarian.....	1											
Chinese.....	91	478	130	370	114	253	143	230	129	198	111	183
Croatian and Slovenian.....					3							
Cuban.....												
Dutch and Flemish.....	3		1		5	2	6	1	2	1	4	
East Indian.....	227		70				6		2		1	1
English.....	46	19	67	32	73	35	81	49	66	46	46	41
Finnish.....					1	2	1					
French.....	2	2	5	1	2		3	3		6	2	2
German.....	57	12	20	5	23	5	19	16	21	6	17	1
Greek.....	6		1	25	1	1	1	1	1	6	1	
Hebrew.....	3						1					
Irish.....	13		3		10	3	8	6	20	3	3	6
Italian.....	1		2				2	1	2	1		
Japanese.....	1,239	1,632	1,883	912	2,816	517	4,062	216	3,817	215	2,625	100
Korean.....	7	106	8	32	17	40	45	32	92	30	78	37
Mexican.....		4										
Pacific Islander.....		1					1		1		1	1
Polish.....	12		6	1	7		3		17			2
Portuguese.....	864		548	3	1,114	2	228	15	13	33	2	32
Rumanian.....											1	
Russian.....	1,542	4	202	7	234	23	99	90	14	119	6	96
Scandinavian.....	3	3	1	2	6	4	7	1	3	1	1	2
Scotch.....	58	6	64	15	65	16	73	17	54	30	31	24
Slovak.....				9								
Spanish.....	1		868	3	2,156	2	1,043	3	1,362	49	3	31
Spanish-American.....												
Syrian.....												
Turkish.....	5											
Welsh.....	1		3		1		3		2	1		1
West Indian.....	1											
Other peoples.....			1	4		1		1	3			
Total.....	4,186	2,267	3,886	1,421	6,654	907	5,837	682	5,622	747	2,934	561

Aliens admitted to and departing from the Territory of Hawaii between the years 1910 and 1920, inclusive—Continued.

Race of people.	1916		1917		1918		1919		1920		Net.	
	In.	Out.	In.	Out.	In.	Out.	In.	Out.	In.	Out.	Loss.	Gain.
African (black).....	1					1						4
Armenian.....												1
Bohemian.....			1									5
Bulgarian.....												1
Chinese.....	119	104	141	111	101	209	72	266	107	345	1,489	
Croatian and Slovenian												3
Cuban.....												1
Dutch and Flemish.....	2		1		3		5		2	1		29
East Indian.....	1											307
English.....	76	29	71	28	23	35	48	33	128	38		340
Finnish.....			5									5
French.....	16	2	2		1		3	2	3	1		20
German.....	22	1	16		2				1	1		151
Greek.....	2		4				1				15	
Hebrew.....	1								2			13
Irish.....	18	6	6	5	8	2	5	1	14	3		73
Italian.....							5		2			13
Japanese.....	2,797	58	3,178	84	2,856	249	2,384	174	2,138	229		25,409
Korean.....	80	24	116	34	78	57	66	14	45	7		219
Mexican.....											4	
Pacific Islander.....			2			2			1			2
Polish.....	4			1					1			46
Portuguese.....	2	81	6	39		12		3	1			2,558
Rumanian.....												1
Russian.....	12	2	9	65	6	61	5	8	10	14		1,650
Scandinavian.....	8	2	8		6	2	2		5			33
Scotch.....	29	22	30	12	13	25	22	10	114	20		356
Slovak.....											9	
Spanish.....		63	4	25		18						5,243
Spanish-American.....	2				1				1			4
Syrian.....	1											1
Turkish.....												5
Welsh.....	1		2	1	1		1					12
West Indian.....						1						
Other peoples.....			1						2			1
Total.....	3,194	394	3,607	405	3,100	674	2,619	511	2,578	659		34,999

Mr. RAKER. And although it may be shown by that table that a large number of Japanese had expatriated themselves from the Hawaiian Islands, there is nothing to show but what those young men and women going to Japan to receive their education, after they have stayed there from 5 to 10 or 12 years, return to the United States.

Mr. MEAD. I do not think that table shows anything of the kind.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not show expatriation. It shows arrivals and departures.

Mr. RAKER. But I say that if the departures shown were fairly large, it would be no indication that they were returning in order to remain there.

Mr. MEAD. Not at all; but the figures for many years past show that with the exception of Japanese women coming to Hawaii, the departures of Japanese men and the departures of Japanese children from Hawaii to Japan are far in excess of the arrivals of Japanese men and Japanese children. The only excess of arrivals over departures among the Japanese is among the Japanese women and there are not and have not been coming into Hawaii for a long period as many Japanese men as have gone out, or as many Japanese children as have gone out.

Mr. RAKER. Then how do you account for the fact that the population of the Japanese for the last 10 years has increased—

Mr. MEAD (interposing). The birth rate, of course, is very high. The birth rate of the Japanese is very high and this excess of departures does not at all make up for the very high birth rates. These are simply figures of arrivals and departures of steerage passengers there.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Mead, this question may have been asked you before, but unfortunately I have two hearings going on that I am trying to follow and I can only appear here occasionally. Has the question been asked or answered about the plan of the Japanese as to adoption. Have they adopted that plan of the Japanese in the Islands?

Mr. MEAD (interposing). I have not heard of anything of that kind in Hawaii. It may be so, but I have not heard of it at all, and I think I would have heard of it if it was going on.

This report continues at page 59:

Economic competition, however, does not account for the displacement of whites by Asiatics so much as social repulsion. Both races instinctively withdraw from each other in response to impulses that are hard to analyze. Nevertheless these age-old barriers between the West and the East should not blind us to the rights acquired by oriental residents in Hawaii. They came at the invitation of the former Government and were there when we took the country, or have come with our consent since it was in our possession. We have by our laws changed them from indentured laborers, who might be deported at our behest, into life residents and fathers of future citizens. Unless we abolish representative government in Hawaii, their children, mostly Japanese, will soon be able if they are so disposed to dominate the country politically. We shall then have the choice of either denying our most typical institutions to one of our own Territories, or of giving over the control of one of our most important oversea military possessions into the hands of an Asiatic voting population.

Moreover, the political influence of these people, whose Americanization is still in question, will be reenforced by their growing economic influence.

Then there is a discussion about their going into various businesses and intrenching themselves in all lines of occupation and then a discussion of the Japanese language schools, which I will not read.

Mr. RAKER. We have a very extensive résumé of the Japanese language schools and a survey of education in Hawaii issued by the Department of Labor in Bulletin No. 16 of 1920. It would be worth while for the committee and the Members of Congress to be familiar with that report.

Mr. MEAD. I might read an extract from this report along the line of what I have just stated regarding the Japanese children going back to be educated. It appears on page 60:

A very large number of Japanese children are sent back to Japan as soon as they are able to leave their parents, to be educated and to be trained in the traditions, religion, and history of Japan, in order that they may not lose their loyalty to that country.

On page 65 is a review and the conclusions on labor conditions:

Labor conditions in Hawaii are better than in most tropical countries and in some ways are better than in many mainland communities. The struggle for existence is not severe. Except early in 1914, when abnormally low-sugar prices and the prospective removal of the duty on that article enforced stringent economy in plantation management, agricultural workers have never faced involuntary unemployment. From an oriental standpoint, labor conditions are excellent.

And then they discuss that proposition further:

Most of the betterment of labor conditions during the past 15 years has not been at the instance of the laborers themselves. It has been partly forced from employers by their competition among themselves for labor.

Then, going on in regard to this situation, on page 67:

There is no reason for an alarmist attitude toward the Japanese. Those in Hawaii are not unmindful that some mischance may in the future disturb the friendly relations between their country and our own; but they do not court such an event.

This report, as you recall, was published in 1915.

They (the Japanese) maintain their national characteristics and allegiance very stubbornly and transmit them to their children born in Hawaii. Their Americanization is as yet on the surface; it has not touched their hearts. Nor is there much reason why it should. They are discriminated against in the matter of citizenship and are separated by social and linguistic barriers from the white population.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time that was written there had been no Japanese labor organization formed in Hawaii.

Mr. MEAD. There was in 1909, when they carried on a strike, a Japanese organization, yes; but it did not last very long.

Mr. RAKER. When that was written and before it was printed I called it to the attention of this committee—that is, the conditions there—and requested that some action be taken whereby the conditions might be mollified and that Hawaii might be given an opportunity to look after her future interests, but the authorities then, and the American Congress then, gave a deaf ear to the conditions in Hawaii.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. What time was that?

Mr. RAKER. Following that report.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the plan offered by you?

Mr. RAKER. Well, I do not want to take up the time of the committee to state all of the plans, but the first plan was to prohibit the importation or the immigration of Japanese to Hawaii, through picture brides and otherwise, as well as to the continental United States. That was in 1915, a little over five years ago, and pretty nearly six.

Mr. MEAD. I will read from page 68:

Necessary encouragement should be given to the immigration of Europeans. The Portuguese have proved suitable settlers for Hawaii. People of Iberian stock readily become Americans in habits and spirit. They are frugal and industrious and they thrive in the Hawaiian climate. On account of the remoteness of the Territory from Europe, they can attract immigrants in competition with nearer countries only by paying their passage, and the law permits the Government to do this.

The law does not permit it now, that provision having been taken out of the law.

But many Europeans use this Government assistance to get cheaply to California, a fact that has discouraged the policy of thus building up a citizen population. It is maintained by some that immigrants whose passage to Hawaii has been paid by the local Government should be required to repay their passage money if they leave the Territory for the mainland within three years.

I do not know how that would ever be accomplished, but there is just that suggestion. To end that particular part of the discussion this report says:

The Federal Government, in every policy affecting the Territory, should strive to foster such a community.

That is, a community of white stock. Those are about the only extracts that I care to read out of these reports. Both of these reports, especially the report of 1916, which is not very long, would well repay a careful reading. There are other statements which I could read but I do not want to burden the record.

Mr. RAKER. Going back not only to labor conditions but to economic conditions, all of the Japanese that are American citizens would be entitled to purchase any business that might be on the Islands.

Mr. MEAD. Oh, yes.

Mr. RAKER. And then call in their relatives and friends to assist them?

Mr. MEAD. Well, I assume that could follow.

Mr. RAKER. But up to the present time is there any law prohibiting a Japanese from purchasing property in Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. Not that I know of.

Mr. RAKER. Either land or otherwise?

Mr. MEAD. No.

Mr. RAKER. Then if they have the money and the desire there are enough Japanese to purchase not only the sugar plantations but other industries in Hawaii and run them as American citizens?

Mr. MEAD. If they had the money perhaps they might make an attempt to purchase the sugar plantations, but I do not think they would ever get very far.

Mr. RAKER. Why not?

Mr. MEAD. Because the people out there are patriotic Americans and they are not going to sell their lands to the Japanese; they are not going to sell their plantation lands to aliens.

Mr. RAKER. If they do not get the necessary labor and the Japanese being there in the large number they are, having refused to work on the plantations and having induced others to refuse to work on the plantations, the sugar plantations can not prosper or do business and would be running a losing business all the time, so that it would look feasible that if the Japanese had the money they would be in a position to acquire the property and then put their own people at work.

Mr. MEAD. I do not agree to that for a minute. I believe that the great majority of the plantation owners in Hawaii would rather see their fields dried up and turned into absolutely arid areas than to have that country turned over to the Japanese, either through their purchase of the lands or otherwise. That is what I think of the white people of Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. Do you mean that the condition is such that because of a nationality they would refuse to sell to an American citizen?

Mr. MEAD. I would not say they would refuse to sell to American citizens.

Mr. RAKER. I mean, Japanese American citizens.

Mr. MEAD. They would not refuse to sell to you, no, sir; they would be glad to have you come out there and buy all the sugar land you could afford to buy.

Mr. RAKER. That would be very little.

Mr. MEAD. But so far as allowing the Japanese to get a foothold there I am very confident, sir, that it could never be done. You must remember that the holdings of the stock of the plantations in Hawaii are by people who are Americans or those who are white

American citizens, and that they are living there. They have their homes there, and they propose to have that country a white American country.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, you intend to convey to the committee the idea that the conditions are such, by virtue of the large number of nationals of Japan, whether aliens or citizens, that unless something is done to give the people there who are engaged in business—that is, the white American citizens—an opportunity to conduct their business, that they will either go bankrupt or——

Mr. MEAD (interposing). Yes, sir; I think the people of Hawaii are entitled to that relief. I think they are not only entitled to that relief from an economic standpoint but from the standpoint that Hawaii is a military outpost of the United States, and it is a mighty important post; I do not think that most people realize how very important it is and that the people out there are trying their very hardest to build up a population that will be loyal to the United States in case of any trouble.

Mr. RAKER. If the Japanese population is so large and it continues to increase to such an extent that they could take possession of the islands, what good would it do to us to hold them?

Mr. MEAD. What good would it do us to have other labor there that would offset that?

Mr. RAKER. No; what good would it do us to hold it as a military outpost if the population of a particular nationality is so strong that overnight they could take possession?

Mr. MEAD. Well, overnight they are not going to take possession in a military way.

The CHAIRMAN. You figure it will be done by what is termed in California "peaceful penetration"?

Mr. MEAD. Possibly.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not true that there are 20,000 Japanese children attending Japanese schools and being taught by Japanese teachers?

Mr. MEAD. I think I stated the other day that when it comes to a point where the political aspect of things shows that the Japanese have or will shortly obtain control of the electorate that you gentlemen here in Congress are going to see that some provision is made whereby a commission form of government is put into effect out there. That is my belief.

The CHAIRMAN. Rather a military government?

Mr. MEAD. A commission form of government, the commission being composed largely of military or naval men.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Japanese newspapers are in the islands, if you know?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know how many there are all over the islands, but there are five or six in Honolulu.

Mr. JOHNSON. Including some daily papers?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they fought the plantation owners?

Mr. MEAD. They are very rabid and say all sorts of things.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the University of Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. That is an educational institution conducted by the Territory of Hawaii, and it has, I believe, assistance from the Federal

Government. It used to be an agricultural college but has been turned into a university.

The CHAIRMAN. It is maintained by the Territory?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir. I do not know positively whether it receives Federal aid or not.

Mr. WISE. \$50,000 a year.

The CHAIRMAN. Do Japanese pupils go there?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; pupils of all nationalities.

The CHAIRMAN. They go there whether they are citizens or not?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any alien teachers in that university?

Mr. MEAD. I think there are one or two. I think they have a Japanese professor of Japanese art and literature, and a Chinese professor of art and literature.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Prof. Harada?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; I know him.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his chair?

Mr. MEAD. He has charge of Japanese art and literature.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember his address before the Japanese business men of Honolulu on January 13, 1921, in which he said:

The complete solution of the Japanese question will never be reached until American-born Japanese exert their influence in political circles.

Mr. MEAD. I was not there at that time, but I read that address in one of the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. It is presumed to be a fair report?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That might mean that the American-born Japanese would act as Americans?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or they could act in the capacity of their other citizenship.

Mr. MEAD. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Getting right down to the nub of the thing, do you think it would be advisable for Congress to undertake to cure one oriental sore by the development of another oriental sore?

Mr. MEAD. I do not admit for a moment that the admission of Chinese to Hawaii would form an oriental sore.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any one think, when the first 500 Japanese came to the Hawaiian Islands or the first 1,000 came to the State of Washington or to the State of California, that we would have this oriental problem, acute as it is, both in Hawaii and in the United States?

Mr. MEAD. We have had Japanese and we have had Chinese in Hawaii, so that we have had a chance to compare the nationalities. The Chinese mix and intermarry with other races, and the offspring of Chinese and Hawaiians or Chinese and other races is splendid. Some of those are the equal of anything we have in Hawaii, so far as their loyalty and so far as their general citizenship are concerned. But the Japanese do not intermarry with any other nationality nor do they mix with any other nationality.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see about that. The Chinese never brought their women to the Hawaiian Islands in any numbers?

Mr. MEAD. Not in any numbers; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Therefore, by the very nature of things, they intermarried.

Mr. MEAD. Yes; and very largely with the Hawaiians.

The CHAIRMAN. The Japanese, on the contrary, having devised the picture bride scheme, have brought their women there?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; although for many years there were no picture brides coming to Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the incentive to intermingle or intermarry is not so great?

Mr. MEAD. I would not say the incentive, but I would say that the Japanese do not want to mix with any other nationality; they would rather remain unmarried than to marry anybody outside of their own.

The CHAIRMAN. The American citizens who went out to the Pacific Northwest, following the strike of gold in California in 1849, did not want to marry the Indian women out there, but some of them did.

Mr. RAKER. Only a few of them.

Mr. MEAD. The Japanese do not want to and they have not. I believe I could count on the fingers of both hands the marriages of Japanese to people of other nationalities.

The CHAIRMAN. In Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. In Hawaii. Out in the Orient, of course, you will find a great many men who have married Japanese women, but you do not find it in Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. So you think the Chinese could come in in any considerable number and not in any way create a possible future trouble?

Mr. MEAD. Absolutely; they would create no trouble at all.

Mr. RAKER. If the Japanese are there in such numbers and by reason of their work and labor and accumulation of all the finances of the various businesses of the country, it is bound to reduce the rest of the community to a sort of reliance on them for finances, is it not?

Mr. MEAD. I do not believe we would ever reach that stage.

Mr. RAKER. In a way it is getting that way now, is it not?

Mr. MEAD. No. I would not say that you would ever reach or even approach the stage where we would rely upon the Japanese for the financing of any operation of any kind.

Mr. RAKER. If you brought in 30,000 Chinese to take the places of the Japanese who have been working not only in the sugar-cane industry but in the pineapple industry, the rice industry and other agricultural industries, so as to displace the Japanese labor, the Japanese would have to go into something else, would they not?

Mr. MEAD. I do not understand that it is the intention to bring in Chinese or any other labor to displace any of the people who are now working. But there is a shortage of labor out there; they have not enough labor to do the agricultural work that is necessary to be done, and the proposition is to bring in some nationality, other than Japanese, naturally, to fill up the hole which now exists in the labor situation.

Mr. RAKER. I will put it this way, then: The Japanese have already struck, or had a strike in 1920, and some of them did not go back. Suppose that more should strike, and that there was practically no labor for these agricultural industries, and you should

bring in 30,000 Chinese to take their places. That would leave the Japanese without any employment, would it not?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; if they all went out on a strike and did not come back.

Mr. RAKER. I am assuming that to be the condition. Would not that create an acute condition as between the two races, the Japanese and the Chinese, the Japanese, on the one hand, having thirty or forty thousand laboring in the fields, getting a good wage, and having fairly good conditions surrounding them as to housing, etc., and the Japanese, on the other hand, being out of employment.

Mr. MEAD. I can imagine that condition on a theoretical question of that kind; that is, if all the Japanese on the plantations went out on a strike and were absolutely loafing and doing nothing, and you should bring in 30,000 Chinese and put them in the places that those Japanese had previously occupied, you might have racial trouble, but that is a purely theoretical situation which will never arise, because if the Japanese all go out on a strike and will not work on the plantations they will not be able to find employment, and most of them will have to go back to Japan, because they have got to work to live.

The CHAIRMAN. This last strike was won by which side?

Mr. MEAD. By the planters.

The CHAIRMAN. After a delay of how long?

Mr. MEAD. About six months.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the Japanese returned to their work?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. At the old scale?

Mr. MEAD. They returned at the old scale and thereafter the wages were raised 50 per cent. The bonus was reduced but the basic wage was increased.

The CHAIRMAN. That had the tendency of getting away from the trouble with this excessive bonus?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the cost of that strike?

Mr. MEAD. The Japanese Federation published figures whereby they claimed that they had received in donations from other Japanese throughout the Territory, Japanese laborers and others, \$900,000. My own information is that they received an amount considerably in excess of that. The cost to the Hawaiian sugar planters in providing strike breakers and in damage to their crops approximated, I believe, \$12,000,000, although I may be mistaken as to that amount. The figures were finally compiled after I left there and I have not them with me, but I think that was the cost. One of our large expenses in that connection was the insuring of the growing cane crop of 1920. They were firing the fields; they would go along, apparently, in automobiles with bombs and throw them over into the fields in different sections of the plantations, where the fields adjoined the public roads. We had very serious fires, so we insured that crop. It was the first time that I know of—I never heard of it before—where any such insurance had been taken out on such a large scale. The fields were insured for \$15,000,000.

Mr. RAKER. That became more than a general strike, then.

Mr. MEAD. It was a strike on all but one of the plantations on the island of Oahu.

Mr. RAKER. I say, that strike assumed proportions beyond just a refusal of laborers to work.

Mr. MEAD. Absolutely; it assumed a national movement among the Japanese.

Mr. RAKER. It assumed such proportions that those who struck, and their sympathizers and friends, prepared to destroy the property of the owners.

Mr. MEAD. It did.

Mr. RAKER. Were there many instances of that kind?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; there were quite a number of fires; for a while we had a fire every night.

Mr. RAKER. How did you keep down serious difficulties in the way of really getting into a conflict?

Mr. MEAD. We had conflicts with them, but there were no riots or anything of the kind, although we had a pretty serious time.

Mr. MALONEY. Where did you get the strike breakers?

Mr. MEAD. We got them out of Honolulu.

Mr. MALONEY. From the islands?

Mr. MEAD. Principally around Honolulu. We had a strike in 1909 which was also serious for a while, and at that time we found that the Hawaiians were the most loyal and most efficient help, and we recruited at that time somewhere around 3,000 Hawaiians, stevedores and the like, who were working around Honolulu. In 1920 they came right to the fore, and if it had not been for the Hawaiians in and around Honolulu, and many coming down from the other islands, I do not know what we would have done. They saved the situation.

Mr. RAKER. You answered my question of a moment ago in a very pleasant and nice way; there is no complaint on my part, but still it leaves something hazy in my mind. How could you accuse these strikers of throwing bombs and setting the fires?

Mr. MEAD. How could we accuse them?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. MEAD. Everybody knew it must be them because we never had fires down there, cane fires, except accidental fires such as might be caused by the passing of a locomotive. They had never occurred.

Mr. RAKER. If you knew those people were setting fire to plantations, what did you do with them—what actually occurred?

Mr. MEAD. Well, what actually occurred was this: We established patrols—automobile patrols—through the plantations. The plantations are pretty well divided up by roads, pretty fair roads, and we had patrols going around all night long, and at one time, when it got so bad, the sheriff stationed guards at points along the public roads, just before they reached the plantations, and at intermediate points, and every automobile that came along after dark was stopped and examined to see whether there were any bombs or anything in the cars with which to start fires. While that was going on, we had no fires.

Mr. RAKER. What was the attitude of the strikers and their friends and sympathizers?

Mr. MEAD. The attitude of the strikers themselves was very, very good indeed, and there were no riots of any kind. There were a few hotheads among them who caused considerable trouble, but I would not want to say that it was any Japanese plantation man or ex-

plantation man who set fire to the fields; I would not want to say that, but I do say—and I believe I am right—that those fires were caused by Japanese.

Mr. RAKER. Is it your intention to convey to the committee the idea that that was sympathized in by the Japanese as a national people or as a race?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; that is my feeling.

Mr. RAKER. Did you get any result from the Japanese consul? Is there one in Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Did you get any favorable assistance from him?

Mr. MEAD. No; we did not. The Japanese consul called together or secured a committee of Japanese business men to act and to advise the calling off of the strike, knowing that the planters would never give in; but their conferences did not amount to anything; that is, their committee did not amount to anything and they did nothing. They tried to do something but the Japanese would not listen to them. It is called to my attention that during these strike troubles the National Guard of Hawaii was gotten in readiness to act immediately.

Mr. RAKER. How strong is your National Guard?

Mr. MEAD. It is a pretty strong guard; I do not know just what the force is now, but during the war we supplied more men through the National Guard to the national forces, in proportion to our population, than any other community in the United States.

Mr. RAKER. I asked one gentleman about this, and it might have been you. We have been a little tedious in this matter, at least I guess I have, but you will have to forgive me. Has any considerable number of the men who were working in 1920 and on up to 1921 left the islands?

Mr. MEAD. You mean the men who went on strike in 1920?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. MEAD. Yes; a great many of the plantation laborers who were working in 1920 have left the islands. The bonus in 1920 was so very large and the earnings of the plantation laborers were so enormous that a great many of them—Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish, Filipinos, and others—left the plantations; in the case of the Portuguese and Spanish to go to California; in the case of the Filipinos to return to the Philippine Islands and to go to the coast; and in the case of the Japanese to go to Japan. Hordes of them went away, and the steamers were not anywhere near able to take care of the people who wanted to go; they had to wait for months to get transportation, so many of them wanted to go. I know that very well, because our office in Honolulu handles the departure of Filipinos. We try to keep a record of those who are going away very largely with the idea of seeing how much money they have and how prosperous they have been, and they book their passages back home through our office. We had no objection to their going, because if they wanted to go we could not stop them, but knowing we had that condition we wanted to know, as far as we could know, what was going on, and they just crowded in at Honolulu to get passage back home.

Mr. RAKER. Are there any considerable number that came to the islands in 1920 and 1921 who were not there before?

Mr. MEAD. Do you mean Filipinos?

Mr. RAKER. Of any nationality?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; the Filipino immigration has been continuous since 1909. They have come in right along.

Mr. RAKER. Are there any idle men in Hawaii now?

Mr. MEAD. I have not been out there at all since November.

Mr. RAKER. Unemployed men is what I mean.

Mr. MEAD. If there is any man in Hawaii who is now without employment, it is his own fault. There is no unemployment. You can not say that at any time there is unemployment in Hawaii. There is no such thing there. There are no idle men except men who wish to be idle.

Mr. RAKER. That is not exactly what I mean. I got word from home the other day that there were 60 or 70 idle men in that small community of a few thousand population. The farmers could use them, but they will not work on the farms. Are there any of that kind of men in Hawaii, or men who are idle because they will not work?

Mr. MEAD. No, sir; I do not think that that condition exists in Hawaii as it does in the States.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. In April the statement was made that it was impossible to get common labor for work on the railroad, in double-tracking 15 miles of railroad. That statement was challenged by the Central Council of Labor, and I said to them, "Send me 200 men on Monday morning, and I will put them to work." The answer was, "We are not a labor bureau." The offer was \$3.25 per day, which was the prevailing wage for common labor. Whether that has any bearing upon the subject or not, I do not know, but I offer that as evidence.

Mr. CABLE. Was that this year?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir; that was this year, on the 29th of April.

Mr. MALONEY. At what time did you leave Hawaii?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. On the 4th of May.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Mead, do you believe that better conditions would prevail with regard to labor if you should have a higher basic wage instead of the present system of paying a certain amount per month and then a bonus?

Mr. MEAD. No, sir; I do not. I think that our system, with a comparatively low basic wage, but a wage which gives a man a fair living and a bonus is the best system. We have found on the plantations, and I believe that nearly all of the employers of unskilled labor there have found, that the higher the basic wage is, the lower the turnout and the less efficiency you will have. I am talking now of unskilled men. That is especially true with us, where they have nothing to buy except their food and their clothes, and where they are given everything else. They will work a certain number of days or enough to provide them with food and some of the other things, such as money to spend on luxuries or a little money to go to a movie, or something of that kind. The higher you make that basic wage the less turnout you will get. There will be a greater decrease in efficiency. There is no question about that. We have worked it out, and we know that to be the fact. Our bonus system aims to get a turnout of 20 days' labor. The laborer is given a basic wage

that is enough to guarantee him a living, and then he is given a bonus which is based upon a 20-day turnout. We find that by that system we get better results than if we had a higher basic wage.

Mr. RAKER. I know; but the ordinary American citizen will not work on that basis that you have of giving a certain living wage and then a bonus, because he has got to gamble with the future. He can not wait for 6 months or 18 months for his bonus.

Mr. MEAD. He does not have to wait that long because the bonus is paid every month. If he works for that period of time, his bonus will be in his pay envelope for that month.

Mr. RAKER. Why is it now that you have not taken American labor for your skilled jobs, such as engineers, drivers, mechanics, carpenters, etc.?

Mr. MEAD. Well, there has been a great improvement along that line.

Mr. RAKER. I know; but in the last 10 years you have had Japanese doing that skilled work. Just tell the committee why you have not given those positions to American skilled laborers?

Mr. MEAD. Well, the basic reasons for it are very much the same as the reasons why the Japanese have gained control in many of your orchards and other agricultural lands in California. He will work for you; he will be more industrious, and he will be always and eternally on the job. He ingratiate himself in that way so that he holds the job. It is a fact that the Japanese by reason of their steadiness, their industry, and by their aggressiveness, you might say, come in and work out other people. He has largely worked the Hawaiian out of nearly every job in Hawaii. He controls the fishing industry and controls a great many minor trades, the building trades, and that sort of thing. He does it by reason of that virtue of working all the time and being eternally on the job, just as he has got control of many orchards out in California. He works the other men out.

Mr. RAKER. If that condition continues long enough, as it has already started in Hawaii, it will not be many years until he has worked out all of the white people.

Mr. MEAD. No, sir; because in Hawaii they realize that condition, and there has been an improvement in that situation. If you go into the plantation statistics, you will see that the percentage of white skilled laborers has increased right along.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, the Japanese laborer works more cheaply and lives more cheaply?

Mr. MEAD. He works more cheaply, lives more cheaply, is more aggressive, and is always on the job.

The CHAIRMAN. The loss in wages during that strike amounted to what sum?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know, but it was a very large sum. I do not know whether the figures are accurate or not, but I think at one time I estimated the figure as high as \$4,000,000. That is what I figured they had lost in wages.

Mr. MALONEY. Is that included in the \$12,000,000 of loss?

Mr. MEAD. That was the Japanese loss.

The CHAIRMAN. While that strike was in progress did the plantation people pay their bookkeepers, storekeepers, and other help? The strike was entirely by field labor.

Mr. MEAD. No, sir. All the Japanese, with few exceptions, on the plantations of Oahu but one struck. All of them went on the strike, both skilled and unskilled men. Men receiving as high as \$5 per day went on the strike.

Mr. BOX. Did the workers of other nationalities go out on the strike?

Mr. MEAD. In the beginning the Filipinos went out. They had a leader who was controlled by the Japanese, and he induced them to go on strike, but they were not on the strike very long.

Mr. RAKER. Is it not really true that it is a case of the survival of the class that works the longest and the hardest?

Mr. MEAD. In our labor situation?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. MEAD. I think that in all labor situations it is a question of the survival of the man who works longest and hardest and of the man who is always on the job. The man who is always on the job will hold the job.

Mr. RAKER. Applying that rule and going right on as you have been going in Hawaii in the matter of the Japanese, they will soon have the upper hand.

Mr. MEAD. They would and could if the employers wanted to give them the upper hand.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you one other question: Have you knowledge of any effort being made by any Japanese corporations, banks, or other Japanese interests seeking to acquire plantations in Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. No, sir; the first that I heard of that was from Mr Dillingham's testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Japanese banks are there in Honolulu?

Mr. MEAD. There is the Yokohama Specie Bank and the Pacific Bank. I think there are four or five altogether.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they conducted under any form of Federal or Territorial supervision?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know about that. They have a Territorial banking law in Hawaii, but I am not familiar with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the books of those banks are kept in the English language or in the Japanese language?

Mr. MEAD. I should say offhand that they were kept in the Japanese language.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any other member of the committee desire to ask any questions now?

Mr. BOX. What is the population of the city of Honolulu?

Mr. MEAD. It is 85,000. There are some figures in Thrum's Annual for 1921 showing that there has been quite an increase in the number of Americans on the plantations and in the number of Hawaiians and of white laborers, generally speaking. That appears on page 17 of the Annual for 1921.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that matter may be inserted in the record. You understand that the secretary will receive any tables or statistics that you desire to present, and they will appear as an appendix to the hearing.

Mr. RAKER. You raise rice in Hawaii, do you not?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. You have designated that as one of the agricultural products that is being seriously handicapped by virtue of the labor situation.

Mr. MEAD. The commission has stated that, yes sir; and it is a fact.

Mr. RAKER. The total value of the rice crop last year, or for 1919, was more than it had been in any year before?

Mr. MEAD. I can not state that from my own knowledge.

Mr. RAKER. I find that that is true.

Mr. MEAD. The agricultural products in 1919 and 1920 had very high valuations.

Mr. CABLE. That has nothing to do with the amount of rice produced.

Mr. MEAD. No, sir; nothing at all. For instance, in 1920, we were getting as high as from 15 to 23 cents for our sugar, while in the previous year we were getting, under Federal control, a little over 7 cents for sugar, but I think that the crop of that year was greater in tonnage than the crop for 1920.

Mr. RAKER. What I was getting at was just to show that, although there might have been some decrease in production or in quantity, the price in 1919 was considerably over that of 1909.

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir. The war prices in 1919 were fixed by the Government.

Mr. RAKER. I find that in 1909 you had 9,423 acres in rice, and in 1919 you had 5,801 acres.

Mr. MEAD. I know nothing about the accuracy of those figures, but I presume they are correct. I know that rice production has gone down.

Mr. RAKER. These figures are taken from a census bulletin.

Mr. MEAD. The Chinese are the ones that cultivate the rice fields there.

Mr. RAKER. The value in 1909 was \$1,068,239, while the value of the 1919 crop was \$1,577,421, or an increase in value of 47.7 per cent.

Mr. MEAD. In 1909, I might say that rice was selling for from \$3 to \$3.50 per bag, while in 1919, I believe it was selling for anywhere from \$6 to \$9 per bag. Those figures are very conservative.

Mr. RAKER. Practically all of the rice used by the Japanese in Hawaii is imported from Japan, is it not?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; a great deal of it is imported from Japan. Also, a great deal of it comes from California. That is what they call Japanese seed rice. I believe that during the high prices last year, Japanese on the plantations used a great deal of that California Japanese rice.

Mr. RAKER. They buy Japanese rice in California and ship it to Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. It is raised in California. The prices were up so high, and there was an embargo placed on rice by the Japanese Government, so they bought a great deal of California rice.

Mr. RAKER. You understand that there are quite a number of Japanese in California producing rice?

Mr. MEAD. I did not know that they were producing rice.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; they are, quite extensively. There are a good many other things that the Japanese use out there that they import from their own country.

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; fish, soy, and a whole lot of things. That consists particularly of Japanese food, or things not raised in Hawaii, or things not raised anywhere outside of Japan.

Mr. RAKER. And also clothing?

Mr. MEAD. I do not think they import a great deal of clothing. They may, but offhand, I would say no.

Mr. RAKER. I thought you knew, as a matter of fact, that most of the Japanese in Hawaii used Japanese silks and other dress materials, both for men and women?

Mr. MEAD. That sort of clothing of the better grades; yes, sir. It is very likely that they do import those better grades of clothing; but as for working clothes, I do not believe they come from Japan. I may be wrong, but I should say they come from the States. I would not want to state definitely, but you can see all kinds of brands of American-made clothes in the stores and for sale to these Japanese workers.

Mr. RAKER. As I gather from these letters, it is your desire and your belief that practically the only labor that may be secured is Chinese labor?

Mr. MEAD. I am not a member of the commission and I am not speaking for the commission or for those who sent the commission here, but if you are asking my own personal opinion on the matter I would say yes.

Mr. RAKER. This resolution here provides that they shall come in and be under some supervision for particular kinds of work. If they fail or neglect to do that kind of work, they can be arrested and deported, or at the end of the period of five years, or whatever the limitation may be, they could be or should be deported. Is that your understanding?

Mr. MEAD. In theory, as the law reads, or as the proposed resolution reads, that would be the exact effect, as I understand it, of this resolution. However, in practice that would never occur. You are dealing with a people who are industrious; you are dealing with a people who want to work, and with a people who want to send money back to their children and their families in China. I would be almost willing to guarantee that if you got 5,000 or 25,000 Chinese under such a resolution as this, you would not have to deport a man until his term of contract or service was up.

Mr. RAKER. I know, but what I am trying to get at is the fact that, irrespective of what his desires would be, he would be in the status or condition of being liable to arrest and deportation under those conditions.

Mr. MEAD. If I understand the matter, that would be the case; yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Of course, he would not have his free will or volition to come and go as he pleased.

Mr. MEAD. I do not understand that the law goes that far; no, sir. As I have read the resolution—I have not studied it carefully, but as I understand it, he can engage in any kind of agricultural work. He does not have to engage in work upon any sugar plantation or rice plantation, but he can engage in any agricultural work. For instance, he can raise vegetables for the market, or he can do any kind of agricultural work.

Mr. RAKER. But if he, while raising agricultural products, commences to put up a stand in the city or to peddle articles, he would be subject to deportation?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; so I understand.

Mr. RAKER. If he went into any other lines of business, he would be subject to deportation?

Mr. MEAD. So I understand; yes, sir. There may be defects in this emergency resolution. That is true of any emergency legislation. Your emergency tariff has its defects and everything in the nature of emergency legislation has its defects—we must admit it. However, that kind of legislation is to meet an emergency, and such legislation is passed with the idea of affording immediate relief, and with the idea of getting along as best you can under the best legislation you can pass immediately. That, as I understand it, is the reason for this resolution.

Mr. BOX. I notice that the United States census shows the Japanese population to be about 109,000 in Hawaii, and that the Japanese Association in the island make their population in Hawaii about 114,000, while some sort of survey made by somebody else, or, perhaps, by the Chamber of Commerce or by the business interests, makes the population about 120,000. That bears a striking resemblance to the situation in California.

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOX. Have you any reason to believe that the Japanese try to make their number in Hawaii to appear less?

Mr. MEAD. No, sir; I would not say that.

Mr. BOX. How do you account for that?

Mr. MEAD. I would say from my knowledge of the way the United States census people go about their business—and I say that without intending any criticism at all, because they have a limited time in which to do their work—that I believe pretty nearly all of the census statistics are under the actual population. I would say that the figures secured by the Japanese consul will be a little more accurate than any of the others.

Mr. BOX. Would you estimate that the Japanese population, then, is about 114,000 or 115,000?

Mr. MEAD. I would be willing to take his figures in preference to the census figures.

Mr. BOX. I notice some other corroborative circumstances, and from what I see I would say that too.

Mr. MEAD. The Japanese consul or the Japanese Government has a very extensive system in Hawaii.

Mr. BOX. I do not think that they would overstate it.

Mr. MEAD. The Japanese consul admitted at one time that they had 500 agents throughout the islands. It was a public statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Wallace, of the American Federation of Labor, present? An opportunity is now offered Mr. Wallace to present the statement that he expected to present on the receipt of documents from Denver. Mr. Wallace does not appear to be present. Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, representing the California State Federation of Labor, is here, and we will be pleased to hear him.

**STATEMENT OF MR. PAUL SCHARRENBURG, COMMISSIONER
OF IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.**

Mr. SCHARRENBURG. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am not here as a member of the commission of immigration and housing. I am the secretary of the California State Federation of Labor. I have some other business here in Washington.

The question which has been discussed before your committee is of very vital interest to the working people of California. Everything that affects the Hawaiian Islands, in so far as labor is concerned, has a direct reflection in California. Whenever the people of the Hawaiian Islands have imported laborers, no matter where they came from, we have always had a backwash in California, particularly in San Francisco. For example, the records of the Associated Charities in San Francisco show that they give more aid to Porto Ricans who have come to San Francisco via the Hawaiian Islands than any other nationality. So you see that the efforts of the planters to secure labor bring to California some very undesirable people, people who are not able or willing to work and who become a charge and burden on California.

The CHAIRMAN. That applies to any country which has an outpost with which it does business?

Mr. SCHARRENBURG. I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. California has the Hawaiian Islands as one of its sources of business and revenue, just like Washington has Alaska as one of its sources of revenue, and necessarily the poverty of Alaska, the unfortunates, and the criminal, are always thrown back on the State of Washington. That is one of the conditions?

Mr. SCHARRENBURG. I believe that is true. I merely said this to show that the workers of California are particularly interested in the discussion before the committee. The workers of California are interested in the prosperity and success of Hawaii, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Surely. There is the business that California sends out to the Hawaiian Islands; I presume your fruits go there?

Mr. SCHARRENBURG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Much of the sugar goes to San Francisco?

Mr. SCHARRENBURG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Their meats go out there?

Mr. SCHARRENBURG. There is no doubt of that.

The CHAIRMAN. There are two sides to that question?

Mr. SCHARRENBURG. Yes, sir. Nevertheless, if we did not have the Hawaiian Islands we would not have that problem in our country to which I have referred.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true. Nor would you have the sugar business which has been the base of some very big activities in San Francisco and California.

Mr. SCHARRENBURG. California is very rich and prosperous and I believe could get along without any outpost. Is not that right, Judge?

Mr. RAKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHARRENBURG. Mr. Chairman, I desire to enter a protest against the importation of laborers from any country who are to be held in a state of peonage. That is the main and sole purpose of appearing here on the witness stand. If it is necessary to import

workers to Hawaii to live in peonage, then, by a mere sequence of logic, it is also necessary to import them into California and other States of our country, because we all have the same problem when it is difficult to get labor to work at any wage. We are in competition with other States and we are in competition with other nations. That problem always will be with us. Therefore, we want to provide against any modification of any law which will enable the Hawaiian Islands or the people in the islands to bring in laborers from any country to be held in peonage.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Scharrenberg, your organization and those of us who have had some knowledge for the past ten or fifteen years of this question that is now affecting Hawaii, have been trying to get it before the people of California right along every year?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. But instead of getting results, it has been getting more acute and the real facts have not gotten before the American people so that they might know just what would come, as it has already come to Hawaii, to California, Oregon, and Washington if it continues, and the longer it continues the worse it gets?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Yes; it seems so.

The CHAIRMAN. The facts have been presented over and over again?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Yes; I am quite sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any additional facts to present?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. No.

Mr. JOHNSON. Have you any facts to base your opinion upon?

Mr. RAKER. Only those which we gathered last year. That was the first time, and the report on it has not yet been made even to Congress or the Members of the House, and the American people have not become familiar with the work of this committee last year. I consider the work of this committee is one of the additions to the benefit of the American people, conducted by our honorable chairman in a judicial and proper way. That was the first time that the subject had an opportunity to be really fairly and properly presented, but we have not given that to the House nor to the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other statement to make?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. No, sir; I have none.

Mr. CABLE. May I ask at whose request you are here?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. At no one's request. I am here in Washington on some other business. I have been in conference with some of the gentlemen on the commission, President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor. I subsequently met Mr. Dillingham.

Mr. CABLE. Did you receive word or instructions from anyone to come here and testify?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. No. I stated specifically that I am not here representing the immigration and housing commission. I know their attitude and their views on this question. I have been their secretary for 13 years.

Mr. CABLE. Did they give you specific instructions to come here and testify?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. No.

The CHAIRMAN. No; he said that in the beginning. He is here in accordance with his rights and I asked him myself if he cared to make a statement.

Mr. CABLE. Oh; I see.

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. I am authorized to represent the Federation of Labor of the State of California on all questions and matters.

Mr. CABLE. I just wondered whether it was due to any previous arrangement?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your previous business?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. I was a sailor.

The CHAIRMAN. A member of what union?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. The sailors' union on the Pacific coast. My wife was born in the Hawaiian Islands. I am very much interested in the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been in the Hawaiian Islands many times?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. No, sir; not many times. The last time was 20 years ago.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the witness a few questions?

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be very glad to have you do so.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I should like to ask you whether or not you consider, from what you have heard about the situation in discussion, that we are facing an acute situation in the islands, particularly in connection with the Japanese numerical control feature?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Yes; I believe the situation has been extremely dangerous or acute, as you say, for some years.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Do you think it would be an advantage or disadvantage to California to have the industries of the islands reduced materially in size or wiped out altogether?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. It would be a disadvantage, speaking commercially.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Do you think there is any advantage in having Hawaii as an outpost on the Pacific coast, as a military outpost?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. I think it would be a disadvantage to turn that over to anyone else, but I also think some other arrangement could be made than the solution you have of the importation of peon labor there.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you favor an amendment to the present immigration law by which the literacy test might be waived for the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Personally, I would.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be in favor of lifting the literacy test in order to secure Mexican labor in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Did they not do that during the war?

The CHAIRMAN. Not by law. Would you be in favor of lifting the literacy test by special act of Congress for the intensive gardeners of Florida?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. I would have to know the conditions prevailing there.

The CHAIRMAN. Last autumn there was a shortage of seasonal labor.

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. A mere shortage would not be sufficient, in my judgment, to waive the literacy test; there would have to be an acute situation as they had in the southwest States.

The CHAIRMAN. But as an absolute necessity you would favor it?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They are short of seasonal labor in Kansas right now. Would you favor permitting Mexicans to come in and take care of that situation?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. No, sir. In California we are always short at certain times of the year and we have too many in other portions of the year.

The CHAIRMAN. You will be short of cantaloupe pickers in about a week?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. For a very brief period.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that the effort to organize the itinerant labor on the Pacific coast will be successful?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. I think that we could work out a system, if there was a responsible organization, to shift this group of migratory workers from one section of the Pacific coast to the other and keep them employed practically 9 or 10 months out of the year, but as it is they are unorganized, they are simply traveling groups, and while the people in the northern section of California want migratory workers, in the southern section there are too many, because of lack of organization and system.

Mr. BOX. I have recently read in a work dealing with the Japanese question in America that they have just such an organization as that which handles their labor in California. Do you know about that?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. The Japanese in California have a very effective method of supplanting the white American laborers. The method is of no advantage to the farmer of California or anywhere, but it does help the Japanese.

Mr. BOX. Are they able to supply this seasonal labor in different parts of the State at different times?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOX. Can we learn anything from them in that regard?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. We seem to be very slow in learning. If you own a ranch near Fresno and you want 20 men next week to do your picking, you must have them or you will be sure of a loss, you send to town for 20 white men. There is no employment agency in Fresno that will give you an absolute guaranty that he will have 20 men available for you next week, but you can go to a Japanese employment agent and he will listen to you and make arrangements about the terms and then he will say, "On that date I will have 20 men on your ranch," and they will be there. He makes it his business to corral them and he sends them in a wagon or team of some kind. The white employment agent gathers up the drift workers. He will tell them, "You may get a job on such and such a place on Monday morning." As a result, many of the farmers in California have as self-protection drifted into the Japanese agency. The 20 Japanese workers agree to work for \$2 a day, or whatever it may be. They work one or two days, and on the third day, in the morning, their spokesman comes to you and says, "How much wages, \$3 a day?" You say, "My friend, you have agreed to work for \$2 a day." "Yes; that is all right, but to-morrow morning \$3?" You say, "All right," and he says, "Not all right," and he goes and then you will find yourself high and dry. The Japanese will never come back that season, and you will have to go around and look for white men. It is because of that condition that the farming population of California has turned so fiercely against the

Japanese. When we first had the Japanese they were welcome—they could perform all sorts of things—but when they started in to be farmers, then the agriculturists went against them. The protest against the Japanese comes principally from the agriculturalists.

Mr. RAKER. Is not this also true: To go back 10 years, maybe not that far, three or four years; there would be white labor employed at reasonably high wages, and they would then go and get a Japanese at considerably less, and when the white labor was gone the Japanese would raise his wage and if he did not get it he left?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. That has been going on for some time. He would first drive out the white labor and then raise the price and even if you gave the price he would go off with his entire crew.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. From your knowledge of the way the Japanese work in California, and I assume that you know of the Japanese labor situation in the islands, do you think that it is unlikely that the Japanese will pursue the same policy in Hawaii that they have pursued in California?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Unlikely?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. No; I think it is very probable.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. If we have that serious situation in Hawaii and these people pursue the same policy there as in California, is not that an extremely bad situation that we are facing to-day?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Yes, sir; I think you are "up against it" good and hard. That is because of your own sins in the past, not you individually, but the planters in the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. But, while we, perhaps, have been sinners, we have been doing penance in the way of spending a large amount of money in an effort to import laborers into the country from Europe; we have spent millions for that. You have been put to expense in California through the drifting of this labor which comes from Hawaii and consequently in taking care of the derelicts out of the number that want employment in California.

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. You do not think that we have ever made an effort to unload on you any labor?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. No, sir; I think they come as a natural process, because they receive better treatment and wages in California than they do in the Hawaiian Islands. If a workingman can get higher wages and better conditions he will always go.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. And yet the fact remains that your town was filled up with men out of work seeking aid from the charities, while we in Hawaii had no charity patients; we have work for all of the people and try year after year to bring more into the country.

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. While we have no more subjects of charity in California than in any other State of the Union, yet I say that we have a larger proportion of people seeking charity coming from Hawaii than from any other part of the country in San Francisco.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We have shipped back from California, at our expense, a large number of charity patients.

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. I did hear something about that, but it must be verified.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yet that is true. Mr. Mead knows something about that.

Mr. MEAD. Quite a considerable number. The Hawaiian Territorial Immigration Board, with its own funds, sent to California and repatriated quite a considerable number of people. Substantially every one of these men who had gone from Hawaii to California has been told that he is making a mistake and that the conditions would not be as good in California as in Hawaii, but nevertheless many have gone.

Mr. BOX. I think you said a moment ago that there was another and better remedy than that proposed here. I am sure the committee will be interested if you have some remedy to suggest for the islands.

Mr. SCHARRENBURG. If the living conditions in the islands could be so arranged that a farm worker could have a little place for himself that normally conforms with what is desired by the American farm workers, I can see no reason why you should not be able, by the process of selection, to bring to the Hawaiian Islands a population of farm workers.

Mr. BOX. From what country would you suggest—any particular country?

Mr. SCHARRENBURG. I would not suggest any particular country, but I still believe that is possible.

Mr. RAWLINS. In 1902 the Ewa Plantation Co. imported 15 American farmers into Hawaii and tried them out under the conditions that the gentleman has just named, giving them a house and garden and a place for their animals, supplied them with the animals, etc., and at the end of a year there was not a family left. The white man will not work in the cane industry. I was born in the Hawaiian Islands some years ago; I am an attorney there and have studied the conditions. There has never been and you will not find a white man who will go into the cane fields and do the work required. Later on down on the Island of Kauai there were a lot of Molokans, who were eligible to become American citizens, living in Los Angeles and San Francisco, who were brought there and they were put in the fields and they could not stand up under the work. I think Mr. Dillingham can verify that. That was back in 1902.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The stockholders of the Ewa plantation tried the experiment of bringing from the mainland white farmers, the idea being to eventually divide up the land into small farms for the cultivation of sugar cane, which the plantation would purchase and manufacture into sugar at its mill. The results of this experiment are fully set forth in the following letters of Mr. W. J. Lowrie, who was the manager of the Ewa plantation when the experiment was inaugurated, and of Mr. George F. Renton, the present manager.

DEAR SIR: The question of employing white labor for the cultivation of sugar cane has received considerable and careful consideration by the Ewa Plantation Co. In the early part of 1897, Mr. W. N. Armstrong told of interviews he had had with Mr. E. L. Fitzgerald, Labor Commissioner for the State of California, and he was invited to a meeting of the directors of the Ewa Plantation Co., at which meeting I, as manager, was present; the results of which meeting may best be told by quoting the following resolution unanimously passed:

"Resolved, That the Ewa Plantation Co., through Mr. W. N. Armstrong, extend to Mr. Fitzgerald, Labor Commissioner of the State of California, an invitation to visit Honolulu and the Ewa plantation to look into the labor conditions existing here, with the view of introducing desirable white laborers upon the plantation."

Mr. Fitzgerald accepted the invitation of the company, arriving here in the islands shortly afterwards. He was furnished with every opportunity for the purpose of

obtaining all the information possible on the subject, not only from a practical point of view, but also in the line of statistics, and before his return to California was able to express the opinion that it was his belief that white labor could be introduced for the cultivation of sugar cane on our plantation. After the return of Mr. Fitzgerald to California considerable correspondence was conducted with him on the subject, and, acting on the results of his visit to the islands and such correspondence, in July, 1898, I was authorized to visit California for the purpose of securing white families of the farming class to enter upon the cultivation of sugar cane at Ewa plantation, according to the general terms of a form of contract that I had drawn up, with such modifications as might be considered necessary.

Accordingly I went to San Francisco, going into the agricultural districts of the State in the interior, particularly to Modesto, Stanislaus County. On reaching Modesto, in order to thoroughly lay before the people the conditions as they existed pertaining to the cultivation of sugar cane, I engaged a hall, inviting the people from around the neighboring districts to come together in meetings, where I addressed them, offering them all the information possible on the subject. I found these people very anxious and willing to accept the propositions offered to them to come to Hawaii; in fact, they had been suffering quite severely the past two or three years with their crops there, owing to drought. These people, while honest and hard-working farming people, were actually without any money whatever, owing to the losses sustained, undoubtedly, by them, owing to the drought. In order to assist them in getting to the islands, we offered and did pay their fares to San Francisco, even going so far as to settle up some indebtedness owing by some of them in Modesto. They were all furnished with transportation from San Francisco to Honolulu, and thence to the plantation, free of charge to themselves.

As the result of my visit I succeeded in selecting personally 15 farmers, 10 of whom were single men and 5 married. They arrived here in the islands during September of that same year, being engaged under the general following conditions:

They were to cultivate and take care of the cane from the time it received its first watering up to maturity and were to receive therefor one-sixth of the actual net price realized on the sale of the sugar. During the time previous to settlement with them after the harvesting of each crop they were allowed an advance of \$18 per month. Further, they were furnished, free of charge to themselves, houses, fuel and water, and medical services; they were also allowed to have a small piece of ground surrounding their houses, on which to cultivate and grow for themselves vegetables and other articles for their own uses, with the water necessary to irrigate same.

Having resigned the management of the Ewa plantation in November of that same year, for further information as to the results obtained with these farmers I will have to refer you to the present management, but I believe that all have left the plantation, with rather unsatisfactory results to the Ewa Plantation Co.

One can see from the foregoing that the Ewa Plantation Co. made an honest and earnest effort to introduce white labor, especially white farmers, for the purpose of cultivating sugar cane on their plantation, with the hope that the same would prove successful, and that in the future we could get large numbers of American farmers into this country, and we can not help but admit that the whole thing was a complete failure. It may be of interest to note that the Ewa Plantation Co. did not send a paid agent who went to the cities on the mainland to try this experiment, securing this labor from the cities; on the contrary, they sent me as manager, and I did go to the agricultural districts and did get farmers.

It also may be of interest in this connection to state that at the time this experiment was undertaken the joint commission sent here by Congress to report upon our conditions (consisting of Senators Cullom and Morgan and Representative Hitt) were very much interested in the effort and, together with the directors of the Ewa Plantation Co., were in hopes that it would tend to solve the labor question for these islands.

Yours, truly,

W. J. LOWRIE

HONOLULU, HAWAII, December 17, 1901.

HONOLULU, OAHU, December 19, 1901.

DEAR SIR; This is in reply to your request for information concerning the experiment with American labor in the cane fields on this estate.

The profit-sharing company on the Ewa plantation, known as the California Farmers' Colony, consisted at the outset of 15 men, 5 of whom were married. These farmers arrived at Ewa in October and November of 1898.

For their transportation from San Francisco \$1,110.81 had been advanced to them; for their free accommodation nine houses each containing four rooms 13 by 12 feet, exclusive of kitchen and pantry, with 24 by 6 foot verandas front and back, had been erected; for their convenience water was piped to each building, gardens were allotted to each household, and a fenced pasture of 17 acres immediately adjoining the house lots was set aside for common use. Each married man had a separate house; of the single men six occupied two rooms each, while the remaining four had separate apartments. This was at the inception of the experiment.

After a few months had elapsed, owing to departure, each single man had two rooms; and before eight months had passed each farmer, whether married or otherwise, occupied an entire house. Thus of the original nine there remained four houses empty and to spare.

This was at the middle of the experiment.

They were, therefore, housed with ample accommodations and sufficient comfort; fuel, water, and medical attendance were supplied without charge. A field of deep, rich soil, already planted with seed cane and "first watered," was allotted to them for their cultivation; one of their number was selected for their suboverseer in the distribution of irrigating water; and they commenced work.

The following is a record of the time each man stayed on the estate, and the reasons given by each for dissolving his connection with the plantation:

Number of men.	Time worked (in months).	Reason for leaving.	Number of men.	Time worked (in months).	Reason for leaving.
1	1	Wife dissatisfied.	1	9	Wife died at Portland, Oreg.
2	7	Dissatisfied and quarreled with the rest.	1	12	Illness.
1	7	Dissatisfied with the work.	1	12	Ill and dissatisfied with the work.
2	8	Do.	5	16	Dissatisfied with the work, but stayed until crop was mature to fulfill agreement.
1	8	Dissatisfied with the work, returned to California.			

Total, 15.

General average of time at the plantation 10.6 months.

From the first there was dissension among themselves; complaints of one another, both trivial and otherwise, were of frequent occurrence; extra men were always needed to keep their field in order; one by one they departed, until finally, the California Farmers' Colony dwindled as per record to but 5 out of an original 15. Five remained, but they remained dissatisfied. They stayed to the completion of maturity of the crop, but they stayed to demonstrate that they would not work longer at the cultivation of cane. They had done fairly well financially; they each had received over \$40 per month of labor cash, clear of rent, firewood, water rates, and medical attendance; they had received in fact, more than the plantation could afford to pay for profitable cultivation; and yet these five men refused point blank and without hesitation to entertain a similar proposition for continuance of cane field work.

The work was distasteful to them in this warm climate; the irrigation, being light, was least disagreeable; the task of stripping, with the necessary bending and stooping, was unfit for the taller Anglo-Saxon, they said, and should be relegated to Japanese, whereupon they flatly refused to perform the work; of assisting at the cutting and loading of canes during harvest they would have none.

To sum up: The plantation cleared, plowed, furrowed, ditched, surveyed for irrigation, planted, "first watered" the field for the California farmers, and turned it over to them. At the proper time for fertilizing the plantation had to apply fertilizer with extra labor; stripped, what was stripped, with extra labor, and had the labor of cutting and loading the canes done by extra labor.

The farmers performed but one, the lightest portion of the work, viz, the hoeing and the irrigating, which consists in the removal by hoe of weeds from the furrows and the turning in of water from the various watercourses into the furrows. This, too, was not performed without daily assistance of extra labor by the plantation.

I do not think that any of these men have complained that the plantation did not fulfill its agreement with them. One farmer returned to San Francisco shortly after his arrival at a loss of \$112.76 for transportation to the plantation; the one whose wife died in Oregon was given a liberal estimate of his share when he went; in fact, was given all he asked for; the two, both past middle age, who stayed 12 months, received

their shares of profit for the time they worked, and the amount due them was given them. Of the remainder who left, the profits from three of the shares were turned over to the five who remained until the cane had matured.

And yet the experiment was a failure and the men were not satisfied to remain.

Mark this further: Not one of these 15 farmers was intemperate. They quarreled; they were dissatisfied; the work was menial, was laborious, was distasteful to white men; but while a few were not as industrious as they might have been they were all respectable, law-abiding, temperate men. If they had been otherwise, vice and intemperance might have contributed to the failure of the colony of these farmers. But it was not so. And I am forced to the conclusion that American farmers will not work in the cultivation of Hawaiian cane fields.

Here was an experiment entered into by the largest and most fertile plantation in the Hawaiian Islands, under a directorate composed entirely of Americans, and its terms carried out in the fields under management of Americans.

It was the aim of the Ewa Plantation Co., if the scheme had proved successful, to establish further colonies of American farmers, and thus obtain a source of labor in the United States from which to draw, which labor would be reliable, would be American in spirit, and thus do away with the necessity of looking entirely to the Orient.

It was a praiseworthy effort, but it was utterly fruitless and entirely disappointing.

It is unfortunate to have to say that the experiment, toward which the whole country looked with so much interest, was a flat failure. Nevertheless the fact remains, and I so record it, for looking back over the whole situation of labor in Hawaii, comprising both this experiment with the California farmers and my personal experience of 24 years on sugar plantations with white men, I have come to this settled conclusion:

That Anglo-Saxons can perform the actual labor of cultivation on sugar plantations in Hawaii only when forced by necessity to do so, but that now they will not.

The principal objection seems to be to perform the laborious work required in the cane field when there is any other possible opening in any easier occupation in other industries. Another objection is to the sort of pioneer life which obtains on a plantation when compared to that to which the laborer is accustomed on the mainland. It is probable, also, that a great drawback to the success of any scheme for American farm labor here in Hawaii lies in the great distance this Territory is from the mainland, and the difficulty and expense this distance necessitates in getting to or from Hawaii.

The geographical drawback mentioned is a natural one. The objections mentioned above are also natural ones. But they will as surely kill any attempt to introduce American farmers here as labor for cane fields as they have already killed the Ewa Plantation experiment.

Yours, very truly,

GEO. F. RENTON,
Manager.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Scharrenberg, from your knowledge and observation of labor conditions in California for the last 25 years, if the Chinese are admitted to Hawaii for the sugar plantations will not the same demand be made for Chinese for beet, bean, potato, hops, and other like industries in California and the West by the large concerns?

Mr. SCHARREBNERG. That is precisely what I had in mind, Judge. If this committee recommends to Congress a modification of the Chinese exclusion act because of a certain emergency existing in the islands, then this committee would be justified in making a similar recommendation for other States and other industries.

Mr. RAKER. And they will be here knocking at the doors of Congress for that same condition, will they not?

Mr. SCHARREBNERG. I am afraid they will, by the same process of logic which the gentlemen from Hawaii are here now, that you must have them to keep your industries going.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scharrenberg, you did not really mean that the number of Portuguese mendicants or dependents reaching California in any one year amounted to any considerable number?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. I did not say Portuguese, I said Porto Ricans. The CHAIRMAN. I beg your pardon, Porto Ricans. They could not have amounted to any considerable number in any one year.

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. No; but proportionately speaking, they constitute a very serious problem to our organizations dispensing charity.

The CHAIRMAN. San Francisco is a large city and has some public charities work to do all the time. Is there any way we can get statistics as to the number of people taken care of by such organizations?

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. The statistics are available and can be had.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to have you mail those to the committee.

Mr. SCHARRENBERG. I will do that gladly.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. ROYAL D. MEAD.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, may I ask Mr. Mead about the question raised by Mr. Scharrenberg, whether he can recall—if not I have it in the record somewhere—the experiment which was made by the Territory to give homesteads and give them the fee to the property in the hope of anchoring them on the land?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; there was a very well thought out experiment with the cooperation of the Territory and the cooperation of the planters to settle Portuguese or Spanish agricultural people upon the plantation property. The plantations agreed to give them a house and an acre or more of land, or as much as they could conveniently, but not less than an acre, either in fee or for the term of the lease of the land which was held by the plantation employer, and I think altogether there were about 1,500 people put on the land under those conditions. That was long before the war. The house given was very much the same style of house as the plantations are now erecting, and cost the plantations in the vicinity of \$800. The land was good, average plantation land. It was not waste land. They were not attempting to put anything over, but were giving them land that would be valuable—say, \$200 to \$250 an acre—so that what they were giving those people was about \$1,000 worth of property.

Mr. BOX. What was the character of the house?

Mr. MEAD. Something similar to what you will find in these Government reports—very nice little bungalow houses. At that time the wage for Portuguese labor was \$24. They agreed to pay these homestead people \$22 per month for three years, and they were to have a deed to their property at the end of three years. As I say, they settled about 1,500 people there under such an arrangement, and before a year was up I do not believe any of those homesteaders were on the land, other than as ordinary laborers.

Mr. RAKER. May I ask you this question: Is it not a fact, and has it not been demonstrated for hundreds of years, that where there is a large number of one nationality working, particularly of the colored race, when you bring the white man in competition with them to do the same kind of common labor, that not only he himself, but his wife, and children as they grow up, rebel against that, and in fact would rather go hungry than do that work?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; I think that is absolutely true; but you must remember that that statement does not apply so far as the Portuguese are concerned. We have had Portuguese out there in Hawaii since before I was born, and they have been on the plantations and have worked as plantation hands, and have made very good people. That is the reason, in mentioning European immigration, I have always spoken of Portuguese immigration, because they have done so well. The second generation of Portuguese brought to Hawaii are remarkably fine people, and they very largely form our skilled or semi-skilled laboring force; they are mighty nice people—just as good people as you would want to find anywhere.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, may I ask Judge Raker a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think we are all in agreement as to this proposition of mixing the white man and the oriental in the fields. We are not starting a new project in Hawaii. We are establishing large industries and there is unquestionably a preponderance of oriental unskilled labor on the ground. We are here to seek relief from that situation. Is it possible to get the relief by attempting to wedge in a white population into the conditions which exist there today and save the situation?

Mr. RAKER. Well, sir, that is what I have been thinking about ever since this matter was started. If there is any possible way to do it, so far as I am concerned, I would like to see it done.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. And I agree with you, if there is any way, and I offer in evidence the history, and I would like to have put in the record, a brief history made up by Mr. Lydecker, who is in charge of the Government archives, and who has made a study of the history of the attempts to bring in peoples from all over the world, to show that a conscientious effort has been made. We are not licked today but we are badly pressed, and that constitutes the emergency. It is to tide over this emergency, in the hope that when your permanent immigration policy is established for the United States, you will put into it a provision which will make possible a further effort to get Americans, or those eligible to become white American citizens, on to our soil and hold them there.

Mr. RAKER. I would like to ask that that be published in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The commission already has authority to introduce either into the body of the report of the hearings or as appendices any matter which they are prepared to furnish and desire to put in.

Mr. RAKER. May I ask Mr. Dillingham one further question: Mr. Dillingham, will you submit following this statement, irrespective of what the policy might be as to general immigration in the future for the United States, to the end that it might be put in condition to treat this country properly, and those that ought to come here properly—eliminating that now from the proposition—submit some proposed concrete plan of immigration applying solely and entirely to Hawaii. Can you and will you do that for the committee?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not know the extent, Judge Raker, of the authority which we have as a commission representing the labor

emergency, but I can tell you this, that the men who have the interests not only of the Territory but of the United States as a whole at heart are studying and planning and working in an effort to submit to Congress, in time to be included in the next immigration bill, a plan which would give promise of the results which we are all anxious to see achieved.

Mr. RAKER. Can you not submit that as a concrete proposition applying to Hawaii alone, and if you do not desire to do that as a commission, submit it as your own individual thought, because you have given this subject very careful and painstaking and honest consideration. For the benefit of the committee, can you not do that, and are you not prepared to do that now?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I am not prepared at the moment. It is a big subject, as you recognize, of course. I will be very glad to offer any suggestions that I can bring together looking to that end. It would have to be understood, however, that this was given to you purely as a personal suggestion.

Mr. RAKER. That is all, Mr. Chairman, so far as I am concerned.

(The committee thereupon adjourned until Monday, June 27, 1921, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, June 27, 1921.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wallace, representing the American Federation of Labor, is again present to place before the committee some information received from the Federation of Labor at Denver, and also a cablegram from Honolulu, and to give further evidence.

STATEMENT OF MR. EDGAR WALLACE, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Chairman, this matter from Denver, as I stated to you, is here and it is rather voluminous. I can read as much of it as you wish me to read. It comes direct from labor men on the island. The first is a communication dated November 18, 1920, addressed to Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and reads as follows:

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Certain conditions arising in the Territory of Hawaii make it imperative that the grand officers of the federation be apprised, with a view of eliminating through the proper channels, the possibility of their development.

I have been advised that with the change of administration in this Territory the large plantation interests are depending on the importation through congressional sanction, the importation of Chinese laborers in the neighborhood of 50,000. They are obliged either to do this or else elevate the wage scales of the present labor to satisfy it in remaining on the plantations. The two main races represented on the plantations at present are Japanese and Filipino, the lesser being Portuguese, Porto Rican, and other lesser nationalities.

Since the "gentlemen's agreement" has been in effect, a period of about 12 years, the influx of oriental labor has been materially lessened, so that with the organization of the plantation laborers and the recent strike on the island of Oahu, the planters are faced with the necessity of paying a higher rate to resident labor or else import

vast hordes of Chinese to replace them. The sugar industry is the basic industry of the islands, and until very recently an oriental standard of wages has been maintained. In desperation the planters turn to the Orient, regardless of the consequence, sure to follow the importation of coolie labor.

Let us take for granted that this grave development had actually happened, let us see what the results would be. The Japanese labor imported some years ago is ageing; the second generation is already moving onward to the mainland, landing first at San Francisco and from thence they are absorbed mostly within the boundaries of that State. (I shall try to get statistical data from the immigration station to submit to you shortly.) This augments the already large Japanese population in California, and in time the Western Coast States will be comprised of a majority population of Orientals. This is not fancy, but has been supported by facts many times in the past decade. Once they have arrived there, they enter into competition with white labor; are so prolific in the matter of offspring and not being troubled with a social standard other than clannishness, continue the policy of peaceful aggression. Then we hear of the Japanese "question" from our sister State in such language familiar to everyone at the present time.

The Portuguese youth are also migrating to the mainland while the older generation stay here. There is, however, no shortage of labor here that can not be satisfied locally, and the migration can be largely halted with the elevation of wages commensurate with an American standard of decency.

Some of the incidents likely to develop are the removal of the present governor, Charles J. McCarthy, who is to represent the chamber of commerce of the Hawaiian Islands at Washington; the appointment of the present Delegate to Congress, Prince J. K. Kalaniana'ole, as governor of Hawaii, who in turn will name as his successor (being the new governor) one Robert Shingle, who left immediately for Washington after the recent election. Mr. Shingle is a plantation man and heavily interested in the big business of the Territory. With this layout, the planters are reported as "counting on" and "depending on" the importation of coolie labor to further maintain the oriental wage standard bound to be eliminated without the Chinese. With the exception of the last-mentioned detail, the changes in administration have been given wide publicity here.

While President Wilson will have nothing to say in the matter of the next appointment of Hawaii's governor, the present session of Congress should put the clamps on Chinese immigration so strongly that it can never be removed. The safety of American labor depends on it especially on the Western coast.

I can not impress too strongly on you the grave questions here mentioned and urge upon you the necessity of immediate action at the coming session of the National Congress.

If these Chinese laborers are admitted to Hawaii, they will route the younger generation of all races, who will migrate to the mainland, already aggravating the most serious of recent developments which may at any time be attended with international complications.

I trust that sufficient subject matter is contained in this communication to fortify you in the arrest of the proposed influx.

I shall keep you advised.

Faternally and anxiously, yours,

H. N. TYSON,

President Central Labor Union, Honolulu, T. H.

Mr. RAKER. Who is this gentleman that signs that letter?

Mr. WALLACE. I only know that he signs himself as the president of the Honolulu Central Labor Union. I do not know the man personally, and I never heard of him until I got into this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you desire to have that letter placed in the record just as it is written?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, sir; if the committee wishes it.

The CHAIRMAN. You desire it placed in the record just as it is written with regard to the fact that the Delegate from Hawaii was to be made governor? He is not governor.

Mr. WALLACE. This is dated November 18, 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the record should be brought down to date to show that he was not appointed governor.

Mr. WALLACE. I understand that, and also that Mr. Tyson is mistaken in his belief that this other gentleman would be made Delegate.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not the Territory of Hawaii elect its Delegate in Congress in the same manner that districts elect Congressmen?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. A statement is made there to the effect that Delegate Kalaniana'ole would be appointed governor, and that he in turn would appoint Mr. Shingle as Delegate, and that statement is not in accordance with the law.

Mr. WALLACE. It states that man's belief, and it reveals a certain ignorance, but I can not help that. It is his letter to us. It does not change the position that he takes on the question.

The CHAIRMAN. But he is at fault in making a statement of that kind.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, sir.

This communication is dated November 30, 1920, and is addressed to Mr. Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., as follows:

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I am inclosing a clipping from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of November 29, 1920, which is self-explanatory, together with a clipping same date relative to the plantation situation. It is expected that if the planters do not arbitrate there will be another strike of plantation laborers. This will strengthen the argument for the importation of Chinese, which I have already brought to your attention. The Japanese situation is already acute, and it is supposed that the planters will stand pat. Be prepared to supply our friends in Congress with these facts if the occasion arises.

I am inclosing also a clipping re Hawaiian rehabilitation. This bill has the support of the planters not because of its intent to rehabilitate the Hawaiian race but because it is designed to kill homesteading. I am inclosing copy of a petition read before the Territorial Legislature on the last day of its special session, November 24, 1920.

This council is not opposed to any measure that will rehabilitate the Hawaiian race, but if this bill is passed by the United States Congress and becomes law, it will kill homesteading, and that part of the bill we are unalterably opposed to.

There is at present a movement on foot by several hundred petitioners to withdraw in the neighborhood of 40,000 acres of first-class agricultural lands for homestead purposes. The land commissioner refuses to act without mandamus, pending the action of Congress on this measure, known as the Hawaiian rehabilitation bill.

One of the pet arguments for the bill is that the land is going to the Japanese under the present homestead law. There are a few Japanese who are native-born Americans who have some of the land, but this argument does not hold good for the reason that when the land is withdrawn, everybody has to take their chances when the final drawing takes place for the lots.

The mainland needs more sugar. Under homesteads, the land produces about 20 per cent more sugar than it does under ordinary plantation conditions.

Please give us the benefit of your influence in Congress in this matter, otherwise homesteading in the Territory of Hawaii will be done at the "discretion of the three commissioners instead of one as at present." And if one commissioner obeys the "powers that be" why shouldn't three? At present there is a law which can compel the land commissioner to act, but under the rehabilitation bill the commissioners could not be compelled to open homesteads as at present, and if their discretion was negative, there wouldn't be any homesteads opened.

At present, if 25 citizens petition for the withdrawal of a parcel of land in the Territory of Hawaii, the commissioner of public lands must proceed with the survey, etc., or himself break the law.

It is the right of the 25 petitioners for withdrawal for homestead purposes of the lands leased by the Government to the plantation interests, that this rehabilitation bill is drawn to defeat. They have tried for years to take that right of petition from the citizens, and so far have failed, until they finally landed on the rehabilitation measure.

If the Government would take over the sugar mills in the Territory of Hawaii, and open the lands to homesteaders, the Government would be better off for the increased yields, and the Hawaiian race would rehabilitate itself.

Let them set aside certain lands for the Hawaiian race if they want to, but give other citizens the privilege of the present homestead law if they want it.

I can not urge upon you too strongly the necessity of defeating the clauses in that bill which would nullify our present homestead law. Please see Key Pittman, Senator from Nevada, and interview his brother, William B. Pittman, who has gone to Washington from this Territory on this matter.

Thanking you in advance for your efforts in our behalf,

Fraternally yours,

H. N. TYSON,

President Central Labor Union, Honolulu, Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see Senator Pittman?

Mr. WALLACE. No, sir; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you appear before the Committee on Territories?

Mr. WALLACE. No, sir; it was never called to my attention.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you favor Government ownership of the sugar plantations?

Mr. WALLACE. I am not in favor of Government ownership of anything, personally.

Mr. WILSON. You are not in favor of the Plumb plan?

Mr. WALLACE. No, sir; not personally.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Chairman, I want to question one statement that the witness has made. I understand from what he was reading that the homesteaders produce 20 per cent more sugar or sugar cane upon their lands.

Mr. WALLACE. That is his statement.

Mr. MEAD. What basis has he for that statement?

Mr. WALLACE. He lives there. I do not know, but I have seen small farms that were more productive than large ones.

Mr. MEAD. In that connection, I would like to state unequivocally and absolutely that the homesteaders do not produce 50 per cent of the sugar cane on their lands that the plantations do. Their methods are not as good, and they do not produce 50 per cent of what the plantations do.

Mr. WILSON. Do you mean per acre?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. Is their land as good?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; but they have not the methods. They do not fertilize, and they do not irrigate as the plantations do, and they have not the systems that the plantations have. Homesteaders took the Waiakea plantation and ran it, and the production of that plantation has been decreased 50 per cent since the homesteaders operated it. Mr. Horner knows about that.

Mr. HORNER. I do not think that the homesteaders were to blame.

Mr. MEAD. But it is a fact that they produced less.

Mr. HORNER. There was a decrease in the production.

Mr. BOX. Do your remarks as to the small production by the homesteaders apply to the Japanese producers?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know about the Japanese homesteaders, because I do not think there are any extensive Japanese homesteads, but I know that the homesteaders, as a general proposition, do not produce 50 per cent of what the plantations do.

Mr. BOX. It would appear that the small Japanese producer produces more per acre than the large plantations do.

Mr. MEAD. The only way I can answer that is in this way: On many islands in Hawaii they allow the Japanese who are laborers on the plantations to have small areas of land on the sides of hills and in gulches which they cultivate themselves independently of the plantation, and I believe that in those instances the production is higher. That is done, however, by plantation men, or men experienced in the cultivation of sugar cane.

The CHAIRMAN. The land itself is adjacent to and is really a part of the plantation?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; it is a part of the plantation land. In those instances I believe their production is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. I remember that when I was there the Japanese in many cases had the privilege of cultivating any little corners of land that could not be reached by the ordinary processes of plantation cultivation. The Japanese would ask the privilege of cultivating such places for their families, and they were permitted to do so. However, that cane went to the mill just as the cane from the regular plantation.

Mr. BOX. I recently saw published a statement by people who are friendly to the Japanese on the situation in California, pretending to be nonpartisan, I should say, but I do not think it was nonpartisan, claiming that they produced about three and one-half times as much as the American producers on the same acreage.

Mr. FREE. They work three and a half times harder, perhaps.

Mr. RAKER. Let me ask Mr. Mead this question: If it appears that the homesteader produces 50 per cent less than the plantation does, is there a tendency to eliminate the homesteader so that the production may be large? What is the Hawaiian rehabilitation bill?

The CHAIRMAN. Let me explain that bill, as I worked on it in the Committee on Territories. As I understand it, the situation which calls for a bill of that kind is about like this: In the old days, before the United States had acquired or annexed Hawaii, long-term leases were made on the sugar lands, and those lands are now the highly cultivated lands. The leases are about to expire, and many of them will expire about July 1 of this year. The law requires that when those leases expire, the lands shall be opened to homestead upon a petition of 25 or more people. That has been done with regard to other lands as the leases expired, or they were handled as other public lands. As I understand, there is nothing in the law that prevents a man who draws a homestead in the lottery from getting his title and then selling it to a plantation or corporation, and so that in itself defeats the homestead provision.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That is not quite so, is it? Could they sell it to corporations?

Mr. HORNER. Not to corporations.

The CHAIRMAN. It would not get into the hands of corporations?

Mr. HORNER. No, sir; not from individuals.

Mr. IRWIN. That situation ended in 1910.

Mr. RAKER (interposing). I understand from Mr. Mead's statement that under this rehabilitation act there is appointed a commission, and that if the commission will not act, they can compel them to act. As I understand it, upon the commission refusing to act, that leaves the lands held by the Government en bloc, and, therefore, they can be leased.

The CHAIRMAN. No; the rehabilitation bill providing for three commissioners has the further plan that the lands heretofore leased at a nominal rate under leases made 30 years ago shall be leased at its appraised value, and that the money shall go into a revolving fund for the purpose of putting more Hawaiians on those lands or other agricultural lands, in the effort to rehabilitate them and keep them on the land.

Mr. RAKER. I am taking Mr. Mead's statement that should the commission refuse to open any land up for homesteading purposes, it would not be idle, but that they would lease it.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a long involved bill, and with this little explanation of it, I do not think we need to go further into that. I am sorry, Mr. Wallace, that we interrupted you and diverted the inquiry. Will you again proceed?

Mr. WALLACE. It is pertinent to mention in this discussion that Mr. Dillingham in his brief stated that we had offered no constructive proposition in lieu of the proposition for the importation of Chinese coolies. I think it was Mr. Mead who stated that in Australia they had deported the blacks. Now, those are not blacks who were aborigines there, but they were blacks who had been imported into that country under the old conditions when there were large plantations and when they held that they needed some kind of cheap labor to work those plantations. They contended that they should import that sort of labor into that country, in much the same way as this resolution proposes to import the same kind of labor into Hawaii under bond, to work for so many years and then go back. Australia decided that they would have no more of that kind of labor, and Mr. Mead says that they have deported them, and that they will not have any more Japanese or other kind of orientals as laborers. It appears that that action required a division of those plantations, or a subdivision of those plantations, and that the subdivision of those plantations has produced a splendid specimen of man. Now, I hold, and the American Federation of Labor holds, that men are the real need of any country, or the right kind of people are the real need, and they have them in Australia. They sent them to the defense of the Empire when the time came and the necessity arose. Therefore, I believe that through the system of the subdivision of the plantations into homesteads, men can be found for service Hawaiians, or Americans, Portuguese, etc., who would work this land. There are people who would work little corners of it, and make it much more productive, and they would, at least, make a much more desirable type of citizenship than could be brought about by the importation of bondmen, or men who have no interest in the country, who would crowd out all of our labor, and who would eventually own that country, or any country where they are permitted to land and work.

The CHAIRMAN. You realize that there is nothing to prevent the Japanese, if they are present there in the numbers indicated by the census and otherwise, from securing homesteads.

Mr. WALLACE. If you would adopt a suggestion along that line, I would say that this Government has the right, when any nationality seeks to become citizens of this country, not to advance the interests of this country but to advance the interests of their original home or the country from which they come, even to the second

generation, to refuse them that privilege. If the evidence is sufficient that men are seeking citizenship or seeking land in the interest of their old home land or of their old home government, this Government, in my opinion, has the right to defend itself in any way it wants to; and while we might admire the fidelity of those people to their home lands, yet, we must recognize the danger to our own country. We have the right to protect our own country, and it can be done without repeating the error that has brought about the present situation.

The CHAIRMAN. You must realize that the Japanese born in Hawaii are American citizens.

Mr. WALLACE. I realize that there are American citizens in California as well as in Hawaii whose interests are not for America.

The CHAIRMAN. What other matter have you to present?

Mr. WALLACE. I have here a clipping from the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, which is alluded to in this letter, giving the planter's side of the alleged labor shortage in Hawaii, and then I have the answer to it by Mr. Tyson. I will read it to you, if you wish.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that you let them go into the record without reading.

Mr. MALONEY. Who is Mr. Tyson?

Mr. WALLACE. He signs himself as the president of the Central Labor Council of Honolulu. At the time he wrote these letters he held that position.

Mr. BOX. I notice that he states in this letter that the governor who is expected to be appointed is to appoint the delegate. I would like first to know a little more about Mr. Tyson. I do not say that as indicating a hostile attitude, but before I pass upon the value of testimony, I want to know something about the person who is giving it. Does anybody know who Mr. Tyson is?

Mr. WILSON. Before publishing his statement as a part of our official record, we ought to know.

Mr. WALLACE. He would not have communicated with the American Federation of Labor as president of the Central Labor Council of Honolulu unless he had had that position, because we have a record of the elections that take place.

Mr. BOX. What would you think about a statement made by a man who did not know how the delegate from Hawaii was selected?

Mr. WALLACE. He might be ignorant on that subject, and still know a great deal on labor matters. I can not understand why he did not know how the Delegate was selected.

Mr. BOX. I should think he would be informed.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is the direct statement that the Delegate was to be appointed governor, and that the governor would then appoint the Delegate.

Mr. WALLACE. He says, "The appointment of the present Delegate to Congress Prince J. K. Kalaniana'ole, as governor of Hawaii."

Mr. WILSON. Read on where he says that the Governor shall appoint the Delegate.

Mr. RAKER. You could find 50 men in almost any place who might say that the governor could make that appointment.

Mr. WALLACE. This was between elections. He says that he was to resign to become governor, according to this man's prognostica-

tion, which was a mistake. He thought that there would be no election, and that there would be the power to appoint.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. The governor has not the power to appoint.

Mr. WALLACE. He is mistaken in that respect.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. You must have an election.

The CHAIRMAN. The new governor of Hawaii has been nominated, his nomination confirmed, and he is on his way to take charge of his office. He appeared before this committee. The Delegate, Mr. Kalaniana'ole, is still the Delegate.

Mr. WALLACE. If you wish, I will submit this newspaper clipping and letter for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be inserted in the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

[From The Pacific Commercial, Thursday morning, December 9, 1920.]

LABOR SHORTAGE ON HAWAII FEARED—HILO MAN SUGGESTS IT WOULD BENEFIT TO IMPORT CHINESE WORKERS.

[Hilo Tribune, Dec. 5.]

"The manner in which Filipino and other plantation laborers, with their families, are leaving this island is a very serious matter," declared a Hilo man yesterday.

"There will surely be a shortage of labor on the plantations in the near future, and the homesteaders throughout the country will feel the effect keenly," he added.

"I was always of the opinion that it would be a good move to arrange for the importation of about 30,000 Chinese laborers and to give them employment on the sugar and pineapple plantations of Hawaii. I saw in the telegraphic news the other day that Chinese laborers are now being introduced to Cuban cane plantations. A similar move would, in my opinion, be a good thing for Hawaii, where there is rapidly being produced a situation that will spell ruin for our principal industries if some solution of the labor problem is not arrived at.

"Chinese field workers are the best and most reliable in the world, in my opinion. Their offspring have proved their worth in Hawaii, where there are so many thousands of them. I would like to see as many Chinese laborers as may be required from time to time, brought to Hawaii for plantation work. They need never be allowed to proceed to the mainland, where there used to be such an objection raised to natives of China, and the period of residence in this Territory might be limited to a certain term of years. Personally speaking, after a quarter of a century of fairly close relationship with Chinese of both high and low caste, I am compelled to say that they are a fine race of people and that they show in their business dealings a splendid sense of honor and integrity.

"The planters of the Territory have tried about every possible source of labor and have, for many years past, been given the wrong end of the stick. Why not make a very determined effort to obtain the best labor of all for cane fields. The Chinese can solve the great conundrum, I feel certain. California has changed a lot since '49."

HONOLULU, December 9.

EDITOR ADVERTISER:

In your paper of above date, on page 2, first column, appears an article reprinted from the Hilo Tribune, December 5, "Labor shortage on Hawaii feared." Unfortunately the name of this Hilo man does not appear, but if the laborers on Hawaii are leaving, it would suggest that there was something fundamentally wrong with the plantations and not from any fault of the laborers. When the workers have opportunity to give free expression of their desires and needs and there is free interchange of ideas between the employers and their employees, the latter do not "leave." They settle their differences if they have any and work goes on unabated.

The "Hilo man" would flood the Territory with 30,000 Chinese coolies and cites the recent shipment to Cuba and renders an opinion that the same practice would be a good thing for Hawaii. Even the homesteaders come in for slight consideration of "fear of a labor shortage." Would any such move as the above serve to relieve conditions? Not that anybody knows of.

Granted that all our "Hilo man" says is true concerning the merits and desirability of the Chinese. Would he enter into industrial relations any more congenially with Chinese coolies than he does with his present labor? What would he do with the two or three million unemployed men in the United States? If he wants some good workers, and really wants to Americanize this Territory, why doesn't he suggest bringing America's unemployed to this Territory to help in the process? Would it not be wise in the face of a labor shortage to homestead a little more land? The land in small areas produces more sugar than under plantation rule, and this would be better for the Nation.

The "Hilo man" says, "The planters of the Territory have tried about every possible source of labor and have, for many years past, been given the wrong end of the stick." I wonder if he would care to support that statement with a complete financial statement. Give the public some figures that are true to life and let us see.

If such a condition really exists, we are interested and would like to know what the real situation is. And in the same paragraph we read, "California has changed a lot since forty-nine," which doesn't mean anything at all or else means so many things that it has no force or place in the argument. I think "Hilo man" means that Hawaii has changed a lot since forty-nine, and the real force of his argument is that he would encourage a move that would set us back a half a century to "the good old days."

Let us look at the bald, naked truth of this matter without any propaganda of any sort to give local color. Present-day industry must have harmonious industrial relations to exist. Laboring men have very good cause for being suspicious, and the same may be said with a certain amount of justification by the employer, and the only way to allay this untoward condition is to have everything concerning the business mutually understood by the contracting parties. Some of our greatest American employers have recognized this great fact, not the least of whom is the firm of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, who have had no labor troubles for the past 10 years.

This is American soil and the big business, the press, and other agencies are advocating the Americanization of the Territory, while at the same time a very crude propaganda is being given some space at present to try to get people to thinking there is a need for 30,000 Chinese laborers that doesn't exist.

As the writer sees it, this is the real situation:

The plantations are organized. The laborers are organized. One is as strong as the other. On account of the hostile attitude of the planters toward the laborers' organizations, an artificial labor shortage is caused. Some of the laborers have even returned to the land of their birth and the others who haven't stayed in the city have emigrated to the mainland. This fact is immediately grasped by the "Hilo man" and his like as a basis for the argument of importing 30,000 Chinese coolies who are not so well versed in the conditions prevailing in the Territory, and who could be induced to come here to work for a pittance and so serve the ends of the plantations in maintaining an oriental wage standard. This would have an immediate reflection in all other industry in lowering the wages of all other labor. England attempted the same thing in 1917, and English labor spoke in no uncertain terms. The boat bearing the coolie laborers never docked at the English port but was diverted to Marseille, France. American labor is interested in the present deal, and if the views of Hilo man are shared by other plantation men, doubtless a "very determined effort" will be made to effect the deal with the United States Congress. It amounts either to entering into complete cooperation with the laborers as at present constituted, and receding from the high and lofty pinnacle of pride, thus serving the Territory in the complex problem of Americanization, or it amounts to aggravating the whole condition by such as the Hilo man, who would surfeit us with 30,000 or more Chinese coolie laborers. If I have missed any of the real details as to why this propaganda is being carried on at the present time, it is for lack of space only. I believe the above to be the real vital reasons for the present agitation. Hilo man and those who share his views are trying to produce a "mountain out of a molehill." It would be just as well for him to forget it, because the United States Congress isn't blind, nor is American labor.

Contributed by Central Labor Council.

H. N. TYSON, *President.*

The CHAIRMAN. You wish to submit a cablegram?

Mr. WALLACE. On yesterday I received this cablegram by wireless.

Mr. RAKER. What is the date?

Mr. WALLACE. It is dated Honolulu, June 26, 1921, 10:07 a. m. This cablegram reads as follows:

JUNE 26, 1921.

EDGAR C. WALLACE,
American Federation Building, Washington, D. C.:

Hawaii's emergency commission misrepresenting conditions. Statistics our possession indicate no actual labor shortage in Territory. Unemployed and casuals in excess of plantation requirements. Men driven from plantations by intolerable conditions. Mostly still available if paid living wage. Varono, Philippine commissioner, assured planters of influx of Filipinos. Cost of living here still near peak. No labor organization has indorsed plan. Central Labor and affiliated unions all vigorously protest scheme. Direct blow Americanism program. Condition sugar industry due previous overproduction, low price, excessive capitalization, plantation strike, and gross mismanagement. Labor charges planters intentionally limiting production, planning artificial unemployment campaign lower wages. Employers exerting economic pressure on men to force indorsement planters' program. Charge of Japanese conspiracy control industry ridiculous falsehood. Japanese here striving for American ideals and standards. Strike purely economic. No nationalistic issues involved. Additional information by mail. Furnish copies this message Curry, Nolan, Davis, Raker, and all internationals. If desired organized labor send committee assist in fight. Wire instructions.

GEORGE W. WRIGHT,
President Honolulu Central Labor Union, 1320 Middle Street, Honolulu.

Mr. Wright, I suppose, is the successor to Mr. Tyson.

Mr. BOX. Who is he?

Mr. WALLACE. The president of the Honolulu Central Labor Council or Central Labor Union.

Mr. BOX. He has succeeded Mr. Tyson since Mr. Tyson wrote those letters?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He makes the statement there that the industry is mismanaged.

Mr. WALLACE. That is what he says.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the general labor attitude with regard to all industries?

Mr. WALLACE. That is sometimes right. Sometimes they are mismanaged. I do not think that that is always true. It is not true of every industry, and it was not so in the industry where I used to work.

Mr. RAKER. What does he mean by this language in the cablegram: "Statistics our possession indicate no actual labor shortage in Territory?"

Mr. WALLACE. My interpretation of that would be to follow it up by the statement, "Unemployed and casuals in excess of plantation requirements."

Mr. RAKER. He says, "Unemployed and casuals in excess of plantation requirements."

Mr. WALLACE. I think that answers the question.

Mr. RAKER. What does he mean by the statement, "Unemployed and casuals in excess of plantation requirements?"

Mr. WALLACE. He means that certain men are available, or that there are unemployed men in excess of the requirements.

Mr. RAKER. The casuals are what?

Mr. WALLACE. They are men who happen to come in there, possibly Americans, and possibly men of other nationalities.

Mr. RAKER. Then, if the unemployed over there to-day, and the casuals, or the men who are moving from place to place without any definite idea of having a fixed location, are in excess of the plantation

requirements, what would be the necessity of bringing in from ten to thirty thousand Chinese?

Mr. FREE. I would object to that question as an argument of the case.

Mr. RAKER. What is your answer?

Mr. WALLACE. My answer would be this, that from the evidence of a man who necessarily would be in touch with the labor situation in Honolulu, there are enough men unemployed and among the casuals, as he calls them, to fill all requirements.

Mr. FREE. Do you believe that this part is true: "Japanese here striving for American ideals and standards?" Do you believe that that is true of any place, or do you believe that there is any place where the Japanese strive for American ideals and standards? Do they not rather strive for Japanese ideals and standards?

Mr. WALLACE. I know that in season and out of season organized labor in America has protested against the influx of Japanese, but they are brought in in spite of us.

Mr. FREE. I do not think that a man who would write that the Japanese are striving for American ideals and standards correctly represents the situation.

Mr. RAKER. Answering my friend from California, I will say that I have in my office letters and circulars from all over this country, representing a thousand men as a committee, who, in turn, represent at least 100,000 people of all mixtures, claiming that the importation and naturalization of these orientals and the repealing of the Chinese exclusion law, and admitting Japanese aliens to this country, ought to be done, and that it is the only humanitarian thing to do.

Mr. FREE. But they do not go to the extreme of claiming that the Japanese are striving to attain American ideals and standards.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; and they even claim that by intermarrying they would make a better race.

Mr. WALLACE. I want to answer that statement, if you please. The labor unions, after protesting in vain against the importation of orientals, and the Japanese among others, when they find that orientals are seeking to adopt a higher standard of living, or a standard that would permit whites to compete with them, and standards that whites could live under, then they take them up, even though in the early days they resisted their importation, knowing that their importation was intended to lower the standard of living. We have not brought them here, but they are here in spite of us. However, we will aid them when they try to better their economic condition. We do not believe that you can better this situation by bringing in another set of men who will work at a still lower scale.

Mr. RAKER. What does he mean by this statement: "Employers exerting economic pressure on men to force indorsement planters' program?"

Mr. WALLACE. I would not be surprised if they were doing as they are doing in some sections of this country; that is, arbitrarily closing down this shop and driving men into that shop where they pay a lower scale. That has been done, not only in Hawaii, but in this country. They shut down one plant and start up another plant. Then they start the first plant again on a still lower scale. That is economic pressure.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you think that there was anything in this statement that the strike itself interfered with the planting of a crop that takes about two years to raise, and that that in itself would reduce the industry, reduce the millwork, etc.? Is there anything in that?

Mr. WALLACE. I do not know. There is the statement of a man on the ground who is the representative of organized labor. He is the chosen representative of organized labor and of American labor on that island.

The CHAIRMAN. But you admit that if nothing is planted on a sugar plantation there will be nothing to run through the mills, do you not? You will admit that if there is no labor in the rice fields, rice will be imported, and the high living conditions will continue, will you not?

Mr. WALLACE. I do not believe that the island would go to waste, even if they were not able to compete in sugar. I think that some other method would be found to make the land productive.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think they should raise?

Mr. WALLACE. Fruits and other things. I know that they have quit the one-crop system in California and Australia, and they could have diversified farming. It might be different from the farming that they know, but on a homestead any man could raise crops for himself and have an excess for the market. He would find out what was needed on the market.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the results of the effort to develop the land for the growth of pineapples?

Mr. WALLACE. This is the only information I have. The only information I have is gained from other people, and it would appear that the solution of the question lies in dividing the plantations into smaller holdings, just as the question was solved in Australia.

The CHAIRMAN. Australia is not a tropical country. Do you think that white American people would work in the cane fields of Hawaii?

Mr. WALLACE. I believe that white American people could be induced to take up land in these islands if they could get the land for themselves. They do it in many places. I have known them to bring white American labor down to Panama and they did as much of that work as colored men.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the Filipinos in Hawaii organized into labor unions?

Mr. WALLACE. I do not know of any. I think there is a prejudice against white people. They may have an organization of their own. They are really more akin to Japanese than to American workers.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice among these papers that you have left with the clerk a letter from H. N. Tyson, dated December 26, 1920, in which the following statement appears:

The Japanese economic problem is a very perplexing one, but we do not feel that the interests of labor in the Territory can be preserved by attempting to displace the present labor without also securing the departure of the laborers displaced. This can not be done and we are inclined to at least an attempt at a solution of our present ills rather than fly to those we know not of, judging from Australian experience that Chinese labor is socially piratical and largely uncontrollable.

And then this:

The Filipino Labor Union, having about 17,000 members who are plantation and cannery laborers, now desire to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

Section 4, article 14, of the constitution provides for reference of applications for certificates of affiliation for Federal labor unions to the central body chartered in that vicinity for investigation and approval.

Thinking that you may have some valuable suggestions or advice to offer in the matter, I am forwarding their application under separate cover, expecting to have same referred back to this council for investigation. The Filipino Union is separate and apart from the Hawaiian Laborers' Association, which is or was the former Japanese Federation. The last-named organization has about 30,000 members, practically all Japanese, and do not figure in any way with the application being made by the Filipinos, although performing the same kind of work.

Mr. WALLACE. That would be the Japanese form of organization, because, as was explained here, it embraces all callings, and is in the way of one big union, which is entirely foreign to the principles of the American Federation of Labor. If the Filipinos wanted to organize as Filipinos and not as men belonging to the various crafts or industries, we would have the same objection to them.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter states:

The Filipino Labor Union having about 17,000 members, who are plantation and cannery laborers, now desires to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

It appears that they applied to you for a charter, and a memorandum appears here, "not received to date."

Mr. WALLACE. They have not affiliated.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you see any possibility of Japanese labor associations there being associated with Filipino labor associations?

Mr. WALLACE. It is possible that they may locally affiliate with the Filipinos.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any objection to that?

Mr. WALLACE. It would make them much stronger.

The CHAIRMAN. It would make them a little more than one big Japanese union.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, sir; but even so, we could not accept the Japanese form of organization in the American Federation of Labor. Those problems have been brought into the situation, and we are not responsible for them.

Mr. Box. Mr. Chairman, the matter that you brought out I would like to have developed more fully than was done in answer to your question. You stated, Mr. Wallace, that the Japanese organizations were in favor of one big union, which idea has been rejected by the American Federation of Labor. What do you mean by that?

Mr. WALLACE. All I know is that it includes all Japanese workers of every description on the islands, and therefore it would be in the nature of one big union. I do not know that it has the tendencies of what we understand as one big union in this country, but that form of unionism is foreign to the principles of the American Federation of Labor—that is, that all should go into one union, and especially as a national organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Has any big union adopted the international idea?

Mr. WALLACE. Some of them have.

The CHAIRMAN. The I. W. W. is the one big union.

Mr. WALLACE. That is the form of the I. W. W., but my belief is that this Japanese one big union would not be at all international.

The CHAIRMAN. Have the Japanese any international agitators who come out for the third or fourth internationale?

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, sir; but they are out of luck when they get caught in their own country.

The CHAIRMAN. They have trouble in their own country?

Mr. WALLACE. If they should go about agitating for international unionism in Japan they would be handled roughly by their Government. The Japanese organization, or what little there is of it, is generally on this side of the ocean.

The CHAIRMAN. In a free country.

Mr. WALLACE. Yes, sir; in a free country; and that organization is far from being international. I fear that it is in the interest of a nation, but not of America.

Mr. MEAD. I would like to make a statement at this point: The Japanese Federation of Labor which was formed in the latter part of 1919 and the early part of 1920 consisted entirely of Japanese, and no other people were taken in or invited to come in. The Japanese Federation wanted to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, and their application, as I understand it, was rejected by the national organization. The Japanese organization, at the instigation of Messrs. Hilton and Tyson, of Honolulu, changed its name to the Hawaiian Federation of Labor, and invited all other nationals to come in. I believe they did get a few Porto Ricans and a very few Filipinos. Then they again applied, as I understand it, for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and I believe they were again turned down. So far as the Japanese and Filipinos having anything in common is concerned, or so far as the Filipinos being akin to the Japanese, as Mr. Wallace says, is concerned, it is absolutely not true. The Filipino does not like the Japanese.

Mr. WALLACE. Is it not a fact there is much Japanese blood in Filipinos?

Mr. MEAD. I do not think there is an ounce of Japanese blood in the Filipinos. In a part of the island of Luzon, one of the Philippine Islands, where many years ago the Chinese pirates made their headquarters, there was a mixture of Chinese blood with Filipino blood, and some of the best and finest types of Filipinos at the present time, or men who are high in the Philippine Government, have Chinese blood in their veins. They are fine people. The Filipino has no use for the Japanese. He is a Malay and does not like the Japanese. That is one reason why the United States Government likes to see Filipinos come to Hawaii, or why they favor the migration of Filipinos to Hawaii.

Now, as to the situation in Australia that Mr. Wallace has referred to, I do not believe that the deportation of the blacks resulted in the dividing up of sugar plantations there into homesteads for white people. I know that the sugar production at Queenstown decreased tremendously after they deported those black people. Those black people had acquired property and their children had been born into citizenship there, and at the time they were deported it was looked upon as an exceedingly harsh measure. However, Australia had adopted the slogan of "a white Australia," and they did not want black people there. As to conditions in Australia, while I have never been there, I have talked with people who have come from there, and they say that the conditions are not very desirable at the present time for laboring people, and that a great many of them are leaving.

Mr. WALLACE. I know that the people whom I met from Australia, and I met many thousands of them in France, were splendid specimens and they spoke highly of their own country.

Mr. MEAD. I have met many of them coming in on the steamers. and they say that they are going out.

Mr. RAKER. We have now before us the statements of you gentlemen regarding the shortage of labor. We have the wireless message that was read to us this morning stating that the unemployed and casuals now in Hawaii are sufficient to meet the Territory's demand for labor. With that condition before us, even with the ordinary immigration, it leaves us in a kind of unsatisfactory condition, does it not?

Mr. MEAD. I say that that statement that the unemployed and casuals there would meet the labor shortage in Hawaii is simply wrong. I do not like to say it is false, but it is false. If you should go out there to Honolulu, or anywhere on Oahu, and attempt to recruit people for plantation work or any other kind of work, I do not believe you could pick up 200 people.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not probable that the casuals, so-called, and the other people mentioned are hanging around the automobile garages and other places claiming that they want work.

Mr. MEAD. You do not find that sort of thing there. My attention has just been called to the following telegram from Honolulu.

Mr. RAKER. What is the date of it?

Mr. MEAD. It is dated May 20, and is as follows:

I am advised that Central Labor Council has passed resolution against Chinese immigration based on reports of their officers that there are plenty of unemployed in Honolulu. They have interviewed Manlapit asking statement as to how many unemployed Filipinos, and he advises them perhaps 200 undesirable gamblers and loafers, plus 100 awaiting transportation. You may hear of this.

Those 100 were awaiting steamers to take them home to the Philippine Islands. I have seen these men and have had them to cross my trail. For instance, one man made the statement that there were large numbers of unemployed Filipinos in Hilo. I went up to Hilo and made a careful personal investigation of the situation there, and there were not 50 idle and unemployed people there.

Mr. WALLACE. After that telegram that you read, the president of the labor organization there, Mr. Wright, cabled the information that came to me from that labor council, that there were a number of casuals and unemployed there. On matters of labor, I would just as soon take Mr. Wright's word as his. I have Mr. Wright's evidence which can be placed against Mr. Mead's evidence on the question of labor. Mr. Wright gets his information direct from men who are in touch with labor.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Wright is absolutely wrong, and that is all there is to this situation.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Do you know whether they have 100 men in that organization?

Mr. WALLACE. I have no doubt that they have far more than that, because that labor body is made up of delegates, and the delegates come from different organizations. It is made up of representatives of all the organizations of the islands, and I have no doubt that there are many thousands represented by that organization or council, including building trades men and others.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see about that: Do you know what is the population of Hawaii?

Mr. WALLACE. Three or four hundred thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. About 255,000. Do you know what is the population of the city Honolulu?

Mr. WALLACE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is about 85,000. Do you know how many Caucasian people are there?

Mr. WALLACE. It is a small percentage. Would you include in that Hawaiians?

The CHAIRMAN. No; that would include white Americans, white British, and white Russians.

Mr. WALLACE. I would say they were a small minority.

The CHAIRMAN. There are about 10,000. Therefore we have not many people represented by this labor organization, because the Filipinos are in Filipino organizations and the Japanese are in Japanese labor organizations. Have you made an effort to organize the common white field labor there?

Mr. WALLACE. We have not found that there are many such, because they have been driven out by the orientals.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, suppose there are 100, could you organize that common labor?

Mr. WALLACE. It is difficult, but it has been done.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you had an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, composed of 100 plantation laborers, would they get anywhere as against an organization of Filipinos with 17,000 members?

Mr. WALLACE. I have seen a very small percentage lead a very big movement.

Mr. RAKER. What is Mr. Wright's business?

Mr. WALLACE. I do not know, but I suppose he is in some trade. I do not know about that, but he is in some of the skilled trades employed there. He is possibly a typo or something like that.

Mr. MALONEY. Are those organizations you spoke of the other day, composed of teamsters, truckmen, etc., affiliated with the Central Labor Union of Honolulu?

Mr. WISE. No, sir; they are not. You were asking about this man Wright. He was sent down there by the Federal Government under a contract to work at Pearl Harbor. He is a transient employee, one of the class who go there for a short term of two years or possibly three years; and if they do not like the conditions, they would come away. They are only located on the Island of Oahu, and there are other islands where sugar is produced.

STATEMENT OF JOHN WISE, MEMBER OF THE SENATE OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

The CHAIRMAN. Since we have begun to question Senator Wise, let us consider him a witness so that he may be asked such questions as may be desired.

Mr. RAKER. What do you mean by saying that they were under contract to work for the Federal Government?

Mr. WISE. They were under contract with the Federal Government to go down there and work in the navy yard.

Mr. RAKER. Now, what branch of the Federal Government sent these men down there?

Mr. WISE. The Bureau of Yards and Docks.

The CHAIRMAN. The Government builds works down there at Pearl Harbor?

Mr. WISE. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. The fact is that the Government has work done on their docks in that harbor?

Mr. WISE. In Pearl Harbor; yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. They employ the men who go down there to work?

Mr. WISE. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And the men can go and come when they please, if they want to violate their contract?

Mr. WISE. They have a saying down there that Uncle Sam is the only one who is held under the contract. They can quit and come home.

Mr. WALLACE. They could stay there, even though they broke their contract with the Government?

Mr. WISE. They could stay, but they do not as a rule; they have not anything else to do there.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you a question right there. Do the Japanese and other aliens work on the Government works at Pearl Harbor?

Mr. WISE. On the Government works; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They work for the Government?

Mr. WISE. Yes; they work for the Government.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That is not work for the Hawaiian government.

Mr. WISE. That is work for the Federal Government; they do not work for the Territorial or for the county governments.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. The Hawaiian Territory or government has cut out alien labor?

Mr. WISE. Entirely.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. But the United States Government allows the Japanese and other aliens to perform labor on its governmental works?

Mr. WISE. Yes; and Uncle Sam is the one who drove American mechanics away from Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. Just one moment. I am very much interested in that proposition, because we have just succeeded in passing legislation for the purpose of keeping alien fishermen out of Pearl Harbor, but we have left the aliens to work on the Federal Government works.

Mr. BOX. That is a matter that ought to be developed in the hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not thought desirable that we have fishermen of an alien race moving about our works out there.

Mr. RAKER. At the same time the Federal Government employs them on the public works it is constructing out there.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by saying that the Government pays \$5 a day on its works?

Mr. WISE. The mechanics from 1900 to 1910 fell over themselves trying to get contracts with the Government to put up the fortifications and to put up the posts. Aliens at that time were working for \$1.25 or \$1.50 a day, as against \$4 and \$5 a day paid to the white mechanics. The white mechanics and the Hawaiian mechanics could not compete with an alien at that wage. So the Hawaiians

had to go into something else; they could not leave the country. But the American mechanics quit Hawaii and came away.

Between 1910 and 1920 aliens began to raise their scale of wages, and they are getting \$5 or \$6 a day from Uncle Sam, and Uncle Sam says you can come in and work there with the white mechanics. Of course, that is creating a serious condition down there, because it is driving the white mechanics out of the country. The Government is paying \$5 and \$6 a day.

Mr. RAKER. Can you tell the committee about how many men the Government has employed on the Pearl Harbor works?

Mr. WISE. I am not so closely connected with the Pearl Harbor works, but I know that on the posts——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Take all of the Government works. Could you say, approximately, how many men are employed there by the Government?

Mr. WISE. There are over a thousand men employed by the Government on the posts—that is, the carpenters and other workmen of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. That is to say the Government lets a contract probably to a white contractor——

Mr. WISE (interposing). No.

The CHAIRMAN. To an alien contractor?

Mr. WISE. To an alien contractor.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, the original contract?

Mr. WISE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He sublets the contract he gets?

Mr. WISE. He gets the labor and pays the labor himself.

Mr. RAKER. Can you tell the committee about what proportion of those men working for the Government are Japanese?

Mr. WISE. On the posts?

Mr. RAKER. Anywhere.

Mr. WISE. All but 2 or 3 per cent on the posts, who are citizens. On the Pearl Harbor works I think there are about 400 white mechanics, with the Hawaiians included, and as many Japanese.

Mr. BOX. I thought you said there were 2 or 3 per cent.

Mr. WISE. Two or three per cent of the labor on the posts is made up of citizens; the rest are aliens.

Mr. RAKER. Approximately what percentage are Japanese?

Mr. WISE. Putting them together, that will make it about 10 per cent of the whole, I imagine, that are citizens.

Mr. RAKER. That will be 90 per cent Japanese?

Mr. WISE. Ninety per cent alien.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask that the chairman of the committee make inquiry of the Secretary of the Navy in reference to this matter, asking him to send a list of the employees of the Navy Department in Hawaii on the Government works, who are aliens.

The CHAIRMAN. We might ask for that information also from the Secretary of War, as well as from the Secretary of the Navy.

Mr. RAKER. Both of them, with the request that the committee be furnished with that information.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. May I suggest also that the committee ask for a list of those who were employed formerly on those docks,

because the work on the dock is finished now, and a great many of those men have been discharged.

The CHAIRMAN. What is desired, as I understand it, is the number of those men and their nationalities?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wallace, the committee thanks you for the information you have presented. You will have the same privilege granted to the other witnesses—that of revising your remarks, and adding, during the next few days, any additional telegrams, cablegrams, or exhibits which you may care to present.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Wise, as a matter of fact, not only yourself, but also the Delegate from Hawaii, Mr. Kalanianaʻole, and a great many other far-seeing Hawaiians saw this Japanese situation coming many years ago?

Mr. WISE. We saw it coming many years ago, and the Delegate from Hawaii, in his capacity as a Delegate to Congress from that Territory, started a fight on that proposition in 1907 and 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. Your position is not different from that of Judge Raker, of California, who also saw it coming.

Mr. WISE. Yes; but some of us saw it earlier than he did. The effects of it in the islands gave him a better scope to judge by than he had in California.

Mr. RAKER. From your observation, Senator Wise, is it not better that we suffer just a little bit in our economic and financial relations because of the thing we brought about ourselves, with our eyes open, both in Hawaii and in the Pacific Coast States, rather than to accentuate the situation by bringing members of another alien race in, under such circumstances that they could not become citizens, and under circumstances by which they can be arrested and deported when they fail to do their work.

Mr. WISE. I could only answer that question from the standpoint of a Hawaiian who loves his country, and who loves it so deeply that he fought against the annexation of Hawaii to the United States and was only convinced that it would be the proper thing to go under the United States Government after long and serious consideration of the matter, rather than to go under Japan. We were reconciled because we felt that Uncle Sam might help us when we were in need; and to-day, Mr. Raker, we would prefer to have 20,000 Chinese in the country than 20,000 soldiers. Why? Because every pound of food imported into the country for the soldiers has to be imported from the United States. On the other hand, if we have 20,000 Chinese in place of the soldiers, they will be engaged not only in cultivating food for themselves and the rest of us, but there will be less food imported into the country for the protection of the country than there would be if we had 20,000 soldiers out there.

I am speaking from the standpoint of a Hawaiian who loves his of giving us a military commission form of government. We had used our influence before coming into the Union to restrict the importation of Asiatics, believing that it would hurt us nationally. Since becoming a Territory of the United States these restrictions have been removed, and now it looks as though we are drifting into a military form of commission government against anything we can do to stop it.

re. He comes there with the idea that he is going to stay.

At the end of five years, suppose he says "I want to leave under the law you would arrest him and deport him,

do not think we would go that far.

Then your purpose is to have the bill enacted, to pass which you could bring in 20,000 or 30,000 or 40,000 back at the end of five years, but if at the end of five years they said he did not want to return, you can return

I think he would have to return, according to his

MR. RAKER. Suppose he refused to go; how are you going to get

MR. WISE. Take him home the way he agreed to go home. I do not think force comes in.

MR. RAKER. Senator, you are very keen and very shrewd. Let me think about it. Suppose he refuses to go at the end of five

MR. WISE. Then we take him home.

MR. RAKER. By force?

MR. WISE. By force, if necessary.

MR. RAKER. How many American-born Chinese girls are there in Hawaii?

MR. WISE. I do not agree that he will ever marry any of them.

MR. RAKER. He could marry one of them. Let us not dodge a question of that kind.

MR. WISE. I am not dodging it.

MR. RAKER. He could marry one of them, if he wanted to.

MR. WISE. If he could find one.

MR. RAKER. And if he did not want to go he could be arrested and deported to China?

MR. WISE. Yes; sure.

MR. RAKER. If to that union there should be born a child, you could tear him away from that child, born in this country, tear him away by force and send him home, would you?

MR. WISE. If you want it that way, sure. Shoot—all right.

MR. RAKER. Do you want that kind of a law to be passed by Congress, to become effective in the Hawaiian Islands?

MR. WISE. Yes; I do want it.

MR. RAKER. As a matter of fact, that is the probable effect of the legislation you favor, to bring in 20,000 Chinese that may be needed for the Hawaiian Islands, keep them there for five years, and if at the end of five years any of them should refuse to go, then you would arrest them under the authority of the law and put them on board a ship and send them home?

MR. WISE. Yes.

MR. SABATH. Is not that the effect of the law that has been passed?

MR. RAKER. I do not think so.

MR. SABATH. It provides for the deportation of any alien who has been here for 5 years, and in some cases he may have been here for 10 or 20 years and he may be deported if he is found guilty of any offense which involves moral turpitude, whether he is married or not.

Mr. WISE. No land owned by the corporations is included in the bill, and they are going to hold onto that. You mean the leased lands.

Mr. RAKER. The lands owned in fee by these corporations is subject to sale to the Japanese citizens and to the Japanese aliens if they want to do that.

Mr. WISE. Subject to sale, I believe.

Mr. RAKER. Up to this date you have made no effort to have a law passed by Congress granting the absolute power to prohibit the aliens from owning land in Hawaii?

Mr. WISE. If the result of the effects of representatives of Hawaii who come here and ask anything is what we have seen in the last two years, I am satisfied if we had come here 20 years ago we would have gotten the same treatment.

Mr. RAKER. Do you not think you ought to get that kind of treatment if you come here for the purpose of bringing in an alien race who can not become citizens, whom you are holding in bondage while they are working for you, and when, at the end of five years you can turn them back? Do you not think that this country ought not to adopt such a policy, either for the mainland or for our insular possessions?

Mr. WISE. I should think you could modify the bill, if you desire to do so. So far as the idea of bondage is concerned, I think this proposition does not compare with your own experience in the South, where men were constantly torn away from their families. These are simply certain conditions which the Government puts up to the men who go down there, to do certain things. It says if you want to come, yes; if you do not want to come, no. I do not think that is much in the way of bondage, if a man says he will go down under those conditions and work under those conditions.

Mr. RAKER. At the end of five years you tear up the very roots he has desired to plant in the islands. If a man marries, you would say to him, no matter what his position is, "You have to return home."

Mr. WISE. Whom is he going to marry?

Mr. RAKER. He has the right to marry.

Mr. WISE. I doubt if he will be able to get a woman to marry him.

Mr. RAKER. But he has the right to marry.

Mr. WISE. Sure; I suppose he has.

Mr. RAKER. If he marries an American-born woman of his own nationality, he would have to be separated from her, unless she wanted to go with him, voluntarily?

Mr. WISE. There are none there for him to marry.

Mr. RAKER. There are only about 15,000 or 16,000 Chinese there!

Mr. WISE. There are 23,000, and the women there are at a premium, and they are educated under the American system and they object to going back to China to live under the old conditions.

Mr. RAKER. But he could marry, if one of those American-born Chinese girls wanted to marry him?

Mr. WISE. I suppose so.

Mr. RAKER. This is the law you are figuring on, and you will send him back by force?

Mr. WISE. Not by force.

Mr. RAKER. That is what it amounts to, does it not?

Mr. WISE. With his consent.

Mr. RAKER. To return him with his consent?

Mr. WISE. Sure. He comes there with the idea that he is going back in five years.

Mr. RAKER. At the end of five years, suppose he says "I want to stay here." Under the law you would arrest him and deport him, would you not?

Mr. WISE. I do not think we would go that far.

Mr. RAKER. Then your purpose is to have the bill enacted, to pass a law, by which you could bring in 20,000 or 30,000 or 40,000 Chinese, to go back at the end of five years, but if at the end of five years one of them said he did not want to return, you can return him?

Mr. WISE. I think he would have to return, according to his agreement.

Mr. RAKER. Suppose he refused to go; how are you going to get him home?

Mr. WISE. Take him home the way he agreed to go home. I do not see where force comes in.

Mr. RAKER. Senator, you are very keen and very shrewd. Let us be frank about it. Suppose he refuses to go at the end of five years.

Mr. WISE. Then we take him home.

Mr. RAKER. By force?

Mr. WISE. By force, if necessary.

Mr. RAKER. How many American-born Chinese girls are there in Hawaii?

Mr. WISE. I do not agree that he will ever marry any of them.

Mr. RAKER. He could marry one of them. Let us not dodge a thing of that kind.

Mr. WISE. I am not dodging it.

Mr. RAKER. He could marry one of them, if he wanted to.

Mr. WISE. If he could find one.

Mr. RAKER. And if he did not want to go he could be arrested and deported to China?

Mr. WISE. Yes; sure.

Mr. RAKER. If to that union there should be born a child, you would tear him away from that child, born in this country, tear him away by force and send him home, would you?

Mr. WISE. If you want it that way, sure. Shoot—all right.

Mr. RAKER. Do you want that kind of a law to be passed by Congress, to become effective in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. WISE. Yes; I do want it.

Mr. RAKER. As a matter of fact, that is the probable effect of the legislation you favor, to bring in 20,000 Chinese that may be needed for the Hawaiian Islands, keep them there for five years, and if at the end of five years any of them should refuse to go, then you would arrest them under the authority of the law and put them on board a ship and send them home?

Mr. WISE. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. Is not that the effect of the law that has been passed?

Mr. RAKER. I do not think so.

Mr. SABATH. It provides for the deportation of any alien who has been here for 5 years, and in some cases he may have been here for 10 or 20 years and he may be deported if he is found guilty of any offense which involves moral turpitude, whether he is married or not.

Mr. RAKER. No; the law is to-day that a man has the right of volition; he has the right under the laws of this land, provided he does not violate the laws, and when he does violate them he loses that right and becomes a criminal and we punish him accordingly.

Mr. SABATH. If he violates his contract he will be deported.

Mr. RAKER. There is not any question but that I, if I am an alien, have the right, under the law, subject to certain conditions, to go from place to place. I assume that position by coming here voluntarily, but when I violate the law I forfeit my right and I can be imprisoned or I can be hanged for certain offenses. A man who comes usually to this country comes without any restraint except that he shall obey our laws, and when he does that he can stay here. But a man coming into Hawaii under the terms of this bill at the end of five years must be deported, and he is held practically in bondage.

Mr. SABATH. If he comes he comes under a contract and he agrees that he will come and stay, and at the end of five years, at the expiration of the contract, which I presume will be approved by the Government and will also contain provisions for the proper treatment of these men, he is notified of the fact that after the expiration of five years he is obliged to leave.

There is one more thing I want to ask you. You have paid some attention during the last few years to this legislation and to the matter of labor conditions in Hawaii?

Mr. WISE. I have.

Mr. SABATH. Do you recollect in 1910, 1912, and 1914 people appearing here before this committee and requesting relief and also asking that the literacy test should not apply to Hawaii?

Mr. WISE. Yes; there have been individuals here.

Mr. SABATH. Representing whom?

Mr. WISE. Representing the Chinese people themselves.

Mr. SABATH. And your Hawaiian people?

Mr. WISE. Not the Hawaiian people.

Mr. SABATH. I was under the impression that they came here for that purpose. That is in answer to Judge Raker's statement that you people have slept on your rights, that you have never done anything. I recollect 10 or 12 years ago representatives of the Hawaiian industries requested assistance and came here to present their requests in reference to conditions there.

Mr. WISE. I would like to ask one question before we drift away from this subject. A Chinese merchant is allowed to come to this country. Suppose he marries in this country? What do you do with the wife and children when that man wants to go back to that country? Don't you take the man and arrest him, and deport him, tare him away from his family?

Mr. CABLE. Chinese students come here temporarily also.

Mr. WISE. What do you do with them?

Mr. RAKER. You are familiar with our Constitution—I know you are. Irrespective of any contract, or otherwise, you are opposed to allowing any man, woman, or child in this country to-day to enter into a state of slavery, are you not?

Mr. WISE. Most assuredly.

Mr. RAKER. Whether he or she agrees to it or not, as the distinguished gentleman from Illinois has said. Here is a constitutional amendment, placed upon the statute books after one of the bloodiest wars in the world up to that time, which determined that no man in

this country could voluntarily enter into a state of slavery, nor that slavery could exist. You do not want that condition to exist in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. WISE. I do not think there is any chance of that being done at all.

Mr. SABATH. Under the immigration law; which you have voted for, you permit contract labor, if such labor can not be drafted in the United States; is that not true, Judge?

Mr. RAKER. If they are otherwise—

Mr. SABATH (interposing). If such similar labor can not be secured in the United States.

Mr. RAKER. I guess that is in the general immigration law.

Mr. SABATH. And you voted for it?

Mr. RAKER. I think I did.

Mr. WISE. This is only an emergency; we do not expect to keep this going for 20 or 30 years.

The CHAIRMAN. What will be the relief from the conditions as they exist now if you had to use a large number of Chinese for three years? What possible hope could you have except to get more Chinese?

Mr. WISE. I think a great many of the Japanese would have to leave and go home because of lack of labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you would still have more need of Chinese?

Mr. WISE. The total number of laborers we want would be 60,000. Twenty thousand or thirty thousand Chinese would come into the country, plus the Japanese, who, perhaps, have property and want to stay there, plus the Filipinos and the Hawaiians, and the Portuguese working on the plantations. I think we will have a safe number.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is all, Mr. Wise.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. May I say a word here, Mr. Chairman? It has been brought out by a number of witnesses that we hope there will be an arrangement made in the permanent immigration law, which we hope this country will pass, making a provision whereby immigrants from southern Europe can not only be induced to come to Hawaii but can be held upon the land long enough to take up a real residence in Hawaii and stop going to the mainland, as has been the case in our experiences of the past 20 years.

You can not revolutionize the people of a country overnight. If we allow this situation to continue as it is, the economic loss will make it impossible for the business interests of the Territory to contribute the necessary amount of money to carry out the experiments which we propose to make if you give us the opportunity, with proper legislation whereby we can bring in the people of southern Europe and build up in our community a people who will absorb American customs and become real Americans within a brief period of years.

This is an emergency proposition; it is not a contract; it is not a peonage proposition, with all due respect to Judge Raker. He is a lawyer, and I am not, but I have been obliged to study this particular feature for a long time, and I am satisfied, and those who have studied law have satisfied me, that this is not a parallel case to the cases cited by Judge Raker.

We have the same conditions existing under the laws of the United States, when students come here and go to school and remain in the country. During the time they are at school they marry. What is the status of the wives of those students? Do not the laws

of the United States require that the student return to his home country at the end of his education? If so, the proposition cited by Judge Raker might apply there because it is far more likely that a union will occur between educated Chinese than between coolie labor.

Mr. RAKER. I never saw any difference between a union of the boy on the farm and a girl on the farm and the boy and the girl in the town. They never looked any different to me.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I would like to ask what he does with the wives of the Chinese students when they have gone.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chinese student can only be admitted upon making a showing of the amount of money he has, and that he proposes to be temporarily in the country, for educational purposes; and the Chinese merchant is accorded the same high-grade treatment here as our merchants visiting in China, for the same reason that we expect our merchants in China to be given such treatment.

Have you heard of any efforts on the part of the planters in Cuba toward making arrangements by which Chinese labor would be taken into Cuba?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have understood Chinese labor is being imported into Cuba.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think there are Chinese laborers there now?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I understand Chinese laborers are there now.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any knowledge as to the number?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how the arrangement was made?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the clerk of the committee will be instructed to endeavor to secure statistics with regard to the importation of Chinese contract labor into Cuba?

Mr. MEAD. There are Chinese contract laborers in Cuba.

Mr. SABATH. I saw many of them there 12 or 14 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not care about that phase of it, but I am interested in the recent importation of Chinese labor following the war, as a matter of competition in the sugar industry.

In your opinion, if Chinese should be permitted, by act of Congress, to come into Hawaii under contract, would that lead to any protest to the State Department by the Japanese Government?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I am not prepared to speak for the State Department, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your personal opinion?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have not believed that there are grounds for such an objection, because under the proposed legislation Japan remains a favored nation, so far as her people in Hawaii are concerned. There is a restriction in the bill which prohibits any one alien population being increased to more than 20 per cent of the total population of the islands. Japan has 43 per cent to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Chinese do you figure could be admitted under such a resolution?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. More than sufficient to meet our requirements.

The CHAIRMAN. About how many?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Roughly, I think, between 30,000 and 40,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the admission of 30,000 or 40,000 Chinese plantation laborers would displace any number of Japanese laborers?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The idea is not to displace any labor that is willing to work at a living wage.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it throw any Japanese out of work?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I doubt it.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it throw any Filipinos out of work?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I doubt it.

Mr. RAKER. I would like to ask Senator Wise one question. Senator Wise, conceding that the sugar industry of Hawaii is necessary, would it not be better for all concerned to raise the wages of the sugar workers in the cane fields and in the mills to \$5 or \$10 a day and let the world know it and let the consumer pay the extra price, than it would be to attempt to fix up racial conditions?

Mr. WISE. The only thing I can say in answer to that is that it is a mighty poor rule if you could only make it for Hawaii and not other parts of the world, because I can not see how it would work.

Mr. CABLE. These men would not control the price of sugar?

Mr. WISE. No. If we are going to raise those wages, before we will ever get to the point where we will be able to give them \$10 a day, there will not be any sugar plantations out there.

Mr. CABLE. What would you have to do about your sugar?

Mr. WISE. We would have to import it, if we are going to pay wages as high as \$10 a day.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further you desire to present, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. There are certain points which have been raised by Mr. Wallace in regard to which I would like to introduce further evidence. Then Mr. Horner, the territorial agricultural expert, has some facts which I would like very much to have placed before the committee. There are certain points, too, in regard to organized labor in the islands, which I would like to have Mr. Wise put before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection, we will continue the hearing to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned to meet Wednesday, June 29, 1921, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, June 29, 1921.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. A request was made the other day that information be procured from the Department of Labor with regard to the publication of the reports on labor conditions in the Hawaiian Islands, issued by the Government every five years. I have this letter in regard to the matter:

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, June 27, 1921.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
*Chairman Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: Replying to your letter of June 25 to Secretary Davis concerning the next report on labor conditions to be made in Hawaii, which has been

received in his absence, I have taken this matter up with the Commissioner of Labor Statistics, who gives me the following information:

The time for investigation of Hawaiian labor conditions fell due last year, but owing to a reduction in the appropriation and personnel of the Bureau of Labor Statistics arrangements for doing the work had not been made at the time of the resignation of the former Commissioner of Labor Statistics. The present commissioner found that funds were not available to undertake that work, and an estimate of \$13,500 was placed before the Appropriation Committee under two different deficiency bills. The facts were briefly stated in the hearings before the committee, but the amount was denied.

As it was not possible to make the study during the year in which it should have been made, and in view of the present very limited appropriation of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, no plans are being made to conduct this investigation until the end of the five-year period, 1925.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR E. COOK, *Private Secretary.*

Upon inquiry, I found that the pay roll of the Bureau of Labor Statistics was \$172,960, and that their lump-sum appropriation for the general work, including that which Congress calls for, was \$69,000. out of which sum this inquiry should have been made last year. However, the money was spent in other directions.

Mr. RAKER. And it was not made.

The CHAIRMAN. No; and this letter says it will not be made until 1925; so we are without that information.

Except for the following exchange of cablegrams, I have been unable to secure information concerning the methods of placing Chinese on the plantations in Cuba, which was called for.

(The cablegrams referred to are as follows:)

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 20, 1921.*

EDITOR NEWS,
Habana, Cuba.

Wire number Chinese employed Cuban sugar plantations.

JOHNSON,
Chairman Immigration Committee.

HABANA, *July 22, 1921.*

JOHNSON,
Chairman Immigration Committee, Washington:

Authentic information difficult obtain. Estimated thousand Chinese brought to Cuba each month, 1920. Perhaps two-thirds sent. Sugar mills under contract. approximating total 8,000. Few brought 1921. Number being repatriated.

ROBERTS,
Editor Evening News.

The request was also made that we ascertain the number of orientals in the Army and Navy, and on inquiry I found that we had received in previous hearings some statements from the Secretary of War concerning that matter, and I will ask the clerk to insert that information in this record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, May 5, 1921.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
House of Representatives.

DEAR SIR: In response to your letter of the 29th ultimo, in which you desire information showing the number of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Hindus, and other East Indians who served in the United States Armies during the World War, I am directed by the Secretary of War to advise you as follows:

No compilation has been made by this office of men, according to nationality, who were in the military service of the United States during the World War, and to make such a compilation, which would require an examination of the individual record of each of the more than 4,000,000 men who served in the United States Army within the period of that war would involve an amount of time and labor so great as to render

even an attempt at such a classification out of the question, because of the serious interference with important current work that would otherwise inevitably result.

The only available statistics pertaining to this subject are those relating to the registration and classification of aliens under the provisions of the selective service law. These have been published on pages 398 to 400 of the second report of the Provost Marshal General, a copy of which has been mailed to you under separate cover. According to these figures, a total of 8,794 Chinese and 14,582 Japanese were registered for the draft from June 5, 1917, to September 11, 1918, of whom 1,313 Chinese and 983 Japanese were classified in Class I, which means that they were found liable for military service. How many of these men were actually inducted into the service is not known at the present time, and no statistics whatsoever are yet available on the number of Koreans, Hindus, or other East Indians who were affected by the selective service law or touching on the number of men of any of the nationalities mentioned who may have entered the military service of the United States by volunteer enlistment.

Very respectfully,

P. C. HARRIS,
The Adjutant General.

JULY 13, 1921.

HON. JOHN W. WEEKS,
Secretary of War.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: For the information of this committee, permit me to make request for a statement showing the number of persons of oriental birth employed by the Army of the United States in civilian capacities.

If accurate figures are not available, approximations will be satisfactory.

It is particularly desired to know the number of orientals employed by the Army in the Territory of Hawaii.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Yours, sincerely,

ALBERT JOHNSON, *Chairman.*

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, July 18, 1921.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
Chairman Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I am just in receipt of your letter of the 13th instant in which you request a statement showing the number of persons of oriental birth employed as civilians with the Army.

I shall proceed to obtain the information, but to do so it will be necessary to obtain reports from the Philippine Islands, Germany, and China, which will probably require nearly two months, and I am wondering whether the information will be desired by you in view of the fact that it can not be immediately furnished. If not, will you please advise me, in order that I may withdraw the order that the reports be obtained? I would also be glad to be informed whether or not you wish to have Filipinos or the natives of any other insular possessions included in the figures to be furnished.

Sincerely, yours,

JOHN W. WEEKS, *Secretary of War.*

JULY 20, 1921.

HON. JOHN W. WEEKS, *Secretary of War.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Acknowledging receipt of your letter of July 18, which was in response to my letter of the 13th, with request of this committee for information as to number of orientals employed with the Army, permit me to say that I shall place your letter before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization Friday, the 22d.

The information, if secured two months from now, will not be of value in the present hearings, which have to do with the proposal to admit Chinese temporarily to the Hawaiian Islands.

But, as the question of orientals employed in the Army and Navy has come up two or three times before this committee, I believe that it would be advisable for the War Department to secure the statements requested, if same can be done without too much trouble.

With personal regards, I am,

Yours, cordially,

ALBERT JOHNSON.

The CHAIRMAN. I have here a letter dated June 20, addressed to Senator Poindexter and signed by V. S. McClatchy, of Sacramento, in which he incloses a letter from Hon. Edwin Denby, Secretary of the Navy, discussing the 96 Japanese who were in the Navy in June, 1920.

Mr. RAKER. Does it show the number employed in the Hawaiian Islands on Government work?

The CHAIRMAN. No; I did not get that. I will try to get that information. This is a very interesting letter, and, without objection, it will be placed in the record.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

JUNE 20, 1921.

Hon. MILES POINDEXTER,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I have your letter of June 11, with which is inclosed letter from the Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Edwin Denby, June 7, in the matter of Japanese enlisted in the American Navy, which letter is herewith returned.

The Secretary of the Navy does not answer the questions which were propounded. He does not say that he has not the information, and does not say that he does not wish to answer the questions. I call attention to the conditions, subject of my inquiry, and what it seems to me ought to be made plain to the Naval Committee of the Senate, and also possibly to the Naturalization Committee of the House.

The Secretary points out that there were in June, 1920, 96 Japanese serving as enlisted men in the Navy; that the act of 1918 permits naturalization of aliens who had served in the Navy under certain conditions; that no men except citizens of the United States have been enlisted in the Navy since January 5, 1907; and that therefore "it can be taken for granted that all Japanese in the naval service at this time are citizens of the United States."

The premises do not justify the conclusion drawn by the honorable Secretary. In the first place, of the 96 Japanese who, it is conceded, were in the Navy in June, 1920 (I think you were previously advised that conditions at this time are approximately the same), it is not impossible, but highly improbable, that any were American citizens by birth; it is also unlikely that many, if any, of them became citizens by naturalization prior to the operation of the act of May 9, 1918. If there are, therefore in the Navy included in these 96 any who enlisted prior to May, 1918, and who have not reenlisted since, it is highly improbable that many, if any, of them are American citizens.

If it be true that few, if any, of these enlisted men were citizens of the United States prior to 1918, it is unlikely that the greater part of the 96 could have become citizens since that time, and under the law then enacted, for the reason that official figures received from the Department of Justice March 12, 1921, stated that only 218 Japanese had been admitted to citizenship under the act of 1918; of such number 104 were naturalized in cases coming before the Federal courts in Hawaii (nearly all Army cases) and the balance, 114, covered Army and Navy enlistments in various States of continental United States. It is unlikely that 96 of the 114 were Navy cases.

In addition, the question was asked. How many of the Japanese now enlisted in the Navy claiming American citizenship claim such citizenship by birth, and how many by naturalization under the act of 1918, or otherwise? This question is asked because the courts have decided—and the Supreme Court will probably uphold that decision—that naturalization of Japanese under the act of 1918, or prior thereto and subsequent to the enactment of section 2169, is in violation of the Federal Statutes (sec. 2169), which declares, in effect, that members of the yellow and brown races are ineligible to citizenship.

In any event, it would appear that the secretary's assumption, that "all Japanese in the naval service at this time are citizens of the United States" is either in error or else that, if citizens, they are such by naturalization under the act of 1918, which, I understand, has been declared in each decision thus far rendered, not to legalize naturalization of Japanese.

If, in your judgment, the information which I am seeking to have obtained, as to the conditions in this matter is not of moment to your committee, kindly advise me and I will offer no further suggestion to you in connection with the subject.

Sincerely, yours,

V. S. McCLATCHY.

The CHAIRMAN. The Hawaiian commission desires to present this morning Mr. Albert Horner.

STATEMENT OF MR. ALBERT HORNER, MEMBER OF THE HAWAIIAN LABOR COMMISSION.

Mr. HORNER. Mr. Chairman, there have been a good many statements made here by those opposing our commission, and I do not believe them to be true. I have prepared what I have to say, and will read it, if you desire me to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear it.

Mr. HORNER. Statements have been made during the course of this hearing which charge this commission with willful misrepresentation of facts. We did not come here to misrepresent conditions and misstate facts. We are here, not as private citizens representing any private interests, but as public officials of the Territory of Hawaii. Apart from the fact that we are men of honor and integrity, common sense alone would prevent our making statements which could be disproven by evidence taken on the ground. A review of the presentation made by this commission will show that our statements are absolutely corroborated by officials reports.

I have lived in Hawaii for 42 years; and during 32 years of that period I have been connected with the sugar and ranching industries in an executive capacity. For eight years I have been connected with the growing and canning of pineapples. I am now and for the past three years have been the president of the Hawaiian pineapple Packers' Association. For the past two years I have been devoting a portion of my time in the service of the Territorial government in an advisory capacity to homesteaders and small farmers in Hawaii; my principal duty in this connection, in addition to improving methods of cultivation, being to establish better contractual relations between the homesteaders and small farmers and the milling companies to which they sell their produce. During recent visits to the homesteading sections, I found many of these small holdings overgrown with weeds and the crops badly injured. The universal request made upon me was in some way to secure for them laborers to help care for their fields.

I also found thousands of acres of the most fertile and productive sugar and rice lands in the Territory abandoned. Pineapple areas were likewise being reduced. There is not a plantation in the Territory that has this year been able to work its mill to capacity; and a large amount of sugar, amounting at the very lowest estimate to 50,000 tons, will be lost this year because it can not be harvested in time. It is a well-established fact that when the harvesting of sugar cane is delayed beyond a certain period deterioration and loss in the sucrose content takes place rapidly.

In the sugar industry practically all field laborers are now employed in harvesting the 1921 crop. Fields of the 1922 crop are being neglected, and the loss of sugar in that crop will exceed 200,000 tons. Little or no preparation for the planting of the 1923 crop has been made. How much this crop will be reduced under present labor conditions no one can foresee.

Statements have been made before this committee that there is in fact no labor shortage in Hawaii. These statements have been made by men who are not conversant with conditions in the Territory and are absolutely and directly denied by the members of this commission, who do know the facts. Is it possible to imagine that the sugar

planters of Hawaii are delaying the harvest of sugar cane this year, involving a loss to the 1921 and 1922 crops of \$30,000,000, merely for the purpose of presenting a fictitious case before this committee and the Congress of the United States?

I personally know that a very severe and acute shortage of labor does exist. In the early part of this year the Hawaiian Canneries Co. of Kauai, of which company I am president, employed a Filipino and a Japanese to go to Honolulu for the purpose of obtaining laborers. We offered to pay for transportation of all laborers, from and to Honolulu, and \$3.25 per day in addition to all usual perquisites. These men spent about two weeks in Honolulu, but were unable to get us a single laborer and finally returned to Kauai, entirely unsuccessful in their efforts.

The CHAIRMAN. They returned where?

Mr. HORNER. They returned home to Kauai. They were sent to Honolulu to try to get some laborers, either Filipinos or Japanese, or both.

The CHAIRMAN. They came from the island of Kauai?

Mr. HORNER. From the island of Kauai to Honolulu to find Japanese and Filipino laborers.

The CHAIRMAN. And there were offered \$3.25 per day?

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir; and we agreed to pay their transportation to Kauai. We agreed to pay their transportation from Honolulu and return, and while there we agreed to furnish them with medical attention, water, wood, and all the rest of it, but they did not get the men.

The Federal Government, in developing Schofield Barracks, has tried diligently to obtain enough labor to carry on construction, using even Japanese. The Government was anxious to have half a mile of track built into Schofield Barracks to facilitate the extension of their plans, and negotiations were carried on for several weeks to secure 21 men to work on building this railroad track at the prevailing wage of \$3.25 per day, but without any success whatever.

Aside from these particular experiences, my official position as agricultural adviser and expert for the Territory has thrown me in close contact with all phases of the situation; and I speak from positive and personal knowledge when I say, as I do say positively, that labor in anything like sufficient numbers is not obtainable.

It has been stated that the wages paid to the laborers in the cane fields of Hawaii are too low. It must always be remembered that the wages paid in any industry must correspond with the general conditions of that industry and the competition which it has to meet. We are satisfied to rest our case upon the evidence given by a previous witness, Mr. Mead, who has shown conclusively that the wages paid in the cane fields of Hawaii compare favorably with those paid in the continental United States for much less arduous labor. In Hawaii, however, the wage scale has nothing whatever to do with the labor supply, for the reason that the labor is not there. All the field laborers in Hawaii are now employed, and the offer of an additional wage would add nothing whatever to the labor supply.

The remark has also been made that we should pay a higher wage and charge it to the consumer. How this can be done, when we have nothing to say about fixing the price at which our commodities are sold remains unexplained. Hawaii is not even a factor in establishing

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sugar prices. We can do nothing but ~~the same~~. The sugar producers of Hawaii and of the ~~other~~ do not compete with each other or ~~even~~ their sugar at the price established ~~by the~~ consideration for each other.

Records in Hawaii show that ~~from 1900 to 1920~~ laborers are each year sent out ~~of the Territory~~ reaching their peak in 1920, when \$1 paid to laborers were sent to Japan.

Mr. Nolan says that the same ~~disaster~~ disaster was predicted in 1904. ~~When the~~ are now used and predicted, but ~~the~~ the relief was not granted in ~~1904~~ increase its production and ~~maintain~~.

The official records show that ~~from 1900 to 1920~~ Japanese came into the Territory ~~in 1904~~ was that we were able to keep ~~the~~ had been granted at that time ~~and~~ then been allowed to come ~~into the~~ confronted with a situation ~~which~~ to control the economic ~~and~~ also even possible for them ~~to~~ they have not yet exercised ~~that~~.

We do not now have ~~the~~ supply; and the very thing ~~which~~ come to pass.

It was then predicted that ~~more~~ was forthcoming. ~~The~~ prediction has been ~~made~~ rice industry in Hawaii ~~and~~ unless the relief asked ~~for~~ will pass directly ~~into the~~ ment because I agree ~~that~~ too much pussy-footing.

I can not understand ~~the~~ ized labor in their ~~condition~~ doubt but that there ~~will be~~ all lines of agriculture ~~and~~ decreased production ~~and~~ effect on the demand ~~for~~ the Honolulu Iron Works ~~and~~ ers of skilled labor in ~~Hawaii~~ serious condition ~~and~~ creased production ~~and~~ and imports. This ~~means~~ ployed in the handling ~~of~~.

Without going ~~into~~ all lines of industry ~~and~~ every other line of ~~industry~~ pendent on her agriculture ~~and~~.

Under the terms of ~~the~~ Territory could not ~~and~~ the contrary, the ~~Territory~~.

result of directly providing constant employment for citizen laborers at all times.

It has already been made clear to the committee by previous witnesses that the white man can not and will not work in the cane fields of the Tropics. Even Mr. Nolan, who has lived in the islands, indorsed this statement of fact. In view of all these circumstances I can not understand how labor brought into the Territory under the proposed plan could do other than materially advance the interests of citizen labor, both organized and unorganized.

As evidence of the fact that mechanics throughout the islands realize these conditions and indorse the proposition now before the committee, I desire to read the following short letters from men conversant with the facts as they are in the Tropics:

HONOLULU, HAWAII, *June 7, 1921.*

WALTER F. DILLINGHAM, Esq.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The question of bringing Chinese laborers into Hawaii is now being agitated; and I want to tell you that I am in favor of it. Let them come; we need them.

Sincerely, yours,

JOHN ANDERSON, *Well Driller.*
JAMES ARMSTRONG, *Carpenter.*

WAIPAHU, OAHU, HAWAII, *June 10, 1921.*

THE DIRECTOR BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: I think the idea of importing Chinese to work in the cane fields an excellent one.

How serious the present shortage of labor is can be easily seen by those of us who work on a sugar plantation. It threatens slow strangulation of the sugar industry in these islands.

The Chinese have a capacity for steady hard work and a habit of contentment, which make them ideal laborers.

I hope, therefore, that the commission now in Washington may be successful.

Very truly yours,

E. A. BOXALL.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, *June 13, 1921*

W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DILLINGHAM: As a mechanic employed by one of the local fertilizer manufacturers, which business is dependent upon the sugar industry in Hawaii I am very much interested in the importation of laborers for work in the cane fields as the need for sufficient labor has been keenly felt on the plantations and this unfavorable situation is reflected in all industries in the islands.

As soon as hard times hit the plantations, it affects all local concerns and I therefore hope that you will be able to secure laborers before it is necessary to shut down the concern I am working for, as I have a family dependent upon me and do not want to lose my job.

Yours, very truly,

CHAS. D. ARSTAD.

HONOLULU, *June 7, 1921.*

MR. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 50 years, and have been employed as a skilled mechanic for many years. I understand the labor conditions on the islands, and realize that in order to keep industry going on these islands, it is necessary that laborers be brought here to work in the fields only, and to be returned after working a certain number of years. As it is too hot in the open fields, where

hard labor is performed, the Americans can not work, and I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought for plantation work only.

A. G. CUNHA,
Foreman, Patternmaker.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, May 3, 1921.

MR. W. F. DILLINGHAM,

DEAR SIR: As you know, I have been on the islands since 1900, starting in as a launchman, and have been steady at it until now.

At present I am manager and control Young Bros. (Ltd.), who have a fleet of 14 boats, doing all the towboat and launch business of this port.

I have always worked with Hawaiian natives who make wonderful boatmen.

My company has grown with the shipping. At first sailing vessels with coal in and sugar out, later steamers cargoes in and sugar out. Without sugar our business would be dead.

The islands need laborers; the Hawaiian and whites can not work in the fields, so our salvation is in orientals. No laborers, no sugar; no sugar, no ships; no ships, no business.

Yours, truly,

JOHN A. YOUNG.

In addition to the letters I have just read, I have here other letters from more than 100 construction engineers, plant superintendents, building inspectors, well drillers, carpenters, machinists, blacksmiths, pattern makers, electricians, sugar boilers, clerks and bookkeepers, tailors, linotype operators, draftsmen, marine engineers, pump engineers, welfare workers, plantation physicians and nurses, overseers and lunas, and general plantation employees and mechanics.

The CHAIRMAN. The commission has already been authorized to introduce those letters or anything else it may care to introduce, in the body of the record or as appendixes.

MR. HORNER. Aside from the thing of major importance, which is the control of these islands by Americans, the success of the agricultural industries of Hawaii is of considerable concern to the Federal Government. Since annexation we have contributed to the internal revenue of the Federal Government approximately \$30,000,000 and to its customs revenue approximately \$26,000,000. No argument is needed to prove that these revenues will not be available to the Federal Government if the agricultural activities of the Territory are allowed to be destroyed through inaction on the part of this committee or of Congress.

It must be remembered that the stock of all of the agricultural companies in Hawaii is widely held by the citizens of our Territory. For example, the stock of the fifty-odd Hawaiian sugar companies alone is held by 14,500 individual stockholders. In other words, one out of every 17 men, women, and children in the Territory holds a share of stock in our sugar industry. It is manifest, therefore, that the preservation of these industries is a question of great importance, not only to the companies themselves, but also to the citizens of the United States resident in Hawaii.

Take from us a few hotels and curio shops, essential to the growing tourist traffic, and what are we industrially? We are a Commonwealth depending wholly upon the products of our soil.

Every other pursuit in Hawaii (steamship companies, railway companies, manufacturing concerns, mercantile pursuits of all kinds), lean on what may be produced from our soil. We have no manufacturing industry in the sense that the term is generally used, and sugar, rice,

and pineapples are to the people of Hawaii what textiles are to the New Englanders and cattle are to the Texans.

People on the mainland do not realize or understand that conditions in Hawaii are wholly different from those prevailing with them. On the mainland a shortage of laborers in one part of the country can be quickly supplied from some other locality, while in Hawaii all laborers have remunerative employment all the year round. Consequently there is no source from which to recruit additional laborers except outside the Territory.

Europe and America under present laws and proven conditions are impossible as a field for recruiting laborers for Hawaii.

The remedy is simple, yet apparently difficult. It means a mere breaking down of barriers of political sentiment and political prejudice. Our oriental (Chinese, now starving) neighbors are willing, I believe, to supply us the field men power required upon any terms that Congress may dictate, and considering all of the circumstances, it should not take this committee long, after the full details of the situation are before it, to suggest a safe method.

With about one-half of the total population of the Territory Japanese, with already a firm grip on labor conditions as well as other business activities, it can plainly be seen that as time passes they will get a firmer hold and will finally (unless measures are taken to check it) control the major part of all business enterprises. For the future welfare of the Territory this control must be broken.

During the course of these hearings the members of this committee have appeared to admit that a labor crisis now exists in the Territory of Hawaii. Several members of the committee, however, have objected to the form of relief proposed by this commission, although no suggestions have been made by these objecting members to remedy the situation in any other practical way.

In concluding my statement I now earnestly and sincerely warn the members of this committee and of Congress that, if this territorial commission shall be sent home without relief of any kind, the results to American interests and control will be absolutely fatal. If we go home without the support of our National Government, this fact will become quickly known to the Japanese, their influence will be strengthened, and the ultimate economic, industrial, and political control of our island Territory by that nationality assured.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Horner, you frankly make the statement that the danger is from the Japanese getting control of the islands?

Mr. HORNER. Unless we are permitted to get additional labor.

Mr. KLECZKA. Those additional laborers would be almost exclusively Chinese?

Mr. HORNER. To tide us over this emergency; yes, sir.

Mr. KLECZKA. Would it be possible to get unskilled laborers for your industry from other races or from other nationalities than orientals?

Mr. HORNER. We have tried very diligently and earnestly to bring in other nationalities. If you do not mind, I will read a brief account of what has been done along those lines.

Mr. KLECZKA. Just state the result of your endeavors.

Mr. HORNER. We have tried for years to bring in all kinds of Europeans, as well as Americans, including Negroes. Some of the Europeans that have been introduced into the Territory of Hawaii

have cost the Territory as much as \$285 per head. In most cases they have remained on the islands only long enough to get sufficient money to carry them to California.

Mr. KLECZKA. That would be virtually the same situation with the Chinese, would it not?

Mr. HORNER. No, sir; they would be prohibited from coming to the mainland.

Mr. KLECZKA. They would be permitted to come to Hawaii, and, that being true, why should we discriminate against the Chinese in coming to the mainland? Both are under the dominion and control of the Federal Government.

Mr. HORNER. That is a question for the Government to decide.

The CHAIRMAN. You have stated that your interests are largely or mostly agricultural?

Mr. HORNER. They are entirely dependent upon the agricultural interests, and there is nothing else except a few hotels and curio shops.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, in addition to the Government's activities in the barracks and naval establishments.

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of the population consists of people who either make up the Army there or who serve the Army, and people who make up the Navy or people who are engaged in building and mechanical work for the Navy.

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a list of the organized labor unions in Honolulu?

Mr. HORNER. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. You could procure such a list?

Mr. HORNER. I think there are other members of the commission who are better informed in regard to that than I am.

The CHAIRMAN. I have received copies of labor papers from Hawaii containing lists of those labor unions; and, without objection, I will insert the list in the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

DIRECTORY OF LOCAL TRADE UNIONS OF HONOLULU, HAWAII, AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Central Labor Council: G. W. Wright, president, 1320 Middle Street; C. A. Vicery, recording secretary, 556D Queen Street; W. R. Chilton, treasurer, 1269 Miller Street; meets second and fourth Fridays at Kamehameha Alumni Hall, Fort Street.

Boilermakers: E. B. Griffith, secretary, box 1437; Carpenter Hall; second and fourth Tuesdays.

Barbers: A. C. Anderson, secretary, care of Silent Barber Shop; Carpenter Hall, third Wednesday.

Carmen: F. J. Figurelo, secretary, care H. R. T. & L. Co.; Kamehameha Alumni Hall, second and fourth Thursdays.

Carpenters: John Irwine, secretary, box 611; Kamehameha Alumni Hall, first and third Mondays.

Electrical Workers: Earl McDaniel, The Bachelor, corner Pauahi Street and Nuuanu; Carpenter Hall, first and third Mondays.

Machinists: T. J. Foley, secretary, 1250 Lisbon Street; Kamehameha Alumni Hall, first and third Fridays.

Painters: E. W. Stone, 1869 North King Street; Kamehameha Alumni Hall, second and last Tuesdays.

Plasterers: J. Mucha, secretary, 1911 West Queen Street; Lusitania Hall, first and third Thursdays.

Plumbers: Albert Harris, secretary, 341 Pauahi Street; Kamehameha Alumni Hall, first and third Wednesdays.

Sailors: J. Faltus, secretary, box 314; Sailors Union Hall, Mondays.

Teachers: Mrs. E. Baker, secretary; St. Elmo Hotel, Punchbowl Street.

Teamsters: M. Kaai, Ilaniwai and Cooke Streets; Carpenter Hall; first and third Saturdays.

Hod Carriers, Builders' Common Laborers: John Frias, secretary, 436 Magellan Street; Carpenter Hall, first and third Tuesdays.

Typographical Union: George H. Moore, box 556.

Federal Employees: Fred Smith, care of E. Farmer, United States Immigration Station, Honolulu.

Moulders: Tommay Farrel, Catton Neil Co.

Patternmakers: J. P. Honan, 1523 Lewis Street; Carpenter Hall; first and third Fridays.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you able to make any calculation as to the number of members of labor unions in Honolulu?

Mr. HORNER. I understand that there are about 1,450 members associated with or members of the associations which this central labor council represents, and of that number 250 are white. There are about 1,450 members of the labor unions, and 250 of them are white.

The CHAIRMAN. Representing skilled trades?

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir; that is one union, and then there is the stevedores' union, the teamsters' union——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Let us see just what that union is: You say there are 1,450 members represented by the central labor council.

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KLECZKA. What success have you had with Italians and Sicilians?

Mr. HORNER. I do not remember that there have been any Italians brought there. There may have been, but I have no recollection of it.

Mr. MEAD. Some Italians were brought there and taken down to the James Place.

Mr. HORNER. There were very few.

The CHAIRMAN. You were living in Hawaii at the time of the annexation?

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Hawaii, when it was a republic, take any action by law to suspend Japanese immigration?

Mr. HORNER. I think it was Chinese immigration.

The CHAIRMAN. It did that as a republic?

Mr. HORNER. No, sir; it was in 1887 or 1886 when there was some action taken debarring Chinese. It might have been later than that, but I know there was some action taken there to keep Chinese out along in the late eighties or early nineties.

The CHAIRMAN. The islands were annexed to the United States in 1898.

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that prior to joining forces with the United States, or before coming with the United States, you cut out the Chinese?

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not the Hawaiian Republic suspend or limit the admission of Japanese in some way into the Republic?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir; we did.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember what that act was?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. In 1897 the Territorial government, or the Republic of Hawaii, endeavored to exclude Japanese from coming in, feeling that they should balance up the races and realizing that the Japanese were increasing more rapidly than any of the other races. Then there arose some complications with Japan. Finally, a shipload of Japanese was sent over there and were denied admission, and the Japanese Government sent over a warship and demanded that the Republic of Hawaii pay \$75,000 damages for refusal to allow the Japanese to land, and, further, that they be allowed to land. The matter was under negotiation up to the time of the annexation of the islands by the United States, the Republic of Hawaii refusing up to that time to pay the damages or to allow the Japanese to land. The matter was taken up with the United States Government and a request was made by the United States Government that we not hold out against Japan, but to submit to the damages, and that was done.

The CHAIRMAN. So the money was paid to Japan from the Territory's funds?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is my understanding.

Mr. BOX. Was the other part of the demand granted, or were the Japanese permitted to land?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think the Japanese were allowed to land. My recollection is that they were allowed to land.

Mr. IRWIN. That is correct, Mr. Chairman; the money was paid out of the revenues of the Republic and not by the United States Government.

The CHAIRMAN. The Hawaiian Republic took this action against Japan and undertook to exclude the Japanese before annexation to the United States?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir; and the Japanese Government protested against the annexation of the islands by the United States, and that protest has never been withdrawn. Directly following annexation the Japanese began coming to the islands in very large numbers, and that continued up until 1907; when the "gentlemen's agreement" went into effect. Since that time a very considerable number of Japanese have come into the islands. As shown by the statistics, Japanese brides, or picture brides, to the number of 10,600 were brought in between the years 1910 and 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dillingham, let me ask you this question: As a matter of fact, is not the Japanese situation, or the danger of it, discussed everywhere in the islands, at public meetings, in the legislature, in the newspapers, and elsewhere?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Up to two years ago there was more discussion in California than in Hawaii about the Japanese situation or menace, as I think it is called, in California. In Hawaii we had no open demonstration on the part of the Japanese to suggest that there was a failure on the part of the Japanese to assimilate with the American interests of the islands until during the year 1920. As a result of the strike, which has been referred to in this hearing, it was clearly demonstrated that there was a line of cleavage between Japanese interests in the islands and other interests or American interests.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not mean to cut Mr. Horner off from answering any questions if anybody desires to ask them. He has made a very direct and interesting statement.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Horner, according to your statement, although I did not hear all of it, your position is that you have made out a strong case here as to the labor shortage; as to the danger of Japanese domination under present conditions, and as to the proposition that the only safe competitor of the Japanese is the Chinaman, and that China is the only available source of supply to meet the situation. You have also argued that the passage of this resolution is about the only measure of relief you can suggest?

Mr. HORNER. It is the only practical plan, we believe, that will tide us over the emergency.

Mr. WILSON. Now, in view of the attitude of the United States, both on the part of the Government and the people, toward Asiatics, do you believe that we could safely take the course of adopting this resolution and giving it the force that you desire?

Mr. HORNER. I hope that will be the final decision.

Mr. WILSON. That does not answer my question. Do you think that we can safely do that from the standpoint of the United States, in view of our attitude toward Asiatics, both on the part of our Government and the people?

Mr. HORNER. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask this question: In your opinion, would it be advisable for the United States to adopt legislation for the admission of laborers from China for a limited period of time, and at the same time continue the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan under which that Government declines to issue passports to laborers to come to the United States?

Mr. HORNER. I believe that any country has the right to settle its domestic and internal problems, by itself, for itself, without concern for the effect of such settlement on other nations. I feel that the United States, in disposing of the very real crisis that now confronts it and demands settlement in Hawaii, has the right and would be justified to relieve that crisis in the manner best adapted to subserve the interests of this Nation, regardless of the opinions of any other nation.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean whether, as a cold practical proposition, we would be justified in going on with the "gentlemen's agreement," under which they can not send laborers to the United States or to Hawaii and, at the same time, enact legislation that will authorize the admission of Chinese laborers to the islands.

Mr. HORNER. I think that is the only attitude to take, if the Islands are to be saved for America.

The CHAIRMAN. I am putting it up to you as a cold practical question. You challenge this committee with the proposition that we are not offering any relief legislation, and you have offered this resolution here as the commission's solution of this question. Now, if we assume that everything presented here by the commission in regard to the labor shortage, the inability of European populations to work in the tropical cane fields, in regard to the danger of Japanese solidarity, and the advancement of a movement to control the Islands by Japan, is true, and I think there are many of us on the West Coast have seen evidences of that—granting all of that to be

true, would we be authorized in going beyond the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan in the way of affording relief, or should we attempt to secure relief by bringing in laborers from another oriental country, when by agreement we have shut out such laborers from Japan?

Mr. HORNER. I reiterate that I believe this Nation is justified in settling its own internal problems in the man best calculated to subserve its own interests first, last, and always.

Mr. SABATH. This resolution does not exclude Japanese.

Mr. HORNER. No, sir.

Mr. SABATH. Surley not. It only provides for 20 per cent of a nationality.

Mr. HORNER. It would automatically exclude the Japanese.

Mr. SABATH. But it does not do it directly.

Mr. HORNER. No, sir.

Mr. SABATH. You have more than 20 per cent of Japanese down there, and this would permit them to come up to 20 per cent. You would permit even the Japanese to come up to 20 per cent.

Mr. HORNER. It is 43 per cent of the total population.

Mr. SABATH. I am speaking about the 20 per cent, and I said that up to 20 per cent, you have no objection to any nationality?

Mr. HORNER. No, sir.

Mr. WILSON. I think the Chairman has gone to the crux of this proposition. I am prepared to admit that the commission has made a very strong case, but it is a question of national policy. Do you feel that we could afford, in view of the attitude of the country toward this whole matter, to make an exception of that portion of the United States?

Mr. HORNER. My reply to that is that we hope such a thing will be done.

Mr. WILSON. I appreciate that fact, but put yourself in the position of the committee. You say that the committee has offered no alternative proposition as against the very strong case developed by the commission here; but, putting yourself in the position of the committee, could you rightly say that this kind of policy should be adopted toward any part of the national territory, in view of our attitude toward Japan and toward Asiatics in general?

Mr. HORNER. I understand your question. I understand it exactly, and I think it is a question for the people of the United States to decide.

Mr. WILSON. We will have to decide it for the people of the United States, or this committee and Congress must do so. Of course it is very easy to say that this is a strong presentation, and you do make out a strong case as to the conditions in the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Let me answer that for the commission. That matter has been discussed among the members of the commission many times, and we feel this way about it: If the situation is as we believe it to be, and if there is any question as to whether or not the United States interests will control the islands, we feel that we have the right in the United States to dictate the methods by which we shall control the interests of our Territory. If it is a question of whether or not Japan shall dictate the policy of the Hawaiian Islands, then we have nothing to say, but if we have shown—and I feel that we have shown to this committee—that we are in a very critical position to-day, and that if relief does not come, time will turn all

of the interests of the country over to Japanese domination, we feel that this country has the right to say that we shall admit more Chinese or admit people of any other nationality for the purpose of protecting the interests of those islands for the United States. I think that is the opinion of the commission, and if it is not the commissioners who are here can contradict that statement.

Mr. WILSON. Your position is this, that in order for the United States to show its authority over the islands it should pass this resolution to keep it under American control?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. My feeling is that it is the duty of the United States, in time of peace as well as of war, to protect the interests of the United States by such means as seem to be necessary to produce that result.

Mr. WILSON. Do you think that this is the only means that could be adopted?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It is the only one we have been able to devise, and the history of our immigration to the islands tends to show that there is no other remedy. If there is any other remedy, we will welcome it.

Mr. KLECZKA. How many Japanese voters are there in the islands?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. There are 5,000 registered voters there among the Japanese, or Hawaiian-born Japanese citizens. There are 2,000 more eligible to register.

Mr. KLECZKA. How many Chinese citizens are there in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. There are 10,000 Chinese-American citizens.

Mr. KLECZKA. That makes about 17,000. How does that compare with the total number of Hawaiian citizens eligible to vote?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I believe the last vote cast was 17,000 for the Territory.

Mr. KLECZKA. Seventeen thousand was the total?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That was the total vote cast, or there were about 17,000 votes cast for Delegate. We have 49,000 Hawaiian-born Japanese out of the 109,000 Japanese in the Territory.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not include in that calculation the picture-brides who have married American-born Japanese?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not think they have been included in that figure.

The CHAIRMAN. They would figure, however, in elections in the course of time?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir; they would.

Mr. KLECZKA. On the subject of the exclusion of orientals from the island, would the Japanese and Chinese stand as a unit?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. If they did, it would be the first time they ever stood together on any proposition.

Mr. KLECZKA. I know they do not stand together on commercial propositions.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They do not stand together on any proposition.

Mr. KLECZKA. But where their interests are identical, would they stand together?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I can not conceive of their standing together on any proposition, social, business, economic, or political.

Mr. MEAD. During the strike of the Japanese, Chinese would take their places right along.

Mr. TAYLOR. This proposition is simply an economic proposition, is it not?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The proposition as presented by the commission is not simply an economic one. It is a national political problem rather than merely a local economic one. The problem you are called upon to solve is simply this: Shall the Territory of Hawaii remain an American community—the western outpost of the American Nation? If your answer is “yes,” as it *must* be “yes,” then you must just as surely give us the relief we seek.

Mr. TAYLOR. As I understand it, the Japanese laborers in the Hawaiian Islands will not work for the American interests.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They do work for the American interests, but there are not sufficient laborers in the country to carry on our interests.

Mr. TAYLOR. But they will not work for the American interests?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They are working for the American interests today, but there is a shortage in the number required to carry on the industries, and it is through that shortage that the Japanese field labor controls the situation.

Mr. TAYLOR. As I understood it, they are trying to control the islands for themselves as against American interests?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We have very definite reasons to believe that this is a slow process to bring about that result.

Mr. TAYLOR. Just as they are trying to control the truck gardens in California.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. There seems to be an agreement between those in California and in Hawaii, and the policy which has been worked out in California will be worked out in Hawaii.

Mr. TAYLOR. How many hours constitute an ordinary day's labor in the cane fields?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That depends upon the character of the work. In the heavy work of loading cane, the day's labor is limited to six hours, but field labor works nine hours per day.

Mr. TAYLOR. What is your average summer temperature over there?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The average summer temperature, I can not give you. Of course there is a variation between different plantations situated in different parts of the islands and at different elevations. A singular thing about the tropical heat is that it does not register as high as the thermometer registers on hot days here, but the character of the heat is such that it has been demonstrated by experience extending over many years that the climate is not suited to white labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you one question with regard to Chinese exclusion in Hawaii as a monarchy: Was that exclusion action taken ahead of the United States exclusion act or after it?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think a few years afterwards. I think your exclusion act was passed in 1879, and ours was enacted seven or eight years after that. I might say that the people of Hawaii for a great many years have endeavored to conduct the affairs of their country in conformity with the laws of the United States, and that was the condition existing for many years before annexation.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the people of Hawaii able to trace any connection between the Japanese strikes of last year and agencies in Japan?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think, Mr. Chairman, that there is published data on that subject. The Japanese press in Hawaii, I think, has shown evidence of a connection between the Japanese in Hawaii and home interests.

The CHAIRMAN. I know it is hard to prove it, because I know that Judge Raker and myself have suspected and even charged a sort of underground connection between interests in Japan and the Japanese in this country, even to the point of having organizations to assist in surreptitious entry into the United States.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Officials of the United States Government who are in a position to get definite information in regard to this from different branches of the Government, and who have made it their business to investigate those matters, and who have information which is not available for use by citizens of this country at large, but which is available, I am sure, for any official use by the Government, can answer your question, I think, conclusively.

Mr. KLECZKA. Has the Territorial immigration commission obtained any such information, that you know of?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not know how much information they have, but in years past they have made studies of all angles of immigration. I think, however, that the commission has not been active for a number of years, and you could get that information up to date from nearer sources.

Mr. KLECZKA. What do you mean by saying that the commission has not been active for the last few years?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I would like to have Judge Irwin, the attorney general of Hawaii, make a statement in regard to that commission and its activities.

Mr. IRWIN. The board of immigration of the Territory of Hawaii was organized a great many years ago. I am sorry I did not bring up a copy of the revised laws of the Territory so that I could speak more to the point. It was a commission created for the purpose of assisting in introducing into the Territory of Hawaii certain kinds of labor, and it has certain powers in the expenditure of money in bringing in labor or in assisting in the bringing in of labor. They have certain powers in regulating the supply of labor going into the Territory. It was an active bureau of the government until about three or four years ago. I am not exactly positive about it, because that was before I was a member of the government. While the law is in force, the conditions in regard to obtaining labor have rendered the subsequent activity of the board unnecessary, and that is the reason why the board is not now actively engaged. Its principal duty was in assisting in getting labor into the country.

Mr. KLECZKA. During the time it was active, did it succeed in obtaining labor in any quantity?

Mr. IRWIN. It assisted in obtaining a considerable amount of labor from southern Europe, Russia, and other white countries, but, as has already been stated, as soon as they could make enough money to leave, they would go over to the mainland. Those figures are in the record.

Mr. SABATH. Is it not a fact that the literacy test has made it impossible for you people to secure any labor from Europe, because most of the Portuguese and others that you could secure for that kind of work would not be permitted to enter because they could not stand the literacy test?

Mr. IRWIN. That is true.

Mr. KLECZKA. Because of the distressful conditions in Europe, which, in all probability, will remain for some time, do you not think that you could succeed in getting European immigrants to Hawaii?

Mr. SABATH. But the kind of laborers they need would be excluded by the literacy test.

Mr. HORNER. They could not come in at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it would be proper for the United States to adopt a legislative act for the admission of Chinese laborers to relieve the labor shortage on the sugar plantations of Hawaii and at the same time refuse to admit illiterate laborers from Mexico?

Mr. IRWIN. If this committee should be sure, as I think it ought to be at the present time, that the continued existence of the present conditions in Hawaii will constitute a menace to the western coast of the United States and to the remainder of the United States, then I think it is the duty of this committee to give us that kind of relief. I do not see how you can get away from it. If this condition continues to exist and to grow in the Territory of Hawaii, the Territory of Hawaii will be a menace to the western coast of the United States instead of a protection, and that is where the excuse comes in.

Mr. RAKER. The war in Europe broke out in 1914, did it not?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. There was practically no immigration from that time up until 1920.

Mr. IRWIN. That is true.

Mr. RAKER. And the literacy test law did not take effect until some time in 1917.

Mr. IRWIN. That is true.

Mr. RAKER. So that, as a matter of fact, you have not had an opportunity to determine whether or not the literacy test or law has had any effect upon Hawaii or upon immigration to Hawaii?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not quite understand your question.

Mr. RAKER. The literacy test did not take effect until 1917.

Mr. IRWIN. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. There was no immigration in 1917, 1918, and 1919. There was no immigration until the beginning of 1920.

Mr. IRWIN. That is right.

Mr. RAKER. So that, during 1920 and up to the present time, you have not made any effort to bring in any immigration from Italy or from other European countries where the illiterates would come from, have you?

Mr. IRWIN. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. So that, as a matter of fact, you could have stated in your answer to Judge Sabath that the literacy test, so far as your efforts were concerned, has not effected the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. IRWIN. It has affected them in this way, that the people who could be induced to come to Hawaii and engage in plantation work are necessarily of the illiterate type. Of course, that is known to the men who are engaged in the sugar business in Hawaii. The men

who have made a study of these conditions know them to be illiterates, and since 1917 there has been no possibility of bringing them in, or since the beginning of the war there has been no possibility of bringing them in, but they brought them in practically up to the beginning of the war.

Mr. RAKER. How many Italians did they bring in from 1910 up to 1917?

Mr. IRWIN. I can not give you those figures.

Mr. RAKER. Did they bring in any Bohemians and Russians?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. How many did they bring in?

Mr. IRWIN. The figures are in the record.

Mr. RAKER. How many Russians were brought in?

Mr. WEEBER. One thousand six hundred and fifty is the net gain in the alien Russian immigration, as shown by the records of the immigration service at Honolulu.

Mr. RAWLINS. There were over 3,000 Russians brought into Hawaii from Manchuria or Siberia through the commission, but on May 3, 1920, the actual statistics showed that out of that total number there were only 17 of them employed as skilled and unskilled laborers on the plantations. There were 8,000 Spanish immigrants brought in, and on the same date there was a total of only 287 skilled and unskilled, employed there, because just as soon as they could make enough money to do so, they went to California.

Mr. RAKER. So that, as a final result of your efforts, those that you did bring in you did not retain, but they all left?

Mr. IRWIN. Practically all; yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Can you submit for the record a copy of the act of the Hawaiian Republic or monarchy excluding Chinese?

Mr. IRWIN. I can secure that for you.

Mr. RAKER. And also the act excluding the Japanese?

Mr. IRWIN. We will furnish that.

(The acts referred to are as follows:)

[The penal laws of the Hawaiian Islands (1897), chap. 93, p. 504. Immigration, Part VI, Chinese.]

Sec. 1571. No Chinese, except women who have relatives by marriage or blood residing in this Republic, children under ten years of age who have parents or guardians residing in this Republic, clergymen, teachers, and merchants heretofore residing and doing business in this Republic, except as hereinafter provided, shall be allowed to enter this Republic unless upon condition that while here he will engage in no trading or mechanical occupation other than domestic service or agricultural labor in the field or in sugar or rice mills, and that he will, whenever he shall cease to follow his vocation as agricultural laborer in the field or in sugar or rice mills, or as domestic servant, leave this Republic, and that for every breach of such condition he shall upon conviction by any district magistrate be liable to a fine of one hundred dollars.

[The penal laws of the Hawaiian Islands (1897), chap. 93, p. 498. Immigration, Part III, Aliens.]

Sec. 1554. It shall be unlawful for aliens of the following classes to land in the Hawaiian Islands, to wit: Idiots, insane persons, paupers, vagabonds, criminals, fugitives from justice, persons suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease, stowaways, vagrants and persons without visible means of support, who means of support may be shown by the bona fide possession of not less than \$100 dollars in money or a bona fide written contract of employment with a reliable and responsible resident of the Hawaiian Islands, binding such alien to work as an agricultural laborer for a term of not less than two years.

NOTE.—It was under the provision of the foregoing act that the Japanese were excluded from the Territory.

Mr. RAKER. Let me ask Mr. Dillingham a question. Mr. Dillingham, the question has been asked several times, but no direct answer has been given, as to what became of the Japanese who were refused landing by the Hawaiian government before the annexation of Hawaii. Did they finally land?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I would like to find out whether anyone connected with the commission knows whether these men were actually permitted to land. I want to know whether or not the Japanese who were denied landing were eventually permitted to land.

Mr. IRWIN. My present impression is that they were landed. I can get you that definite information.

Mr. BOX. Mr. Chairman, can it be arranged so that we will certainly get that information in the record?

Mr. IRWIN. We will furnish that.

Mr. RAKER. How many Japanese are of voting age in Hawaii?

Mr. WEEBER. Seven thousand two hundred and sixty-seven. That includes women and men of voting age or citizens of voting age.

Mr. RAKER. What became of those 10,000 Japanese brides? Are they there in Hawaii?

Mr. WEEBER. I presume so. They not only married citizens, but they married aliens.

Mr. SABATH. They have not all married citizens.

Mr. RAWLINS. There is another disqualification or disqualifying provision, and that is that he must understand and be able to read and write the English or Hawaiian language before he can register as a voter.

The CHAIRMAN. They maintain schools for the purpose of teaching them the English language?

Mr. RAWLINS. Yes, sir; but they can get instruction in the public schools only until they are 16 or 17 years of age. Those brides have married plantation laborers, aliens as well as citizens. Before they can vote they must be able to read, write, and speak the English or Hawaiian language. If they can not meet that qualification, they can not register.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever heard any statement regarding the fact that Japanese serving in the United States Army in Hawaii brought in picture brides, and that, in order to conform to the Japanese Government's regulations concerning the brides, those Japanese soldiers in our Army had to step down to the Japanese consulate and reaffirm their allegiance to the Japanese Government, in order to get the brides?

Mr. RAWLINS. I am familiar with the Japanese system of keeping records. I have been in Japan, and spent three and a half months there a couple of years ago. Every Japanese that comes to Hawaii has to have a passport from his home Government, and he has to register with the Japanese consul. Then, in the home town of that Japanese in Japan they have an office where they keep a register of every Japanese family, or what is known as a family register. That register is very accurately kept. The business on which I went to Japan was business connected with the estate of a Japanese who had married a Hawaiian woman and had had three children by her. He went back to Japan and died, and I was appointed by the court to go to Japan to protect the interests of those minor children, or American-born minors. I found in the town of Kurume

Fukuoka, on the island of Kyshu, in the town records, a family record of this Japanese who had gone to Hawaii.

There was a record of his birth, of his marriage to this Hawaiian woman, and a record of the birth of his children, giving all the dates. It was all accurately kept, giving the exact dates of the birth of those children in Hawaii. There is a family record of every Japanese, and that information goes through the Japanese consul's office. When the wife dies, her name is stricken from the record. Then, if he brings a wife from Japan, or a picture bride, that is added to the family record, and every child born is added to the family record. That is the system they have in Japan. They bring the picture bride to Hawaii if they can pass the immigration authorities, and most of them are married there in the immigration station.

Mr. SABATH. You have not answered the chairman's question as to the Japanese soldiers.

The CHAIRMAN. I have been informed that Japanese soldiers in the United States Army who had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States in order to do military service have brought picture brides in, and that in order to receive the brides they are obliged to make a new oath of allegiance to the Japanese Government.

Mr. RAWLINS. I have never heard of that. The only Japanese soldiers I have known of in the United States Army were those taken in at the time of the draft during the war, but I have never heard of the proposition that they had to reaffirm their allegiance to the Japanese Government in order to get their picture brides.

Mr. SABATH. Would they, as American citizens, be permitted to bring in picture brides?

Mr. RAWLINS. I do not see any objection to it under the present system so long as there is no disqualification, so far as the man is concerned, and so long as the woman meets the test required by the immigration laws, such as the requirement that she shall not be suffering from trachoma or any kindred disease when she is admitted as an immigrant.

Mr. RAKER. Will you state over again the number of Japanese in Hawaii 21 years of age?

Mr. WEEBER. I can not segregate it as between men and women.

Mr. RAKER. How many Japanese men and women are 21 years of age?

Mr. WEEBER. There are 7,267 that are citizens.

Mr. RAKER. Citizens?

Mr. WEEBER. Seven thousand two hundred and sixty-seven.

Mr. RAKER. Did you get my question?

Mr. WEEBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Now, I did not ask those that could vote; I am asking the number of those of that age.

Mr. WEEBER. Yes, sir; 7,267.

Mr. RAKER. Then, there are none over 21 years of age who are citizens, Japanese, that can not vote?

Mr. WEEBER. Some of that 7,267 may be disqualified for educational or other reasons. I have nothing, of course, to show that.

Mr. RAKER. Will you insert in this connection that statute relative to the qualifications to vote?

Mr. WEEBER. Yes, sir.

(The statute referred to is as follows:)

[Revised laws of Hawaii (1915), organic act, an act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii, p. 42.]

SEC. 60. QUALIFICATIONS OF VOTERS FOR REPRESENTATIVES.—That in order to be qualified to vote for representatives a person shall—

First. Be a male citizen of the United States.

Second. Have resided in the Territory not less than one year preceding and in the representative district in which he offers to register not less than three months immediately preceding the time at which he offers to register.

Third. Have attained the age of twenty-one years.

Fourth. Prior to each regular election, during the time prescribed by law for registration, have caused his name to be entered on the register of voters for representatives for his district.

Fifth. Be able to speak, read, and write the English or Hawaiian language.

This s. applied to the first Territorial election, to the exclusion of R. S. s. 1859 (13 H. 17); residence in the Territory for a year means in the Hawaiian Islands and is not limited to the time subsequent to the establishment of Territorial government (13 H. 17); a person who lives on a steamer engaged in interisland trade is not a resident of a particular precinct, though the steamer docks at such precinct when at Honolulu and that is her home port (13 H. 22). This s. and s. 62 control as to qualifications of voters in city and county elections (19 H. 178). This s. is referred to also in 14 H. 146; 15 H. 266; 19 H. 227. On qualifications of voters, see also ss. 18, 62, 63; on citizenship, see also ss. 4 and 100; on registration, see s. 64 of this act, and R. L. ss. 61-77.

[Revised laws of Hawaii (1915), organic act, an act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii, p. 42.]

SEC. 62. QUALIFICATIONS OF VOTERS FOR SENATORS AND IN ALL OTHER ELECTIONS.—That in order to be qualified to vote for senators and for voting in all other elections in the Territory of Hawaii a person must possess all the qualifications and be subject to all the conditions required by this act of voters for representatives.

An election under a county act is one of the "other elections" referred to in this section; in such case the registration list for the last previous general election should be used (15 H. 265); but now see R. L. ss. 61-77, providing for permanent registration. Referred to in 19 H. 227. See also 19 H. 178, referred to in note to s. 60.

Mr. SABATH. What is the total Japanese population?

Mr. WEEBER. One hundred and nine thousand two hundred and seventy-four.

Mr. SABATH. And the Chinese?

Mr. WEEBER. Twenty-three thousand five hundred and seven.

Mr. SABATH. That includes even those who are citizens?

Mr. WEEBER. It includes citizens and aliens of Chinese birth or ancestry.

Mr. SABATH. And the hundred and odd thousand also includes aliens?

Mr. WEEBER. It does.

Mr. SABATH. The Japanese?

Mr. WEEBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SABATH. What is the total population of the islands?

Mr. WEEBER. Two hundred and fifty-five thousand nine hundred and twelve, according to the last census.

Mr. KLECZKA. Then, the Chinese and Japanese are in the majority right now?

Mr. WEEBER. The Japanese alone constitute 42.7 per cent of the population of the Hawaiian Islands and the Chinese constitute about 9 per cent.

Mr. SABATH. Can you give us the information in regard to the Japanese immigration to the islands?

Mr. WEEBER. Yes, sir; we can give it——

Mr. SABATH. By years?

Mr. WEEBER. By years since 1910.

Mr. SABATH. Before that; we will say, from 1900. You do not have that?

Mr. WEEBER. I do not have it here, but I can get it.

Mr. SABATH. What was it from 1910?

Mr. WEEBER. The total net increase in Japanese aliens by immigration was 25,409. Understand, please, that is the difference between the immigrants arriving and the emigrants departing.

Mr. SABATH. Yes.

Mr. WEEBER. An increase of 25,409 Japanese aliens in the last 11 years.

Mr. SABATH. In the last 11 years, notwithstanding the war?

Mr. WEEBER. Notwithstanding the war and all other conditions. The Japanese immigration for the last three years, for instance, has averaged 2,400; the departures averaged 200 or less.

Mr. CABLE. In the last three years more than 600 have left the islands?

Mr. WEEBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SABATH. Can you inform us how that is possible in view of the "gentleman's agreement?"

Mr. WEEBER. Of course, Japanese residents are permitted to leave the Territory and to reenter the Territory, provided they do so within the prescribed limit of time.

Mr. SABATH. But there must have been a large number of new Japanese that entered?

Mr. WEEBER. There was a large number of new Japanese that entered, some of them being the so-called picture brides. The number of picture brides admitted during the last decade alone was 10,617.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Sabath, members of the Japanese family are eligible to come in, and that will account for a good many of the new Japanese coming to the islands; that is, families of the men who are in the islands.

Mr. KLECZKA. How about the Chinese?

Mr. WEEBER. The Chinese have steadily decreased during the last 10 years. The emigration from the islands has exceeded the immigration to the islands by 1,489.

Mr. SABATH. In the last 10 years?

Mr. WEEBER. In the last 10 years.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Horner, did you raise any sugar cane, or was there any sugar-cane industry in the Hawaiian Islands before their annexation to the United States in 1889?

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Who worked in it, then? Did the Hawaiians work in it?

Mr. HORNER. The Hawaiians, Chinese, Portuguese, and about that time the Japanese began to come.

Mr. RAKER. Well, before they came in, did the Hawaiians engage in the production of sugar cane—the raising of sugar cane?

Mr. HORNER. Yes; they always have to an extent.

Mr. RAKER. Then your statement this morning is very disconcerting to me, in that you stated the Hawaiians could not work in the sugar-cane fields. What did you mean by that?

Mr. HORNER. Well, the work the Hawaiians do, mostly, is acting as teamsters, lunas, and things of that kind.

Mr. SABATH. They do the higher grade of work?

Mr. HORNER. Engineers and carpenters. Very rarely do you see them out in the cane field cutting cane and loading cane. During the strike last year, some Hawaiians did cut and load cane, but not for very long.

Mr. RAKER. But my question has reference to your early acquaintance with Hawaii and the Hawaiian people. They raised sugar and raised their native products there, and my question is whether or not they did the work themselves.

Mr. HORNER. Not in my time. I say the Hawaiians have always been employed, more or less, on the plantations, but very rarely in the cutting and loading of the cane.

Mr. RAKER. Then I understand further, from your statement, that some action should or must be taken by the Congress of the United States to show that the commission has the backing of Congress, for if you returned to the Hawaiian Islands without legislation that will authorize you to bring in Chinese in sufficient number to do your work, the Japanese will feel that they practically have control of the situation and you will be in a very critical condition?

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. What will that effect be, now?

Mr. HORNER. Well, I think they will at once demand higher wages, and if they are not paid, they will not work.

Mr. RAKER. Well, what will be the result then?

Mr. HORNER. Either we will have to concede their demand or let our fields go uncultivated.

Mr. RAKER. What about their being taken over and cultivated by the Japanese?

Mr. HORNER. I think they have that in mind now. If the relief asked for is granted, there will be very little danger of the Japanese getting control of the industry down there; if it is not granted, there will be great danger of it. In fact, I feel sure it will come about.

Mr. RAKER. What about the other industries outside of the sugar industry? Can they now, in a general way, practically control them?

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And if the Japanese cease to work in the sugar industry, there will be just that many more to work in all the other industries of the islands, which they practically control at the present time; is that right?

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And it will be, in effect, the domination by the Japanese of the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. HORNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. That is practically the condition now in all of the industries, saving and except the sugar industry; is that true?

Mr. HORNER. I think they are in the majority in the pineapple fields. They do not cultivate rice to any extent, if at all. They dominate the vegetable gardens, and I think the coffee industry, also.

Mr. RAKER. Well, if the Japanese Government was successful in sending a warship to Hawaii and getting damages because it did not land their nationals, and they finally landed their nationals, and since

have been able, through a communication of the Government of the United States, to continue to land them, and Congress now brings in an oriental race to take their place, avowedly to do the work—

Mr. HORNER. It is not to take their place.

Mr. RAKER. All right, I will put it another way—to do the work for the sugar industry and others, then we must expect the Japanese Government and her nationals to continue to press their demands that they be permitted to have *carte blanche* rights in the Hawaiian Islands in regard to their nationals. Is not that about it?

Mr. HORNER. I should say so.

Mr. RAKER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Does anyone else desire to ask any questions?

Mr. WILSON. I want to ask Mr. Irwin one question. You understand what Mr. Mead's proposition was as a solution for this, Mr. Irwin?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. That is, that we remove the literacy test and permit practically unlimited immigration from Europe to Hawaii, but with the requirement that the passports should be so arranged that they would not be allowed to come to the United States until they became American citizens?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. What do you think of that proposition?

Mr. IRWIN. I think that would offer something like a permanent solution of the problem which would give us a class of people who could eventually become citizens and who would, if we could induce them to remain on the soil there for a long enough period, get attached to the country, and it would make them feel as though that country was their home. Under the present conditions they do not stay there long enough to get a feeling of permanence or attachment to the country. We believe if we could keep them there for a period of five or seven years, or whatever period may be required, they would get that feeling if they would stay there that long, and we would get a permanent population.

Mr. WILSON. Would that, in your judgment, be preferable to the resolution that has been offered?

Mr. IRWIN. There is not any doubt about it in my mind, as far as a permanent immigration policy for the Territory of Hawaii is concerned, if we could get that class of people in there and keep them there.

Mr. WILSON. Is it your judgment, from your knowledge of the situation, if this exception was made and relaxation as to the immigration requirements, that the Europeans would come?

Mr. IRWIN. Oh, I think so. I do not think there is any doubt about that.

Mr. KLECZKA. Do you concur in that judgment, Mr. Dillingham, because that is virtually what I had in mind?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think you will find in the record I have made a statement similar to this: We have two definite problems. One is an emergency proposition, and the other is a question of permanent immigration policy. We are facing an emergency to-day; and we can not wait two or three years for a remedy and have money enough to assist immigration. And I doubt if we would be able to hold our industry together, because the amount of money that will

be lost to the Territory and to the industries in the next three years will cramp and temporarily cripple, if not permanently cripple, the industries of that country.

Mr. KLECZKA. Right there: With this suspension of immigration to the mainland, with tens of thousands of eligible immigrants clamoring to be admitted, should word go out that there are opportunities in Hawaii, would not that immigration be diverted to the islands, and would not that immigration be far preferable to this oriental temporary immigration?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I wish very much that the Secretary of Labor could be put in a position to make an immediate study of the situation there and meet the requirements or, rather, meet the necessities of the situation in Hawaii. This bill, if you go back to the text of it, does not request that this country permit Chinese to come to the islands; it puts the power in the hands of the Secretary for a limited number of years to meet a very serious emergency. We are very anxious to have your permanent immigration bill make provision for Hawaii which will permit of doing just what Judge Irwin has suggested.

Mr. KLECZKA. And if any relief measure is offered and excludes the admission of Chinese, so as not to break our Chinese exclusion law, would not that solve the situation? Would it not be beneficial to Hawaii and yet not tear down the barriers we have already put up against orientals?

Mr. CABLE. You have not anything to offer to the Europeans, have you, except a couple of dollars a day to work? Are you willing to sell them land as an inducement to them to come?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The record will show inducements of that sort have been made; we gave them homes and gave them lands, and at the end of the year we did not have one on the land. If the bill provided that they had to remain in the islands, I assure you that would be a great help to the situation. We have to get somebody, and that is the best proposition, surely, as a matter of permanent policy, although it will certainly not relieve the present grave emergency.

Mr. KLECZKA. But are not the conditions in Europe to-day such that you can not go back to your experience of a few years ago? Are not the conditions in Europe to-day such that if those people would come to Hawaii they would better their condition over the places where they came from, and they would stay there permanently, perhaps? There is no work and no opportunity in some of the European countries and they are coming in the steerage to our ports, penniless. Now, when they come here they can not engage in any gainful occupations, with the unemployment here to-day, and if they had that knowledge that they could go to Hawaii and engage in these pursuits and earn a living, notwithstanding the hardships of the temperature, would not they be likely to remain and would not that be far better than to admit these Chinese temporarily?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think there is no question at all but that, if we could build in an immigrant base there which would permit of producing American citizens, with the ideals of American citizens we have here in the mainland, it would be far preferable to any transient or rotating scheme such as has been discussed. If we could get the people there in the numbers qualified to do the work, able to do it, so

that from an economic standpoint we can hold our own in the production of tropical products, I would be very much in favor of it.

Mr. KLECZKA. Much of the emigration from central Europe is farm emigration. They have tilled the soil; they have worked in the sugar-beet fields; and they have raised potatoes and corn, and they have worked out in the open; and, with the exception of the temperature, perhaps, the conditions are the same in southern and eastern Europe as they are in your Territory.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The exception you put in is the meat of the coconut.

Mr. KLECZKA. Of course, I have never been in Hawaii, but I do not think the temperature is so great that that one thing would drive them out.

The CHAIRMAN. You said, in answer to Mr. Kleczka's question, that this was to meet an emergency and did not apply to a particular people at all; and yet you start right off—

For a period of five years from the passage of this joint resolution the Secretary of Labor be, and he is hereby, empowered, under such conditions and regulations as he shall prescribe, to admit to the Territory of Hawaii such aliens otherwise inadmissible as he may deem necessary to meet the emergency existing in the shortage of agricultural labor.

Do you take that to read that he could bring in Europeans?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do.

Mr. SABATH. Who were illiterate?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. And if a subsequent bill provided that men not able to pass the literacy test could come in, it would be a very simple matter to admit those until—

The CHAIRMAN. Let us drop the subsequent bill for a minute. You say this does permit the Secretary to admit European people. Then we will assume he might admit some, that this is not entirely for the purpose of admitting Chinese. Then you provide:

That such aliens shall be admitted only for limited periods of time, for the purpose of engaging only in agricultural labor or domestic service.

Would that be all right to apply to the European people?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. If they are in the situation over there that has been suggested, I should think they would be very glad indeed of this opportunity to take up the work we have to offer them.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Then you say:

* * * that the regulations shall provide for and secure the return of such laborers to their respective countries upon the expiration of the time limited.

Do you think that would be all right?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think it would be extremely unfortunate for it to find its way into subsequent legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. So that if the Secretary did read this that in addition to the Chinese you could get people from central Europe, it would be understood they had to go back?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That would be the requirement under this resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. And if we did pass this, admitting the Chinese primarily but admitting the Europeans also, would we not be called upon before the five years were up to lift the ban as to sending the Europeans back and not to lift it as to sending the Chinese back?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not see why that would be any more severe on the Chinese than the present laws.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but we are supposed to work with some sort of order here. And don't you imagine this would be availed of by the Europeans to get in this way and stay, and when the time came for the Chinese to go back that you would propose again to us that the Chinese be permitted to stay for another five years?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I am not prepared to say what we would do, now.

Mr. RAKER. If that resolution provided that at the end of it the Chinese exclusion act was to remain in full force and effect, notwithstanding this resolution, would you be in favor of that resolution then?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No; I would not be in favor of it, Mr. Raker, because I have not the confidence that some of our committeemen here seem to have that we can make that scheme work. We have made an honest effort to do the very things suggested here now; and due to the fact that the conditions in Europe are somewhat changed and the immigration laws of America are changed, whether or not we would be able to hold those men on the land to do the work successfully and satisfactorily for us, I am not prepared to say.

Mr. SABATH. What would you think about this amendment, that all those who were eligible to become American citizens could remain at the expiration of the five years if they placed themselves by that time in a position to become citizens?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think that might be a very helpful amendment.

Mr. SABATH. Except those who can become American citizens from deportation at the end of the five years, if they can within that time qualify under the law to become American citizens.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think that would be a wise provision.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, then, who is going to pay for this deportation?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That would have to be arranged through the Territorial immigration board or by some similar agency provided for the purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand in ordinary cases of deportation, when the United States Government is about to deport a person it has to arrange with the country to which he is to be deported that the country will receive him?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Under the agreement which will have to be known to the Government from which the immigrant comes, their consent to receive him would be a part of the arrangement.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be all right as regards China, I assume, but I have not gone into that yet with the State Department. There is one other question. I understood you to say a day or two ago, as a result of that strike, that wages were increased about 50 per cent?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The base wage was increased from 70 cents to \$1.15 a day. As that is part of a system of wage, it is not proper to consider one feature of it alone.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to consider one feature of it, but I am going to make a suggestion here. It has been challenged by Mr. Horner, that we offer no suggestion for relief, and I think I can make a little suggestion that will help along pending a solution of the emergency. You have already given in on the base wage; you have

increased the base wage and lowered the percentage of the bonus—the bonus is less?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long would it take you to get rid of the bonus entirely?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. With the present price of sugar it would not take very long. With sugar at 4 cents there is no bonus.

The CHAIRMAN. What is sugar now?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Practically 4 cents.

The CHAIRMAN. I noticed in the dispatches it dropped this morning.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Again.

Mr. IRWIN. That was for refined, I think—5.40.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that affect the price of the sugar you export?

Mr. IRWIN. The price of the refined is based upon the price of the raw.

The CHAIRMAN. Your base wage has been raised from what?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. From 70 cents to \$1.15.

The CHAIRMAN. \$1.15 is the base wage?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. A month's work is 26 days?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Twenty-six days.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to the \$1.15, you give them housing: Is there any charge whatever for housing on any of the plantations?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No charge whatever that I know of on any of the plantations.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have plantation stores?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We have.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the employees given credit at those stores?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They are.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the stores run for profit?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They are not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have plantation meat markets?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We have.

The CHAIRMAN. And the employees are given credit there?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They are.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they operated for profit?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They are not.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they different from the old company coal-mining store that used to exist in Illinois and elsewhere?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not know anything about those.

The CHAIRMAN. Between the saloon, the store, and the meat market, the employee never had anything left.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The Japanese would not have been able to send \$17,000,000 home last year, Mr. Chairman, if the Illinois system had been applied in Hawaii.

Mr. SABATH. Oh, I take exception to the chairman's statements as to Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it was perhaps before you were born.

Mr. SABATH. I can remember some of those things did exist, but we put a stop to it.

The CHAIRMAN. It took public opinion and a general upheaval and legislation to do away with that situation.

Mr. RAKER. It is not altogether done away with yet.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you furnish ice to any of these employees?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. On a number of the plantations they have an ice plant which furnishes them with ice practically at cost. I would like to say this in regard to the store proposition, that there is hardly a plantation on the islands where there are not independent stores on the plantation, and there is no obligation upon the employee to buy from the company store.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see about that; let us see how it works: The employee gets a wage and he also gets a bonus, payable monthly?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The bonus is paid 75 per cent monthly, and the balance of the bonus, 25 per cent, is paid at the end of the year.

The CHAIRMAN. As a practical proposition, isn't there a temptation on the part of the employee to trade at the store and charge it against his bonus?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The accounts are settled monthly with the employee.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he know in advance what his bonus is going to be?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The bonus is figured at the end of the month on the New York price.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think it would be better to get rid of the bonus and pay a wage of whatever should be paid?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We all regret exceedingly that the bonus system was not done away with some time ago; and a large part of our labor shortage is due to the abnormal returns given to the laborers last year.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you got caught in a trap there?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. We did.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, then, part of this strike and part of this protest is from the fact that the man who had small pay and a big bonus is now being forced to drop back to small pay and not much bonus?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. To drop back to more pay than he received and not much bonus.

Mr. RAKER. You say they ascertain the bonus and pay it at the end of each month. How can they do that? Suppose at the last month the sugar would rise in price 50 per cent or 25 per cent; would not his bonus apply only to sugar disposed of on the New York market each month? Will you explain that?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I will ask to call on Mr. Horner, who has adjusted these bonuses with the field laborers many, many times.

The CHAIRMAN. Still, until war prices began to affect sugar, the bonus was never a big item to labor in the field, was it?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It was quite a substantial item and was made so that he could make a bonus out of it. The proposition of hanging up a reward out of reach is not one that works successfully for any period of time. This bonus was made on a basis which was believed to be a fair profit-sharing arrangement with labor, to make them happy and contented, to make them interested to hold on and stay with us and to share in the average results of the enterprise.

Mr. McCLELLAN. You have not mentioned one of the main purposes, to induce them to give continuous work by requiring 20 days.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Of course, the foundation idea of the arrangement is to induce the labor to turn out at least 20 days out of the month, so that there will be a continuity of service and, in that way, a

guaranty of our ability to get around to the work necessary to be done during the year.

Mr. HORNER. That bonus system is about as follows: The laborers are paid on the 15th day generally of the month following the month when the work is performed, and they are paid a regular wage plus the 75 per cent of the bonus, based on the average price of sugar in New York, no matter what it sold for—on the average quoted price. The other 25 per cent is paid at the end of the year; and that, together with the first bonus, is based on the average price for the sugar during the entire year.

The CHAIRMAN. Is any bonus paid in the pineapple field?

Mr. HORNER. Yes. We have been paying a wage bonus.

The CHAIRMAN. How is that?

Mr. HORNER. We paid so much if they worked 20 days; and, if they worked less than 20 days, we paid less money. I think on our place we paid a wage of \$1.70 if they worked less than 20 days; if they worked more than 20 days, I think the rate last year was \$3.25.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just exactly what I wanted to get at, that the bonus paid on the sugar plantation interfered with the wage scale on the pineapple plantation?

Mr. HORNER. It surely did.

The CHAIRMAN. It does and will?

Mr. HORNER. And will, and in every other industry. I am against the bonus system myself.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you think it would help relieve the labor situation there if the bonus system were done away with entirely?

Mr. HORNER. Well, that is my impression.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Horner, wouldn't it be to the interest of the islands to increase the wage of these laborers?

Mr. HORNER. That would be a very good thing, but you must not forget that our products there have to meet the competition of the products grown in other tropical parts of the world, where they pay no more than we pay and their freight rates to market are less.

Mr. SABATH. What are the wages paid by the sugar growers to the laborers in Cuba?

Mr. HORNER. I understand their wage there is practically the same as ours. I was in Cuba a few years ago and at that time the wages were practically the same.

Mr. SABATH. Do you know about the wages in Louisiana, where they grow a great deal of sugar cane?

Mr. HORNER. I do not; no.

Mr. SABATH. And if they are obliged to pay 50 or 100 per cent more in Louisiana for the same labor, would not Louisiana suffer and could not compete with you people in growing and producing sugar?

Mr. HORNER. I do not think they are paying very much more than we are, although I have not the figures.

Mr. SABATH. It seems to me \$1.15 a day is a very, very, low wage.

The CHAIRMAN. You see, that is the trouble. It is so hard to discuss what the actual wage is, because there is at once added to that wage a bonus and certain perquisites.

Mr. SABATH. Yes, such as rents and other advantages. It should be taken into consideration, but——

Mr. HORNER. I think that those perquisites amount to somewhere near \$10 a month.

Mr. WEEBER. They represent \$25 a month to the laborers themselves.

Mr. HORNER. Yes, if they had to provide it for themselves, but it costs the plantation about \$10 a month.

Mr. RAKER. Did I understand you to say, in answer to a question propounded by the chairman and Mr. Sabath, that the laborer in Cuba receives about the same wage as the laborer in Hawaii on the same character of work in the sugar fields?

Mr. HORNER. When I was in Cuba that was the situation. What it is now, I do not know.

Mr. RAKER. And the sugar imported from Cuba to the United States has to pay a duty?

Mr. HORNER. One and six-tenths was what it used to pay; I do not know what it is now.

Mr. RAKER. And they pay no duty from Hawaii.

Mr. HORNER. And they pay no duty from Hawaii. And let me explain right there that that tariff or duty which the Cubans pay is all absorbed because of their lower cost to them to get their sugar to the market. They do not fertilize and they do not irrigate like we do. When I was there, they did not fertilize at all; whether they do now or not, I do not know. But those two items alone almost equalize the tariff to get the sugar in.

Mr. RAKER. Then the theory does not work out that a differential rate should go to the laborer, and in this instance, as explained by you, it goes to the sugar producer in building up his crop, etc., and not to the laborer?

Mr. HORNER. I do not think I understand you.

Mr. RAKER. There is a differential in the amount you stated between bringing the Cuban sugar to the United States and the Hawaiian sugar, and the Cuban sugar has to pay a duty and the Hawaiian sugar does not?

Mr. HORNER. That is right.

Mr. RAKER. And you say the wages in Cuba and the wages in Hawaii are practically the same for the same character of work?

Mr. HORNER. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And instead of absorbing this amount and paying a higher wage in Cuba, they use it for some other purpose, so that the laboring man does not get the benefit of the differential.

Mr. WILSON. They can produce sugar cheaper than we can in Louisiana or they can in Hawaii?

Mr. HORNER. I should say so.

Mr. IRWIN. In answer to a question, Mr. Horner, you said that doing away with the bonus would eliminate our labor difficulties?

Mr. HORNER. No.

Mr. IRWIN. That is what you said; I do not know whether you meant to say that or not. What did you mean when you made that statement, or a statement similar to that?

Mr. HORNER. It would help greatly in stabilizing the work in other industries.

Mr. IRWIN. It would add nothing to our labor supply?

Mr. HORNER. No, not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. The point I was trying to make was, a straight wage in lieu of a bonus would enable a more fair presentation of the labor situation in Hawaii.

Mr. SABATH. As to their earnings?

The CHAIRMAN. As to their earnings.

Mr. RAKER. What I was trying to have appear in the record was that this tariff they put on for the benefit of labor turns out now, so far as the Hawaiian labor is concerned and the Louisiana cane-sugar labor and the beet-sugar labor, the labor in Cuba does not get the benefit of the differential.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I say this, it is for the benefit of labor, because if this extra cost were not met there would be no work for labor in Hawaii.

Mr. Box. I desire to have the followidg abstract of the Japanese expatriation law inserted in the record:

AN ABSTRACT OF EXPATRIATION LAW OF JAPAN.

ARTICLE XVIII. When a Japanese, by becoming the wife of a foreigner, has acquired the husband's nationality, then such Japanese loses her Japanese nationality.

ARTICLE XX. A person who voluntarily acquires a foreign nationality loses Japanese nationality. In case a Japanese subject who has acquired foreign nationality by reason of his or her birth in a foreign country has domiciled in that country, he or she may be expatriated with the permission of the minister of state for home affairs. The application for the permission referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be made by the legal representative in case the person to be expatriated is younger than 15 years of age. If the person in question is a minor above 15 years of age or a person adjudged incompetent, the application can be made with the consent of his or her legal representative or guardian. A stepfather, a stepmother, a legal mother, or a guardian may not make the application or give the consent prescribed in the preceding paragraph without the consent of the family council. A person who has been expatriated loses Japanese nationality.

ARTICLE XXIV. Notwithstanding the provisions of the preceding six articles a male of full 17 years or upwards does not lose Japanese nationality unless he has completed active service in the Army or Navy or he is under no obligation to enter into it. A person who actually occupies an official post, civil or military, does not lose Japanese nationality notwithstanding the provisions of the foregoing seven articles.

ARTICLE XXVI. A person who has lost Japanese nationality in accordance with Article XX may recover Japanese nationality provided that he or she possesses a domicile in Japan, but this does not apply when the person mentioned in Article XVI has lost Japanese nationality. In case the person who has lost Japanese nationality in accordance with the provision of Article XX is younger than 15 years of age, the application for the permission prescribed in the preceding paragraph shall be made by the father who is the member of the family to which such person belonged at the time of his expatriation; should the father be unable to do so, the application shall be made by the mother; if the mother is unable to do so, by the grandfather; and if the grandfather is unable to do so, then by the grandmother.

(The committee thereupon went into executive session.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, June 30, 1921.

The committee this day met, Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. Chillingworth, of the commission, is present, and we will hear him briefly.

STATEMENT OF MR. CHARLES F. CHILLINGWORTH.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. My name is Charles F. Chillingworth. I am a member of the commission from Hawaii to Congress on this emergency labor measure. Aside from the other points brought out by

the gentlemen who have previously made statements before this committee, I would like to call the attention of this committee to another feature of our economic conditions in the islands which requires careful consideration.

The destruction of our industrial business in the islands, due to our labor shortage, is going to have this result, that the income of the Territory, which last year was barely enough to cover our expenses in maintaining and carrying on our Government institutions, will be so badly crippled by the losses which are being sustained by the different plantations and other industrial business in the islands, that the income of the Territory, in my judgment, will be approximately cut in half, if not more. We appropriated approximately \$1,500,000 at the last session of the legislature, which adjourned sine die about the 27th of April, for our schools alone. The total amount appropriated, as I remember it for the Territory, was about \$6,000,000. The legislature, in making appropriations for the different departments, has endeavored to economize, in so far as it was possible to do so, realizing the labor conditions in the islands and fully appreciative of the lack of income to be expected in years to come.

We have come on this mission believing in the cause for which we have come and are sincere in our representations to this committee. The situation has become even worse since we left the islands. Pioneer stock, which was selling around 30, is now down to 16; Olaa stock, which was selling at between 8 and 9 when we left the islands, is now selling at 4, and all the other plantations are affected along the same lines. This is due not only to the low price of sugar but to the fact that the plantations this year are unable to harvest their sugar.

I do not own any sugar stock nor have I any direct interest in any sugar plantation. I am an attorney by profession; I was born in the islands, am part Hawaiian, and have been in the Senate of our Territory for 17 years continuously. In asking this committee to give us relief I do so taking into consideration the people who will be affected by the financial crisis which we are now facing—teachers, machinists, carpenters, contractors, automobile drivers, in fact, men in every walk of life. Nearly every profession is directly affected by the conditions which now exist at home. The loss sustained by the plantations is not sustained only by a few but it is general and covers nearly everyone in the islands. Without sugar no other industry can live. This I say taking into consideration the fact that I own no sugar stocks and am directly interested in no sugar plantation. I know that, before I left the islands, groups of machinists and pattern makers in the iron works were laid off because of the lack of work. This is due to the fact that the plantations were unable to see their way clear to make any improvements in their plants, so that these industries are without sufficient work to keep their men employed.

We have come here expecting relief. We are not making any complaints; we are not trying to find fault; but we are something like the little child from the tenement who was invited to a public Christmas tree and then was passed by. We have held up our end out in Hawaii; we came over the top in the war savings stamps, the Red Cross, Liberty bonds, and everything that has been asked

of our little country. Without wishing to offend I would like to call the committee's attention to the fact that Hawaii has been forgotten in the Smith-Towner Bill; in the physical vocational training bill, I find Hawaii missing; and, in your good roads bill, Hawaii is also forgotten. This, as I say, is not made as a complaint, but simply for the purpose of putting before you the proposition as it appears to us who have to contend with the legislative duties of our little country.

The situation that the plantations now face is practically the same as the rice plantations faced in about 1904. I think it was in 1904 that we had about 9,000 acres of rice under cultivation. At a meeting which was held on about May 2, there were found to be only about 2,800 acres under cultivation. On one plantation of 175 acres, when the year's output was sold, we found a deficit of \$14,000. These plantations are worked by Chinese labor, and what has happened to the rice industry will happen to the sugar industry.

Aside from the economic loss to the Territory and the people in the Territory, I wish to call the attention of this committee to the fact that, while the industries may go out of the control of American citizens, they will still continue to be operated as industrial concerns in the hands of aliens. That, I think is a condition which you can not permit. If Chinese immigration to Hawaii as a relief measure had been permitted, I would have been in favor of having a clause in the resolution or regulation which would compel the employment of citizens, say, on a 50 per cent basis, as machinists and other skilled labor in the islands. The reason for that is that we might build up a citizen population in the islands and maintain the mechanics and others who are there now.

I speak especially for the longshoremen's association which, by resolution, has indorsed the purposes of this mission, and which association has authorized me to act personally for them, together with the other members of the labor commission. I hope this committee will see its way clear to give us some relief, whether it be by the elimination of the literacy test and the right to assist immigrants into our country, or by other means. We feel we can come to you and ask you to help us solve our problem. It is your problem just as much as it is our problem.

In 1905, when we were permitted to assist immigrants into our country, I introduced an act which is known as the conservation and immigration act. Under that act, over and above the regular 2 per cent income tax, there was a tax of 1 per cent on all incomes over \$4,000, the proceeds of which went to conservation, and a 1 per cent tax on incomes of over \$6,000, which was the fund from which the immigrants were assisted into the Territory of Hawaii. As a result of that act, a commission, consisting of three members, was appointed, and the members of that commission were designated as Territorial immigration commissioners, and the bringing in of immigrants eligible to become citizens was carried on through that commission.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that carried on with any considerable degree of success?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. You have heard the statements here, that we got the labor into Hawaii but it did not remain.

The CHAIRMAN. You brought Portuguese?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. We brought Portuguese, we brought Spanish, and we brought Russians.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not a good many of the Portuguese remain in the islands?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. They did not under that law, but prior to that a number of Portuguese were brought in that became very good laborers, and their sons and daughters are among the best types of the citizens of the Territory.

Mr. FREE. Lots of Portuguese came over to the islands and then immediately, or as soon as they could get the finances, came into California, and we have a very large Portuguese population.

The CHAIRMAN. How large a population?

Mr. FREE. And nearly all of them came through the Hawaiian Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. How large a population?

Mr. FREE. I could not give you the figures, but in my own county I suppose we have 15,000 or 20,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they desirable citizens of California?

Mr. FREE. They are pretty good. They are hard workers, and if they get past the point of poverty where they have to steal they are good citizens.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I may add that during the last six, seven, or eight months requests have come to Hawaii, from the Portuguese who left the Territory and went to California, for assistance in having them returned to Hawaii. The Portuguese societies in Hawaii sent an agent or a representative to California to inquire into the matter and do what he could in having these people returned to our country.

The CHAIRMAN. The Portuguese arriving in Hawaii came there under the act of 1904?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. 1905.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that act still in existence?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I think that at the last session, or at the session before the last, it was amended to a certain extent.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there still a tax raised for immigration purposes in the islands?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. We can do it.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do it now?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. We can, right now.

The CHAIRMAN. Have the Portuguese continued to come during the past year or so?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. From where?

The CHAIRMAN. From Portugal.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. No; we are barred.

The CHAIRMAN. Barred under the literacy test?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Yes; and on the question of assisted immigration.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were barred by war conditions also?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. During the war it would have been almost impossible to obtain transportation facilities, and the literacy test and your provision against assisting immigrants block us now.

The CHAIRMAN. Have these Portuguese been leaving Hawaii and going to California up to the present time?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Some Portuguese came over on the steamer with Mr. Dillingham and myself, and Mr. Weeber, and Mr. Hornar

The CHAIRMAN. Did they leave the islands on account of the money gotten through the bonus?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. They were traveling first class, these I have reference to, and there were also a number of Filipinos who were traveling first class.

Mr. RAKER. How is that? Can they leave the Hawaiian Islands and come to the mainland if they can not pass the literacy test?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Yes; there is nothing to stop them. There is one point I would like to bring out in so far as the rice industry is concerned. Under the provisions of the Japanese agreement, where an industry requires the services of men specialized in that particular line, they can bring in even Japanese, and during the last seven months something like 37 Japanese were brought in by the Tuna Packing Co., as fishermen. Now, that does not apply to Chinese under your exclusion act. For instance, the rice industry can not say, "The only men we can use in the rice industry are Chinese," and then get them brought into the country in the same way that Japanese can be brought in.

The CHAIRMAN. The Japanese fishermen were brought to Hawaii or California.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. To Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. What was Mr. Raker's question about the Portuguese going from Hawaii to the United States?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I answered that.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to get his question again.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. The answer is that they can come to the United States because they did not have to pass the literacy test when they came to Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. But my question was whether they could come to the United States without passing that test.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They can come out of Hawaii and go to the United States because they did not have to pass the literacy test when they came to Hawaii.

Mr. MEAD. There was no literacy test when they were admitted to Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. The idea being that once having been admitted they can move to any other part of the United States.

Mr. FREE. When they are once in Hawaii, where there is no literacy test, then all they have to do is to continue over to the mainland, and that is what they do. There are thousands of them in California who could not pass any literacy test.

Mr. RAKER. If they were admitted to Hawaii without complying with the literacy test then, after being in Hawaii, they could come to the mainland whether they were able to pass the literacy test or not.

Mr. FREE. Yes.

Mr. SABATH. But they can not get in now, can they?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. My answer is that if you are going to have it relieved—and I hope you are—that you pass some special legislation which affects not only the islands of Hawaii but the other Territory, Alaska; that the legislation cover the two Territories.

Mr. SABATH. But as it now stands they were admitted to Hawaii without passing the literacy test? In other words, they could not

pass the literacy test when they were admitted to Hawaii, but after having come to Hawaii they can now come to the mainland?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Not under the theory on which I am working.

Mr. SABATH. I say, as it stands now?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard Mr. Raker's suggestion yesterday in regard to a possible separate immigration act for Hawaii.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. That is my idea, exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be a territorial act, and by the very nature of things should include Alaska. Now, then, as a lawyer, have you given any thought as to whether it would be within our constitutional rights to grant that sort of legislation.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I do not see why you would not be within your rights as long as you are not discriminating against one Territory, although I am not attempting to pass upon it.

The CHAIRMAN. The natural thought would be that inasmuch as the United States proper, continental United States, has passed acts which left Alaska out and Hawaii out, in regard to roads, and things of that kind, that such legislation might be properly passed.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. That is my idea, exactly. We are building our roads of reinforced concrete, according to military specifications, at tremendous cost; we are spending millions down there in that work and helping the military authorities by having good roads which they may use in case of any trouble.

Mr. RAKER. Let me get this clearly in my mind. At the present time an immigrant can not come to Hawaii who can not pass the literacy test?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. But having once landed on the islands, those who are there, whether they are illiterate or not, may come to the mainland.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Yes, sir; under the law as it now stands.

Mr. RAKER. So that if the provision requiring a literacy test were raised or an exception made as far as Hawaii is concerned, then there would have to be a law which would in some way prohibit them from coming to the mainland?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. That is exactly my point.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is the arrangement now in regard to the Japanese. The Japanese in Hawaii are not permitted to come to the mainland.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the law, or is it a regulation?

Mr. WEEBER. It is a regulation made by the President under the immigration law of 1907.

Mr. FREE. Is that a part of the "gentleman's agreement"?

Mr. WEEBER. No.

Mr. FREE. Or is that some other understanding the President has with Japan?

Mr. WEEBER. No; I do not believe it is an understanding he has with Japan at all. The immigration law of 1907 contains a provision that the President may, by regulation, prohibit the emigration of Japanese laborers from Hawaii to the mainland, and he has used that power and prohibited it.

Mr. FREE. When did he promulgate that regulation?

Mr. WEEBER. Do you remember the date of that proclamation, Mr. Mead?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know the date, but it is based on that provision of the law which says that whenever the President finds that people of foreign countries are using their passports which entitle them to go to the insular possessions for the purpose of going to continental United States, that he may by proclamation prohibit such immigration, and he has done so by proclamation.

Mr. FREE. May that proclamation be inserted in the record?

Mr. WEEBER. It has been inserted in the record.

Mr. SABATH. How long ago was that?

Mr. MEAD. That proclamation, I think, was issued in 1913, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. RAKER. When a Japanese is in Hawaii and takes a boat to the mainland, to San Francisco, for instance, and he did not require any passport or anything to go to Hawaii, and he lands at Angel Island, Calif., to be admitted, is he excluded?

Mr. MEAD. If his passport reads to Hawaii?

Mr. RAKER. I am not speaking of a passport.

Mr. MEAD. Then he can not do it, that is all.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. He has to show his passport.

Mr. RAKER. He can not leave Hawaii without a passport?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is right.

Mr. RAKER. No matter how long he has been there?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Unless he were born there?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I am speaking about aliens. If he were born there he would not need a passport.

Mr. RAKER. So that none of the Japanese who have landed in Hawaii since 1907—

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH (interposing). 1913.

Mr. RAKER (continuing). Have gone from Hawaii to the mainland?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Not that I know of; I do not believe any have except, perhaps, students, who have come through to Hawaii and who have finally gotten their papers there so that they could get in; otherwise I do not know of any.

Mr. RAWLINS. There was an exception during the war, when an act was passed providing that any man, irrespective of his nationality, who served under the colors of this country, should be entitled to naturalization, and under that a lot of Japanese have come over since they got their certificates of naturalization. They went into California. They were extended the right to go to California and they were not stopped or detained because they had these naturalization certificates.

Mr. RAKER. I understand that, but what law or regulation is in force relative to the Japanese who have come to the islands since 1913 leaving Hawaii and going to the mainland?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Before any alien can leave the Territory he must first go to the immigration station in Honolulu and get a permit. he must have his papers viséd by his consul, and if he does not get his permit they will not sell him a ticket; they will not allow him to travel. I may say that, before this visit, I had not been in the United States for 14 years, the last time I was in the United States

being in 1907; and when we arrived at San Francisco I was very much surprised at the fact that we were required to fill out an immigration blank before we could land, and were examined as to our citizenship.

Mr. RAKER. So that if that has been in force by regulation your view is that there would be no international difficulty and no difficulty as far as the Constitution of this country is concerned in making it apply generally to those who from now on immigrate to Hawaii?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I do not see any reason why it can not be done through the passage of a relief measure which will permit us to bring immigrants into Hawaii without reference to the literacy test and which will permit us to assist them through our government or through a board of commissioners. You have done it in the case of the Japanese and others, and I do not see why you can not do it now.

Mr. RAKER. Could you tell us approximately the number that were assisted and brought to Hawaii within the last 15 years from Porto Rico, Russia, Portugal, and Spain that were illiterate?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I could not answer that, and I do not know whether Mr. Mead can.

Mr. MEAD. There was no literacy test, and therefore there were no records kept as to whether they were literate or illiterate.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Mr. Rawlins just informs me that the last shipment of Portuguese from Portugal showed that 87 per cent of those who were brought in over 14 years of age were illiterate.

The CHAIRMAN. That was in the old days, prior to our immigration act, and under your assisting labor act.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are inclined to believe that the protests of organized labor in Honolulu are made either without a full comprehension of the situation in all the islands or that they are not the protests of all laborers?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I know quite a number of those who are directly taking an active part in the leadership of the different unions in the islands, and I think the protests are made because of a lack of information. Mr. Wright, who is the president of the federation or council there, is a very intelligent man, but as far as I know the statement he made to the commission on the Saturday night prior to the Wednesday morning we left Hawaii was confined to Oahu.

For instance, he made the statement that while he admitted a shortage on Oahu, and that the shortage there was due to the strike, he did not admit that that was true on the other islands, but the fact is that the other islands were in the same condition during the strike, and that during the strike every other line of business was demoralized; it did not only apply to American institutions, but it extended to Japanese growers; they were in as bad condition as we were, because the strikers would not even work for the Japanese, so as to prevent those men from going to work on the plantations.

Mr. RAKER. In that connection, suppose you commenced to bring various people to the Hawaiian Islands to labor on the plantations—the sugar plantations, the pineapple plantations, or otherwise—in order to fill up what you present as the shortage, and that the Japanese who are now working on the plantations should quit work, you would then have to fill their places with more imported laborers?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. That, of course, is not very desirable, and we do not want them to come in one lump on account of the expense

attached to it, but I do not think there is any danger. If we go back with some relief, if we go back there and show the people, all the people, that the Committee on Immigration and the Congress of the United States have given us relief and have recognized our right to some relief, I do not think we would have any trouble.

Mr. RAKER. What do you mean by that? What is the real thing underneath that leads you to give us that idea?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. As has been explained to you, and the other members of this committee, we are short of labor; we depend for the greater part of our labor on the Japanese population, and unless we get relief we have to look to them absolutely for help in the carrying on of our work. Now, it is a mere matter of psychology to figure out. Put yourself in their place.

The CHAIRMAN. That is to say, they can strike whenever they please?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. They can dictate terms, and we do not want to be put in that situation. I am giving them credit for the ordinary intelligence that a man is supposed to be credited with, and if I were in their place what would I do? That is the situation and that is what I am looking at.

Mr. RAKER. Would not that apply to any people who might be working there?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Of one nationality controlling?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. That is true, and that is just the point.

The CHAIRMAN. Except that here is a race of people who are not admissible to citizenship.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. And do not assimilate.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and who do not assimilate.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Perhaps it is particularly our fault that we do not give them a chance to assimilate.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are easily controlled by influences from their own home government.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. You said you did not give them a chance and you do not propose to give them a chance to assimilate so far as the intermingling of the races is concerned, do you? You do not approve of their intermarrying?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I do not even mean that far; I mean we do not take them into our clubs.

Mr. RAKER. I mean you are even going further. You do not propose, as far as the American population is concerned, to favor the intermarriage of the Japanese with white people?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Well, the fact is that they are not intermarrying.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all. The Committee has heard your statements with much interest, Mr. Chillingworth.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. WALTER F. DILLINGHAM.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I would like to make a short statement and put some telegrams into the record. In the last two or three days I have received the following telegrams, cablegrams, and radios from Hawaii which I would like to have put in the record.

(The telegrams, cablegrams, and radios referred to follow:)

HONOLULU, 121 1/71.

WALTER DILLINGHAM,
New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

Congressmen who disapprove of our present condition should remember that the responsibility for it is shared by Congress. The original Hawaiian immigration policy was dependent on maintaining balance of numbers. Accordingly we stopped the immigration of Japanese in 1897. Annexation reopened it and Congress did nothing until the gentlemen's agreement. It was during this period that the preponderance of this nationality came to Hawaii. We ought now to send back every Japanese who does not propose to make Hawaii his home and his children American citizens. Introducing Chinese will help accomplish this and insure our future. This project far more important than rehabilitation.

GEORGE R. CARTER, *Former Governor.*

HONOLULU, June 25, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Largely attended special meeting chamber unanimously indorse joint resolution authorize Secretary of Labor permit importation alien labor for agricultural and domestic work in Hawaii.

COMMERCE.

HONOLULU, June 29, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington:

Maui Chamber of Commerce unanimously adopted following resolution on June 27:

"Resolved, That the Maui Chamber of Commerce, a nonpolitical organization having at heart the continued American control of Hawaii's chief agricultural industries, strongly urges upon Congress and indorses the passage of joint resolution introduced in the United States Senate under date of June 20, 1921, permitting importation into the Territory of Hawaii for limited periods of time sufficient agricultural labor to relieve the present local labor shortage."

CASE, *Secretary.*

HONOLULU, June 25, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.

Rotary Club unanimously indorses labor resolution.

STUART JOHNSON, *President.*

HONOLULU, June 24, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.

Commercial Club of Honolulu indorses labor resolution.

L. H. UNDERWOOD, *Vice President.*

HONOLULU, June 28, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.

Honolulu Press Club unanimously indorses joint resolution vitally important.

HONOLULU, June 25, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington.

Kaneohe Rice Mill Co. indorses joint resolution.

HANEBERG.

HONOLULU, June 25, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Honolulu Automobile Club unanimously indorses resolution.

WARREN, *President.*

HONOLULU, June 25, 1921.

RET LAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Outdoor circle unanimously indorses labor resolution.

CAMPBELL.

This is a civic organization composed of the women of Honolulu.

HONOLULU, June 26, 1921.

RET LAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Housewives League of Hawaii heartily and unanimously indorse joint resolution.

CECILIE KNUDSEN, Secretary.

That is a society of women in Honolulu who are organized to assist in bringing down the high cost of living.

HONOLULU, June 30, 1921.

RET LAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Labor resolution heartily indorsed by Hawaiian Islands Hotel and Restaurant Associations.

A. J. PEDERSON, President.

HONOLULU, June 28, 1921.

DILLINGHAM,

New Willard, Washington, D. C.

Medical society, Hawaii, indorses labor resolution.

(NOTE.—"RET LAW" is a code word meaning "Walter Dillingham," used as an address to save cable tolls.)

PUTNAM.

Mr. KLECZKA. Do I understand that these organizations would not indorse any other legislative plan but this one?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not think you would be justified in that conclusion. As far as the people in Hawaii go, they know of one resolution which is before Congress to-day, and approve of that resolution.

Mr. KLECZKA. But any other resolution that solved the difficulties would meet with their approval?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The people there want the problem solved.

Mr. KLECZKA. And they are not particularly bent on seeing the adoption of this resolution permitting the admission of Chinese solely—that is what I had in mind?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think the people of Hawaii have come to a very definite conclusion about the matter and believe that the only way to solve our problem is by admitting some Chinese into the country, and that conclusion is formed from their knowledge of the local conditions. Whether or not that is the only way to settle it, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. I have wondered whether the people realized that they are asking a good deal in coming to Congress with one short resolution which, if enacted knocks down three big laws that have been tried and made effective.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Johnson, when any individual or group of individuals are in a death struggle they want relief, and whether it requires the knocking down of three laws or three men or 300 laws is not the point with them. It is a question of getting relief.

Mr. KLECZKA. But they ought to take into consideration the fact that they are doing that, ought they not?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I think the people on the islands are fairly intelligent; at least, they are so rated; and I think they realize that it is going to require a very strong stand on the part of intelligent men to

bring about this relief, because for 23 years we have been denied relief from a situation which has been pointed out in official and other reports by various branches of the Federal Government and also by the local government and local interests. So they are aware of the fact that it is not an easy solution for which they are asking.

This commission believed that it would be possible to present to this committee the labor situation in Hawaii without submitting certain facts relating to national issues. As a result of the telegram from Mr. George W. Wright, president of the Honolulu Central Labor Union, dated June 26, 1921, presented by Mr. Edgar C. Wallace, of the American Federation of Labor, which raises a question as to whether or not there is a national issue at the bottom of the trouble in Hawaii, we feel in duty bound to submit evidence to refute the statements made in that telegram.

We also feel obligated to show that not only have we not misstated facts, but that we have conclusive evidence to prove that a national issue does exist. Moreover, we wish particularly to emphasize to this committee that that issue is of immediate and far-reaching importance to the United States and not merely to the Territory of Hawaii.

The cablegram from Mr. Wright, presented to your committee on June 27 by Mr. Wallace, contains seven separate misstatements of fact, which we list as follows:

First. That Hawaii's Emergency Labor Commission is misrepresenting conditions.

Second. That there is no actual labor shortage in the Territory.

Third. That men were driven from the plantations by intolerable conditions.

Fourth. That no labor organization has indorsed the plan under consideration.

Fifth. That the planters are intentionally limiting production and planning an artificial unemployment campaign.

Sixth. That the charge of a Japanese conspiracy to control the industries of the Territory is a ridiculous falsehood.

Seventh. That the Japanese are striving for American ideals and standards and that there are no national issues involved.

The truth of each and all of these seven statements is absolutely denied by this commission. Of these seven statements, Mr. Horner has already answered the misrepresentation of conditions, the existence of an actual labor shortage, and the conspiracy on the part of the planters to develop an artificial shortage and to limit production.

The statement that this resolution has not been indorsed by any labor organization has already been disproven by the two formal indorsements introduced in testimony on June 24. To these indorsements we now add a cablegram from the president of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce to the effect that the indorsement of the Marine Engineers' Benefit Association, an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, was mailed to this commission on June 22. That message reads as follows:

HONOLULU, June 25, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.

Indorsement Marine Engineers' Benefit Association mailed 22d. Membership 80.

ORAL.

It was this same organization, the Marine Engineers' Benefit Association, which protested against permitting the Japanese Federation of Labor to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Labor conditions in Hawaii have continuously improved from 1915 as to quarters, wages, and welfare work. We have already cited quotations from a report of the Department of Labor on "Labor Conditions in Hawaii," made in 1915, showing that the general conditions for agricultural labor in Hawaii were far in advance of those in any other tropical country in the world and compared favorably with conditions on the mainland of the United States. Plantations have provided athletic fields, hospitals of the most modern type, welfare workers on practically every plantation, and sanitary officers, Territorial and private; and, while the conditions vary somewhat on different plantations, there is no difference so far as the shortage of labor goes which would indicate that the reason for the absence of adequate labor is the lack of proper treatment and accommodations.

Concerning this statement we beg to quote from a report of the director of the bureau of labor of the Philippine Islands to the president of the National Labor Protective Association of the Philippine Islands, dated September 10, 1920. After reciting the advantages of employment in Hawaii, as compared with those in the Philippines, he says:

Periodically about 500 or more a year of Filipino laborers from Hawaii return to these islands. This constitutes the best propaganda for the immigration to Hawaii, as these laborers on leaving the Philippines were ill-dressed, but upon their return they are decently dressed and have a standard of living much higher than the laborers who stayed in this country. These of course attract their friends. But this is not enough: the money orders which the Filipino laborers of Hawaii are sending periodically to their families here constitute a most effective propaganda of the recruiting agents, because with that money earned in foreign land not only the condition of the families of the immigrants is improved but they also become owners of parcels of land and comfortable houses like those now existing in Siquijor, Cebu and the Ilocos country.

The commissioner of labor also stated that—

the measures taken by this office (the Bureau of Labor at Manila) to counteract the exodus of laborers to Hawaii is the same campaign of insular intermigration, but the result is not as satisfactory as it should be in view of the good and material advantages which Filipino agricultural laborers could get by working in the plantations of Hawaii in comparison with the conditions he could secure in the Philippines.

This commission has called attention to the racial solidarity of the Japanese people in Hawaii, but no charge of conspiracy has been made by us. We ask your committee, however, to decide, from the evidence presented before it, whether or not there are nationalistic issues involved and whether or not there is any idea or effort on the part of the Japanese to control all activities in Hawaii.

Whether or not this country, with safety to itself, can permit a condition to continue that is moving toward the Japanese domination and possession of the Territory of Hawaii is for you to decide. We have controlled the interests of Hawaii for America for 100 years. Our hands are tied to-day by immigration laws which prevent us from going any further. We have done and are doing our utmost, but we can not meet the situation that now confronts us without your assistance.

Reference has been made in the hearings to the effort which the people of Hawaii have made to control the publication of Japanese

newspapers. The reason for this was that articles from these Japanese papers have been called to the attention of the authorities in Hawaii and show conclusively that there is not only a failure to back up the principles and ideals of America in Hawaii but that there is a distinct effort to wean away and controvert the efforts made to bring the children of the Japanese under the spirit and influence and up to the ideals of American citizenship. With that in view, the head of the American Legion in Hawaii, Major Butler, introduced in the legislature a bill for the control of the alien language press of the islands. After a good deal of discussion, a bill was finally passed looking to the control of this very important educational feature.

The gentleman who signed the telegram to which I have just referred, Mr. George W. Wright, is the editor of the Labor Review of Hawaii. On the front page of the issue of this paper, dated April 26, we have this comment on this attempt to control the Japanese press of the islands, "Press gag bill to become law." In the editorial column, on page 3, of the same issue, is this editorial:

It is difficult to conceive of anything more reactionary and undemocratic than the press gag bill which was brought into being by the senate of the Territory. The father of this illegitimate monstrosity can be surmised from the striking family resemblance which it bears to the other offspring of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. It is to be deplored for the sake of the honorable members of the American Legion who were true to the traditions and the ideals of Americanism that certain of its officers should have tried to involve the legion in this disgraceful proceeding.

Mr. RAKER. Have you a copy of that bill?

Mr. IRWIN. I have one downstairs.

Mr. RAKER. May it go in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. You made a statement in regard to newspaper articles that demonstrated a certain condition. Have you copies of those articles?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No; I have not those copies.

Mr. RAKER. Are they procurable?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They are available. As stated the other day to this committee, they are in the hands of Government officials who will turn them over to this committee.

Mr. KLECZKA. Who issues this Labor Review?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It says, "Published weekly under the auspices of the Honolulu Central Labor Council at the offices of the New Freedom, 15-19 Pauahi Street, Honolulu."

Mr. BOX. What is the New Freedom?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The New Freedom is the only Democratic publication we have in Hawaii.

Mr. BOX. Is that the name of a paper?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes. On page 3, at the head of the editorial column, is carried this expression:

The Labor Review of Hawaii.

Editorial committee: Wright, Baker, Wilson.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you able to determine from a reading of the various issues of this newspaper whether the publisher of the paper is pro-Japanese or anti-Japanese?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to offer an opinion on that, but I do offer the telegram from Mr. Wright, the editor of

this paper. There is one other editorial, which appeared in the issue of May 3, which reads as follows:

On the second page of this issue we print the roll call on the press bill, which, to our minds, forms the test by which we will judge our friends and foes. The issue was clean cut and unmistakable, and there is no excuse in the future for the ones who say they "didn't know it was loaded." For ourselves we do not care a rap about such laws as that; we will continue to speak out in meeting as the spirit moves us, and whenever we have anything that needs to be said. But we are sorry for the poor fish that voted for this bill, and for some of the archconspirators in whose distorted and vindictive minds the thing was hatched. It will be blazoned across the face of the earth as the "shame of Hawaii" and those who participated in the frameup will find that their names will be kept fresh upon the tablets of memory, over against the time when another election day rolls around.

Mr. RAKER. Just what was the purpose of the bill to which he was opposed?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I will ask Mr. Irwin to explain the bill because he is more familiar with it than I am.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a bill aimed at the foreign-language newspapers.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. IRWIN. It is a rather long and involved bill and I would prefer to have the bill before attempting to explain it. It is not now immediately available because it was borrowed by the Department of the Interior a couple of days ago. In a few words, the first section of the act prohibits publication of certain kinds of things, things which tend to incite racial illfeeling, things which tend to incite sabotage, and things of that kind. That is the first section. The second section provides that every foreign-language newspaper published in Hawaii shall file with the Attorney General a copy of his paper upon publication. The next section provides that if the newspaper publisher fails to do that he may be punished criminally. The next section provides that books printed in a foreign language, other than newspapers and periodicals of that kind, must be interpreted and filed with the Attorney General's Department.

Mr. KLECZKA. What do you mean by "interpreted"—translated?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KLECZKA. And the same applies to newspapers?

Mr. IRWIN. No. But the duty is laid upon the Attorney General to examine the newspapers, the editorial matter, and all that kind of thing, in order to find out whether the first section of the act has been violated by the publication of prohibited matter. The next section provides that if any one of these newspapers is convicted of publishing prohibited matter that thereafter the newspaper shall then be compelled to file with the Attorney General a translated copy of the paper. Those, in brief, are the terms of the act. I will get a copy of the act and file it with the committee.

Mr. KLECZKA. The purpose of it was to prevent the spread of sedition, sabotage, and anarchy?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Particularly in the foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Does the bill describe sabotage and all the various things that are prohibited?

Mr. IRWIN. Not in any great particularity.

Mr. RAKER. That is left to the Attorney General?

Mr. IRWIN. To some extent, yes; and to the courts finally.

Mr. RAKER. A man can print anything he wants to print without filing a translation. If he is convicted, then he has to print the paper and file a translation with the Attorney General?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. After he is convicted and files his translation, then what do you do with him?

Mr. IRWIN. Punish him. The first offense is punishable by a term of imprisonment of six months and a fine of \$500, as I now recall it, and the second offense, and all offenses thereafter, call for an imprisonment of one year and a fine of \$1,000. I am speaking from memory now, but I think that is a fairly accurate statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that covers it, and we will have the bill introduced in the record.

(The bill referred to is as follows:)

[Act 216 (S. B. No. 111).]

AN ACT To prohibit the publication, circulation, or distribution of articles or matter of a nature contrary to the public welfare, and to provide regulations and penalties.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii: SECTION 1. Any person who shall print, publish, sell, distribute, or circulate, in the Territory of Hawaii any written or printed article or matter, in any form or language, which shall advocate or incite or be intended to advocate or incite the commission of any act of violence, such as sabotage, incendiarism, sedition, anarchy, rioting, or breach of the peace, or which shall directly or indirectly advocate or incite or be intended to advocate or incite the use or exercise of force, feat, intimidation, threats, ostracism, or blackmail, for the purpose of restraining or coercing or intimidating any person from freely engaging in lawful business or employment or the enjoyment of rights of liberty or property, or which by deliberate misrepresentation shall be designed and intended to create or have the effect of creating distrust or dissension between peoples of different races or between citizens and aliens, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon the first conviction shall be punished by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars (\$1,000.00) or imprisoned not more than one year, and upon a second conviction for again violating this section within five years of the first conviction shall be punished by a fine of not more than five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) or by imprisonment of not more than one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. 2. Any person or persons who shall publish in a foreign language any news paper, or prints of like nature for the dissemination of news or information, shall file a full and true copy of each and every such newspaper or print in the office of the attorney general of the Territory forthwith upon the publication thereof.

SEC. 3. Whenever any person shall print, issue, or publish in a foreign language in the Territory of Hawaii any books, paper, pamphlet, bulletin, circular, hand bill, dodger, or other form of written or printed matter or article not included in section 2 of this act, which shall relate or refer to the Government or any law of the United States or of the Territory of Hawaii, or any political subdivision thereof, or to any principle of government, or the administration of law, or rights of persons or property, or to any racial, industrial, or class question or conditions, or to any of the matters mentioned in section 1 of this act, such person shall in each case include therein a statement of the name or names and places of residence or business of the author or authors thereof, and of the publisher or publishers of the same, and shall also file a full and true copy thereof in the office of the attorney general of the territory, a true and correct English translation thereof, under the oath of its author or publisher.

SEC. 4. If any person shall be convicted of publishing or circulating any article or matter of a nature contrary to any provisions of section 1 of this act, and such person shall thereafter publish or circulate in the manner described in section 2 of this act, any article or matter in any foreign language which shall relate or refer to the Government or any law of the United States or of the Territory of Hawaii or any political subdivision thereof, or to any principle of government, or the administration of law, or the rights of persons or property, or to any racial, industrial or class question or conditions, or to any of the matters mentioned in section 1 of this act, he shall file with each such article a true and correct English translation thereof, under oath.

SEC. 5. Any person required under either section 3 or section 4 of this act to file a true and sworn English translation of any article or matter published in a foreign language, who shall knowingly file a false or incorrect translation of such article or matter, or any person who knowing that the translation made by him of such article or matter is to be so filed, shall knowingly make a false or incorrect translation of such article or matter for the purpose of the same being so filed, shall be guilty of perjury and be punished as by law provided in the case of perjury.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of the attorney general of the territory to examine the matter so required to be filed in his office to such extent as to him shall seem reasonably necessary or advisable to determine the nature or effect thereof, and to prosecute all offenses under this act which shall come or be brought to his attention, and any such offenses may also be prosecuted by any county or city and county attorney.

SEC. 7. It shall not be necessary for matter filed in the office of the attorney general under this act to be preserved for more than one year, and the attorney general may thereafter at any time in his discretion destroy or otherwise dispose of the same.

SEC. 8. All matters filed in the office of the attorney general under either of sections 2, 3, or 4 of this act shall be open for public inspection.

SEC. 9. Any person (other than a corporation) who shall be convicted of a violation of any provisions of this act for which a penalty is not otherwise provided in this act shall be punished by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars (\$1,000.00), or by imprisonment for not more than one year or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

If any provision of this act shall be violated by any corporation, such corporation shall be punished by a fine in a sum not more than double the amount of the fine which could be imposed under the preceding terms of this section upon an individual for a like violation.

SEC. 10. *Definitions.*—The word "person" as used in this act shall also include any persons, company, association, or corporation or the officers, agents, or employees of such corporation, except where such meaning is expressly excluded.

Any language other than English and Hawaiian shall be deemed to be a foreign language within the meaning of this act.

SEC. 11. If any section, sub-section, sentence, clause, or phrase of this act is for any reason held to be invalid or unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of the act.

SEC. 12. This act shall take effect upon its approval.

Approved this 27th day of April, A. D. 1921.

C. J. MCCARTHY,
Governor of the Territory of Hawaii

Mr. RAKER. What became of the bill in the Hawaiian Legislature?

Mr. IRWIN. It passed the legislature.

Mr. RAKER. And it is now the law?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. KLEOZKA. But it has not been tested in the courts as yet?

Mr. IRWIN. No. There is one statement I want to make, if you will allow me, in order to correct a misstatement made yesterday with reference to the Japanese trouble that took place in 1897 or 1898. The bare statement was made that to the best of our recollection the Japanese were allowed to come in, but they were not; they were sent back.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, those on the ships?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes. That is found in "A brief history of the Hawaiian people," by Alexander. It is a short paragraph, and if the committee desires I will read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; read it into the record.

Mr. IRWIN (reading):

During the years 1896 and 1897 certain Japanese emigration companies made strenuous efforts to induce large numbers of their countrymen to emigrate to the Hawaiian Islands. Having ascertained that extensive frauds were being practiced on these people, and that the immigration laws were being evaded, the Hawaiian Government caused a strict examination to be made and on the 23d of March, 1897, forbade the landing of several hundred Japanese immigrants. In all about 1,100 immigrants on different occasions were obliged to return to Japan, where this severe action incited

intense feeling. The Japanese Government sent the cruiser *Naniwa* in May with a special commissioner to investigate the matter. After a lengthy correspondence the difficulty was amicably compromised the next year by the payment of an indemnity of \$75,000 to Japan. This was done at the instance of the United States Government to remove a possible hindrance to annexation.

Mr. Box. From what book are you reading?

Mr. IRWIN. From Alexander's History of the Hawaiian People.

Mr. RAKER. And from what page?

Mr. IRWIN. Page 321.

(Thereupon the committee went into executive session, after which it adjourned.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, July 7, 1921.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee would like the Delegate from Hawaii, Mr. Kalaniana'ole, to make a statement concerning the situation in the islands, in regard to labor. We have left you to the last, and without objection we will call upon you this morning.

STATEMENT OF HON. J. KUHIO KALANIANA'OLE, DELEGATE
IN CONGRESS FROM THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I have not much to say, Mr. Chairman, unless the committee wishes to ask me questions. The matter has been gone over somewhat thoroughly by the commission.

The CHAIRMAN. You have realized for a long time the Japanese situation in Hawaii; in fact, you were one of the first to see it coming on and to predict what has actually happened in the islands, were you not?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That is true. About 10 or 11 years ago I called the attention of the administration to the danger of the political domination of Hawaii by the Japanese. I made my protest to the administration and the administration sent the Secretary of the Interior to investigate the matter. He visited the islands; but was not there very long, and upon his return to Washington, did not make a report. My protest is filed in the Interior Department, a formal protest to the President of the United States.

Mr. Box. Is there a report made by the Secretary?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. No; he never made a report.

The CHAIRMAN. You filed a formal protest 11 years ago?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes; about 11 years ago, of the conditions in the islands; that is, fear of the domination of the Japanese and, because of that domination, that the citizens of that Territory would in time lose political control of the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. Lose their control?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I mean political control. I was fighting from a citizen's point of view. In fact, the statement I made at that time was that, in 10 years, the Japanese who were then going to school provided they exercised their rights as citizens and voted, would control the electorate of the Hawaiian Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. You made that prophecy publicly in the islands from time to time?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes. And I am glad to hear that those people who criticized me at that time are now realizing that the fight I made then was for their own good and the good of all the people of Hawaii. As stated by the commission, not only are we now in danger politically, but industrially and economically.

The CHAIRMAN. In your opinion, the prominent Japanese in the islands know that this feeling exists not only among your people and themselves, the voters in Hawaii, but among the people in the United States in regard to Hawaii; that is, the Japanese people there must know it?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. There is no question about it.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is discussed from time to time in their newspapers?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Whether it was discussed in their newspapers or not I do not know, but the fact remains that not only the citizens but the Japanese themselves were aware of that fact.

The CHAIRMAN. And discussed frequently in the English printed newspapers in the islands?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. The danger of the domination by the Japanese of our political, economic, and industrial situation as stated by the commission is now more acute than at the time I made my protest. In the protest I filed at that time I stated that the administration was un-Americanizing that Territory instead of Americanizing it. By legislation in Congress, I have sought to make that Territory American. I have never succeeded in doing that in the United States Congress, and it is only in the last few months that we have had legislation passed as the first step toward Americanizing that Territory. That first step is that all Government work should be done by American citizens, the same as has been carried on by the Territory, county, and city governments.

The CHAIRMAN. That paragraph remained in the rehabilitation bill?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That paragraph remained in the rehabilitation bill.

Mr. RAKER. I wonder why the Delegate did not think to put in that bill a provision that land should not be owned by those who are not eligible to become citizens?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I have inserted a provision in the rehabilitation bill prohibiting aliens from buying Government lands, but they have been purchasing Government lands in the name of their minor children and having themselves appointed guardians of such children, thus acquiring the control of the land. The legality of these transactions is now being tested in the supreme court of the Territory.

Mr. RAKER. Don't they own some of this land in Hawaii?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I do not know. Perhaps the attorney general may know of the amount of land they own.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, the Navy Department protested the insertion of that clause in your rehabilitation bill?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. No; the representative of the War Department in Hawaii protested, apparently believing in Japanizing the country by employing Japanese aliens.

Mr. RAKER. Why should the Navy Department and the War Department control the civil part of the Government relative to the ownership of the lands?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. They don't. The United States Congress is responsible.

The CHAIRMAN. That is another matter; the rehabilitation bill carried one paragraph to the effect that citizens or those eligible to become citizens only should be employed on Federal works. The big Federal works there are the Navy works and the Army works, and both departments protested against the carrying of that paragraph in the rehabilitation bill.

Mr. RAKER. But you succeeded in getting it in?

The CHAIRMAN. We kept it in. Now, the next step is what to do to offset the Japanese domination of the islands, and I thought we ought to hear the Prince and get his views.

Mr. Box. I notice the statement shows that the Hawaiian people are diminishing in numbers and have been since the first settlement of the islands.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. The full-blooded Hawaiians; yes.

Mr. Box. Why is that so?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Well, I suppose the change of life—civilization. They could not withstand the changed conditions.

Mr. Box. In other words, civilization killed them?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I suppose so. The undesirable part of civilization is what killed them.

Mr. Box. They appropriated the bad part?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. They were a primitive people. Civilization changed the nature of their habits; and, as civilization came on, diseases followed and towns and cities grew. They left their country homes and the life that their ancestors had lived for generations and ceased to follow agricultural pursuits. They went into the cities and into the tenements and into surroundings that were not fit or good for a people who had spent their lives in the open.

Mr. RAKER. Ask him what particular part of the civilization killed these people off.

Mr. Box. Judge Raker asks, very pertinently, that we be particular and ascertain what particular things in civilization it was that destroyed them.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Rum and disease.

Mr. Box. Venereal diseases for one thing, was it?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Smallpox and measles, particularly.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Measles raised more havoc there than anything else.

Mr. Box. Measles, smallpox, and drinking liquor?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Well, liquor always does harm to any race of people.

Mr. Box. Who are more or less primitive?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Primitive or civilized.

Mr. Box. And you succeeded in wiping that out?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Looking back over our history, you will find that one of the greatest struggles we had in Hawaii was to keep civilized countries from bringing liquor into the islands. Our Kings prohibited liquor from being brought in, but the French and other

Governments seeking to build up their trade by force overrode our laws and we were not able to keep liquor out.

Mr. RAKER. That is the same old story. The fellow who has trade wants to continue it.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. It is the greed of trade and commerce.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have not heard of their legislation regulating bathing costumes, they introduced in one branch of the legislature over there a bill regulating the use of bathing suits. Complaint was made that the bathers at this famous Waikiki Beach were running around on the beach of Honolulu in these very limited bathing suits, and a bill was introduced in their senate by Senator Desha, a Hawaiian, and he made a very brief speech which carried the bill, and his speech was about like this, that 100 years ago the Americans came to the islands and put clothes on the natives there, and now it becomes necessary for the Hawaiians to put clothes on the American women that came there. And his argument won.

Mr. BOX. Now, Prince, as to the prospect for the future. What about the outlook for the Hawaiian people?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Well, I think our future is very bright. Congress has just passed a bill to give the Hawaiian race an opportunity to try to save itself. The idea is to take them out of the tenements of the cities and put them back on the land, with the aid of the Government; that is, they are given financial aid with which to develop these lands into agricultural lands. If Congress enacts a law permitting Europeans to enter the Territory and at the same time compel them to remain until they are naturalized, which would give them an opportunity to become accustomed to our community and be a part of our permanent population, I am positive that such a condition would benefit the Hawaiian people. The standard of living and citizenship would be raised.

Mr. BOX. Your hope is, then, they will not go as the American Indian finally went?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We hope not. It has never been tried before except in New Zealand. The British Government has tried this scheme with the Maori people, and the Maori people are identically the same race of people as the Hawaiians, and it has been proved that after the experiment was begun the Maoris increased and to-day are the only branch of the Polynesian race that is increasing in numbers.

Mr. BOX. Have you considered any other source from which you can get people? You seem to be greatly in need of the right kind of people. This resolution involves the bringing of Chinese into the islands and you are familiar with the general sentiment in Congress. I would like to know what you have thought along those lines, about a solution of the confessedly acute problem that your people have.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. In my protest to the administration 11 years ago, my contention was that it was up to the administration, now that we are an American Territory, to see to it that the right people be brought in, so that they can assimilate with the American people and thereby Americanize that Territory. My view has always been that Europeans are the only solution to this problem. It is the white people you should bring in there in order to make that country what you think it ought to be.

Mr. BOX. Whatever may be your appreciation of the present distress, you do realize that the bringing of Chinese there won't work out your problem permanently, don't you?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. It will work it out for the time being.

Mr. BOX. I mean permanently; I put the accent on the word "permanently."

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Well, permanently, you must look to Europe. But if our situation now, as has been laid before the committee by the commission, is such, and if the needs of the Territory are such that we ought to have Chinese labor, I do not see why you should prohibit us from supplying our needs with that labor. At the same time, of course, you should work out a permanent solution of the problem of bringing in a class of labor which will in time build up a citizen population of the right kind. But if you refuse us Chinese labor in the emergency situation which exists now, and work out the permanent solution at this time, it may take 10 or 20 years before anything can be done. What will we do in the meantime?

Mr. BOX. Do you believe that the two will work together? For instance, if it is known among those European people who furnish desirable labor that the islands are to be filled with Chinese to supplement the present Japanese, do you believe that that will be an inducement to the people who will make your Territory a desirable place for your own people?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Not to that extent in that this is not a proposition to supplement the Japanese, as I understand it, but to meet an immediate emergency which can not be relieved by waiting for any permanent immigration legislation for the islands.

The permanent legislation should have in it the fact that the standard of labor must be raised, so as to permit the Americanizing of the islands by the immigration of people who are eligible to become citizens.

Mr. BOX. Have you studied the history of California in dealing with the Chinese question?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I have studied it in a way; yes.

Mr. BOX. You remember that in the beginning, about 1862, they absolutely prohibited American vessels from even hauling Chinese across—Congress did—at the demand of China and California; and you remember the riots they have had and the terrible feeling? People from there tell me if you know where to look, you will find a lot of bones of Chinese in California.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That was not the condition in Hawaii; that is, there was no actual hostile feeling against the Chinese; but he was the butt for the small boys and the people generally.

Mr. BOX. Are the Chinese numerous now?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We have a Chinese population; yes. We have Chinese citizens there of whom we are proud. They make fine citizens.

Mr. BOX. Does a comparison with the Japanese citizen make you proud of them, or is it a change in their character that makes you proud of them?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We are proud of our Chinese citizens in Hawaii for the reason that they have adopted American ideals to a very much greater extent than the Japanese, and are American as early as any foreign people can ever be.

Mr. BOX. Do you find a strong tendency among the Chinese to become Americans?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. The people we have in Hawaii are just as good Americans as anybody else.

Mr. BOX. Let us see how the law goes. That is not immaturity?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. They have intermarried with the Hawaiians on a regular even basis.

Mr. BOX. What has been the result of their intermarriage with Hawaiians?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. It has been a fine result to both races.

Mr. BOX. They have made illustrious citizens.

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. Yes.

Mr. BOX. Are they inclined to be moral and law-abiding?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. The Chinese are a moral and law-abiding people.

Mr. BOX. They are not immaturity with the Japanese.

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. Not that I know of.

Mr. BOX. Or with the few Americans there I mean the Anglo-Saxons?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. Where they are part-Chinese and part-Hawaiian they have married too.

Mr. BOX. Have you observed a race over those of mixtures between Chinese and Hawaiians and other races?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. We are not looking at making a race of that kind; we are looking to making a race that will begin to be proud of.

Mr. BOX. That is what we are talking about and I am sure it is what you are talking about—the permanent character of it. Now you have just stated that they do marry and of course if they marry they have offspring, and you have said that that offspring is good!

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. The offspring of those Chinese citizens in Hawaii, yes.

Mr. BOX. And that offspring, of course—they are Americans in every sense of the word and if you get any considerable number of them, you of course understand they will have all the rights of other Americans, including the right to live in the continental United States.

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. You mean the ones we want to bring into the country?

Mr. BOX. No, I mean their offspring.

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. Well, I suppose they have, if any are born there.

Mr. BOX. You will have to continue this system, if we adopt it for some years; you can not say for certain it will end in five years—it will be going on almost indefinitely?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. And in the meantime we can work out another method of improving our citizenship. The condition that stares us in the face to-day makes immediate relief necessary. Now if European immigrants are a solution of it, well and good; let us have them but to my mind it is not the solution at the present moment. The only solution at the present moment from my point of view is that we have to have the Chinese. Then, within the five years during which relief is thus provided, the Congress can enact legislation to encourage Europeans to come to Hawaii, and within five years, ten years, or twenty years we may have a population there of white people.

Mr. Box. Have you studied the industrial history of the South in its demand for negro labor?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I have not.

Mr. Box. But you do know the tragedy that the South has gone through as a result of that, do you not?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes.

Mr. Box. Do you know whether or not the leading men of the South, 75 years ago, stated over and over again—the records are full of it—that if they did not have this slave labor the industries of the South would be ruined? Do you know whether they have said that or not?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Oh, yes. I think it was said at that time.

Mr. Box. Yes, I think it was said from the time they were first carried there, and those of us who live there know what the results are and have been, and that is a factor, I think, in the minds of Congress and every member of the committee who has studied it. I just suggest that you give that your attention in working out this very acute problem for your own people, that you see what the race problem of the South now is and what the South's history has been resulting from its use of a subordinate and subservient people to perform its labor.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. But I do not think you can say that that condition has existed or will exist in Hawaii.

Mr. Box. I just make that suggestion.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. There is no such thing as a feeling of hatred between any races in Hawaii—either the Japanese, Chinese, or Europeans. It is not for the reason that we hate the Japanese that we are coming to Congress in this emergency. We wish to keep our Territory under American control and do not wish to allow it to pass into the control of a race of people whose ideals are absolutely opposed to ours.

Mr. Box. Did not your people ask for them as laborers?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Who?

Mr. Box. The Japanese?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We never asked the United States to give us Japanese.

Mr. Box. I know you did not, but you asked them to come or permitted them to come.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We tried to prohibit them from coming.

Mr. Box. Did not you say your protest was not favorably considered by your own people?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. By some of our own people and by the administration in Washington.

Mr. Box. Yes, I understand that; but didn't you say here a while ago you were glad the warnings you gave them were confirmed here and you are glad to see that those views are now appreciated by the members of this commission?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. And we are all in one and the same position to-day.

Mr. Box. That indicates you have not always been so.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Some of our people, 10 or 12 years ago, did not realize the situation as I did; but I am glad now that we are unanimous in that feeling.

Mr. Box. I think you were wise as to that.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We all see the danger now because it is staring us directly in the face and we can not get away from it.

Mr. BOX. I am sure you realize this fact, in connection with all these problems: For instance, California was greatly alarmed when they saw the Chinese were present in great numbers and continuing to come. When the acuteness of that danger passed and they decreased in numbers, then they forgot that they were afraid of them before and killed them and asked that they be excluded, and later they became alarmed by the Japanese and said, "If you do not keep them out, we are ruined." Now, you seem at one time to have been very hostile to the Chinese; later the facts made you very fearful of the Japanese, and now you feel again a new attitude of friendliness toward the Chinese; you think they can help you.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We were never hostile to the Chinese to the extent of a hatred toward them as a people. The feeling that we had against the Chinese was that he was a person of no consequence: he was buffeted about by all the children as a joke; but there was no hostility against the Chinese as a race or as a man which made him a danger to our industrial condition in Hawaii. There was no such feeling as that.

Mr. BOX. There is nothing masterful about his nature, and there is with the Japanese?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. The Japanese control, political and industrial, is a live issue in Hawaii. We have no feeling of hatred toward them as a people. I don't know whether it is the Hawaiian atmosphere but the way the different races have lived harmoniously in Hawaii should be a lesson to the people on the mainland as to how races can live in one country in peace and harmony. Even now that we realize danger of an alien control, we do not hate that alien race. We do say, however, that Congress should relieve us from a danger which has been brought about without fault on our part.

Mr. BOX. I think you would discover, if you would visit California and her coast and study the question there, that there is not much personal bitterness toward the Japanese there, except that which grows out of the very alarm that you mention.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes; which grows out of that alarm, but there is that danger in Hawaii of being controlled by these aliens if no solution is provided.

Mr. BOX. I believe the committee appreciates that. I think I do. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. RAKER. I want to ask the Delegate a few questions. Did you ever read the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs on the adoption of the resolution to annex Hawaii?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I have read it.

Mr. RAKER. I will call it to your attention and read it in the record before I get through. That report then stated, when Hawaii was annexed and the committee made its report to the House, that the question then, the danger, was the domination of the Japanese in the islands. Do you remember that as one of the questions of the danger of annexation? That is in the report and I will read it.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you square that with the fact that the Hawaiian Islands, as a republic, shut out the Japanese?

Mr. RAKER. I have it here and I want to read it in the record, but first I want to ask a question right in that connection. That being

the fact (and I will read it to you), what has the Territory of Hawaii, through its officials, its legislature, and otherwise, done relative to the exclusion of the Japanese since annexation?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Nothing.

Mr. KLECZKA. What could it do?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. It could do nothing except by protesting to the administration here, or Congress, or by seeking legislation of Congress to do away with that evil, and the Territory has done that since annexation through certain legislation, for which they have asked and are now asking.

Mr. RAKER. I want to put you in the same attitude, in the sense that you are not an agitator nor a propagandist, but are here presenting facts that really are a serious menace to the islands. That is right, is it not, Mr. Kalaniana'ole?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes; that is my view of it. If conditions continue as at present the time will come when Congress or this Government must make Hawaii a military government or a commission government, and that we do not want.

Mr. RAKER. Now, in regard to civilization. Your answer sort of astounded me a little while ago, that the advance of civilization in the Hawaiian Islands has to a greater or lesser extent eliminated the Hawaiian people.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I do not quite understand your question.

Mr. RAKER. That the Hawaiian people have decreased in numbers because of the advance of civilization. Is that what you mean?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I meant to say that civilization is always a detriment physically to an aboriginal race. As time goes on they become accustomed to the changed methods of living and will eventually be able to hold their own with other races.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, Judge, it is very interesting to note that of all the people that have ever taken on civilization, the Hawaiian people have taken it on the fastest and best.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; but what I am getting at now is that that is true to an extent, but there is a reason for it. Like the American Indian, we kicked him and buffeted him around, we had our fights with him and then we let him die by disease and provided rum and whisky and everything for him so that he would be disposed of early, and I suppose the same thing occurred in the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Not to the same extent, but all primitive peoples are more or less subject to deterioration and decay when they first come in contact with civilization.

Mr. RAKER. I know, but there must be some reason for that. Intoxication affected them very much indeed, didn't it?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I think it affects the Hawaiian no more than it does the white man.

Mr. RAKER. All right. But you have eliminated that now.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We tried to eliminate it long before you eliminated it, as I told you a moment ago. Your civilized nation insisted on bringing in liquor because of your commercial greediness; insisted that the Hawaiian Government admit liquor into the Hawaiian Islands. Our Kings had prohibited those things, but right could not prevail against might.

Mr. Box. And if the American Government did insist on it, of course you would take liquor over there and sell it?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I presume so.

Mr. RAKER. You had commerce in liquors in the Hawaiian Islands between the States and also foreign countries?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. You mean under the Territorial Government?

Mr. RAKER. No; after annexation, liquor could be obtained in Hawaii?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Certainly.

Mr. RAKER. Now, when has it ceased?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Since the war.

Mr. RAKER. You did not have it before that time?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Do you mean prohibition?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes; you had prohibition back in the Monarchy.

Mr. RAKER. I am talking about after we took their islands and annexed them, the use of liquor was not prohibited in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. No.

Mr. RAKER. From the time of annexation until prohibition; that is right, isn't it?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That is right.

Mr. RAKER. Now what other thing was conductive to retarding the development of the Hawaiian people?

Mr. FREE. Mr. Chairman, I am terribly busy and want to attend this hearing, and while I would like to hear the discussion I can not see that it has anything to do with the question before the committee. I do not want to be discourteous, but I want to be here to-day and I was asked to be here, and I can not see where this rambling inquiry takes us.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think about it, Judge?

Mr. RAKER. Oh, it is leading up to the vital point of the question.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been presented to us a volume with a concise history of the islands, and it is most interesting. I think that their history, next to the history of France and Mexico, is the most interesting history that we can find.

Mr. RAKER. I am getting down now to the question of the races, which are involved in this.

Nothing else, Mr. Delegate, has had an effect in retarding the development of the Hawaiian people that you know of, has it?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. What do you mean by development of the people?

Mr. RAKER. They have been progressing right along?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Oh, yes.

Mr. RAKER. And there is nothing in the way of their progress?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Absolutely nothing.

Mr. RAKER. That the United States has done since annexation?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Nothing that I know of.

Mr. RAKER. The development in the last 20 years has been phenomenal in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes, I think so. But, of course, you must understand we were already a developed community before we were annexed.

Mr. RAKER. But it has developed marvelously in the last 20 years?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. You would not be in favor of an intermingling of the people of Hawaii in the way of intermarriage between them and the Japanese?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I do not quite understand you.

Mr. RAKER. You are not in favor of intermarriage between the Hawaiian people and the Japanese and Chinese?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That is a personal matter with the individual, whether he desires to marry a Japanese or not.

Mr. RAKER. I am asking for your opinion.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I would not advocate such intermarriage.

Mr. RAKER. I am asking has there been any intermarrying of the people of Hawaii and the Chinese.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. There has been some, yes.

Mr. RAKER. Are you in favor of that intermarriage or against it?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I have no opinion to give on that.

Mr. RAKER. No personal opinion to give?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. No; no personal opinion.

Mr. RAKER. If you brought the Chinese over to Hawaii, would you be opposed to their marriage with Hawaiians?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That is their business.

Mr. FREE. What was your answer?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That is the business of the individual whether he wants to marry a Japanese or Chinese or anybody else.

Mr. RAKER. You would bring them there—

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I do not believe in legislating against marriage.

Mr. RAKER. This is the point, Mr. Delegate, that you are asking for these Chinese people to come to Hawaii?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We are asking for them to come there to solve the labor problem which exists to-day.

Mr. RAKER. All right. Now, would you put any restrictions upon their remaining there?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I would.

Mr. RAKER. What restrictions?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. The restriction of five years, as called for by this resolution.

Mr. RAKER. Would you put any restrictions upon their mode and method and manner of work?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Well, that is up to you. We are presenting our case and if you, as legislators, decide that our case warrants your consideration, then it is up to you to give us that legislation.

Mr. RAKER. You are presenting the matter here and for the benefit of the committee, so that they can understand what I am getting at. My question is whether or not, after having brought the Chinese people to Hawaii, you would be in favor of placing any restrictions upon the kind and character of work that they should follow after having once landed in Hawaii?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Well, we want them in order to solve our labor problem; that is, we want labor for our plantations and we need it badly, and I would restrict it to that—yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be all right to introduce at this point the text of a proposed new resolution which would clear up the situation?

Mr. RAKER. It is very satisfactory to me.

The CHAIRMAN. The delegate will present to the House to-day a resolution with a new wording and I will call the attention of the committee, before I read it, to the fact that the new wording permits the President to make a proclamation as to an emergency, and there is a slight change in the wording as to the occupations in which the proposed immigrants may engage. This new resolution has been talked over by myself and such other members as I could reach. We have suggested some of the modifications, and the committee might as well begin consideration of them. I will read:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for a period of five years from the passage of this joint resolution, whenever the President shall find and by proclamation declare that an emergency exists in the Territory of Hawaii by reason of a serious shortage of labor, either general or of any particular class or classes, the Secretary of Labor shall be, and he is hereby, empowered, under such conditions and regulations as he shall prescribe, to admit to the Territory of Hawaii such aliens otherwise inadmissible as he may deem necessary to meet the existing emergency: Provided, That such aliens shall be admitted only for limited periods of time, for the purpose of engaging only in the class or classes of labor as to which the emergency has been found to exist; that such admission of aliens shall not operate to increase the number of persons of any one alien nationality in the Territory of Hawaii so that their total numbers at any one time shall exceed 20 per centum of the total population of the Territory as determined by the last census; and that the regulations shall provide for and secure the return of such laborers to their respective countries upon the expiration of the time limited, without cost to the United States: Provided further, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to allow any alien admitted under the terms hereof to remove to any other place under the jurisdiction of the United States.

Mr. RAKER. Now, would you be in favor of placing restrictions upon the Chinese who were brought there, as to the mode and place of work?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I think there should be some kind of a restriction.

Mr. RAKER. If they failed to comply with the restrictions thus placed upon them, would you be in favor of apprehending them and returning them to China?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Certainly. I do not see how you can do it otherwise.

Mr. RAKER. Well, the Chinese thus brought, would you be in favor of allowing them to build up homes and to marry in Hawaii, if they desired?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I believe that the Congress ought to do something to see to it that we improve our conditions there from an American point of view and that is as to building up of our citizenship. We want a white American citizenship in that country, or aliens who will be eligible and who will assimilate. In the meantime however, we must have Chinese to stem the tide that is fast carrying us toward Japanese control.

Mr. RAKER. Then is it your idea that you should bring these Chinese in in sufficient numbers to drive out the Japanese?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Our labor problem is a serious one, and if you do not legislate for Hawaii, you will find a condition that is so bad for the Americans there that you will not know what may happen.

Mr. RAKER. Now, on page 30, Report No. 1355, Fifty-fifth Congress, second session, on the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, made by Mr. Hitt for the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of date May 17, 1898, I find the following:

I make no charge that the Japanese Government has hostile intentions against Hawaii. But, regardless of the declarations or intentions of the Japanese Government the fact is that Hawaii has, against the will and efforts of its government and people, drifted Japan-wards during the past two years; and unless radical action is taken to stay the process, there can be but one logical result, viz., the ultimate supremacy of the Japanese, and thereby of Japan, in Hawaii. This has progressed and will be accomplished in the teeth of the American policy of exclusion of foreign control in Hawaii, and with no tangible overt act on the part of the Japanese Government.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Now that has practically come true?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Is that the resolution?

Mr. RAKER. That is the report.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Is that the report made by the commission?

Mr. RAKER. That is the language of the report of the committee.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Who were the commissioners; were they three from Congress and two from Hawaii?

Mr. RAKER. No; this is the report of Mr. Hitt, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, reporting the resolution annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. The report was made May 17, 1898.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That was made after an investigation?

Mr. RAKER. That was made when the resolution was submitted and that is one of the statements found in the report referred to.

Mr. IRWIN. And made after an investigation?

Mr. RAKER. I suppose it was; yes.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. And since annexation, nothing has been done at all to remedy that situation.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I was trying to get you to put fairly and clearly in the record, that this matter was called to the attention of Congress in 1898, May 17, and that nothing has been done since.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. In 1911, if I do not mistake the date, that same danger was called to the attention of the Administration in Washington, and the President sent the Secretary of the Interior to Hawaii to investigate, and he has not made a report to this day.

Mr. BOX. That was in 1911?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I think it was about 1911; I have forgotten the exact date.

Mr. KLECZKA. Judge Raker, you do not maintain that the Hawaiians have the power to solve that danger themselves?

Mr. RAKER. Oh, no; Mr. Kleczka. But what I mean is that there has been no effort by the Hawaiian government or its people to present the situation to Congress in regard to the exclusion of the Japanese from this Territory since its annexation.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. The people of Hawaii could not tell Congress to do that, but the people of Hawaii did call the attention of Congress to the danger of the Japanese situation there and Congress has not seen fit to do anything.

Mr. RAKER. I have been trying to get into the record—and I am met on all sides with the statement there is a question whether we should go into this and whether we should present the same facts that were presented in 1898 and which have continued up to the present time, and when we did find the Delegate before the committee, it is a question of whether or not we should go into the real vital question that involves your Territory.

The CHAIRMAN. We voted several days ago to go into it and we are going into it as carefully as we can, with much pains and much detail.

Now, as a matter of fact, the record shows the Hawaiian Republic shut out the Japanese and immediately they became a Territory they were forced, under the suggestion of the State Department, to pay a fine for refusing to admit Japanese; and it is further of record that from time to time bills have been introduced for the admission of labor, and it is a matter of common knowledge that the Hawaiian Legislature has from time to time appointed and paid the expenses of commissions to come to Congress and state the conditions in the Islands.

Mr. McCLELLAN. And the Immigration Commission itself made a special investigation and report.

Mr. RAKER. But still, as a matter of fact, until the matter was presented last week and to-day, it has never been presented to Congress before.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. It has been presented to Congress and presented to the President—a protest against the danger of the continuation of such a condition.

Mr. RAKER. When was that presented?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I can not give you the exact date, but that is on record in the Interior Department.

The CHAIRMAN. And to my personal knowledge they protested against the Japanese language schools that have gone there from time to time.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. May I interject this right here, that the feeling of the people of Hawaii is so strong that there is an absolute deaf ear in Congress to our needs and to our Japanese emergency, that they felt that it was practically hopeless, even in an emergency, to get any relief from Congress when this commission was appointed; but we felt we had to do something to register this fact here.

Mr. RAKER. I think the distinguished gentleman is going far afield of the record that a deaf ear has been given it by the committees of Congress, because they have not had the opportunity. It has not been presented here before.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I will amend that and say the United States Government.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood Mr. Dillingham to imply that the people from Hawaii in the past had been to Congress and they felt that Congress had a deaf ear, and they based that feeling on the fact that Congress refused to let them participate in the good-roads legislation or the school legislation, or matters of that kind. Now, I have always joined the Prince in the effort to put Hawaii into all State legislation, but it has not been possible to do so. I think the reason has been that we have the same form of government for Hawaii that we have for Alaska, and Alaska is 98 per cent federally owned, and you could not, for instance, put Federal aid for roads into Alaska on a 50-50 plan, and Hawaii fell into the same basket.

Mr. RAKER. I know the Prince understands the case, that I am not criticizing but commending him for his efforts, and I compliment him, and am just bringing out the fact, if I can, in a few words, that really, as a matter of fact, this is the first time that the Prince has had the opportunity, really, in a public hearing before a committee, to present the real crucial matter that affects the Hawaiian people; is that true, Prince?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. No; I have had this matter before Congress many times.

Mr. RAKER. When?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I have had it before Congress on three or four different occasions, on the question of suspending our coastwise laws so that Americans could be given an opportunity to go to the Hawaiian Islands and see the situation there, and be given an opportunity to travel on American boats and go to Hawaii and live there. That has been presented before Congress, and I called attention to the reason why we wanted Americans to come there, but you have prohibited an American from traveling from one American port to another American port.

Mr. RAKER. But this is the first time you have really presented it to a committee like you have to-day?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. The first time before the Committee on Immigration, yes; but it is not the first time in Congress. I have presented this matter to Congress on three or four different occasions and called the attention of Congress to our situation.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Chairman, it would not make any difference whether it had been presented forty times or once. That is not the matter we are interested in. I wish this thing could be hurried along.

The CHAIRMAN. You are satisfied that the new resolution which I have read is an improvement over the one heretofore under consideration?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes; it is better. The suggestion that the President declare the emergency by proclamation is certainly an improvement.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we all agree on that. The substitute might be offered by the committee, but it will be better, perhaps, for the Delegate to present it, and we can then act on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions that you desire to ask of the Delegate?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I would like to have the record clear on some of the questions asked by Judge Raker as to the progress of the Hawaiian people. He did not state whether he meant that as a race or in an economic way. I just want to say to the committee that the depopulation of the Hawaiian people in the islands was due not so much to liquor, which of course had its bad results, but to disease. Smallpox carried out 10,000 or 12,000 at a time. Measles carried out thousands and thousands of them. Then they changed their mode of living. They were used to the open air out in the mountains and upon their little kuleanas, where they grew potatoes, etc. What was the result? Conditions got so that they had to move into the towns; they had to go into the tenements. They could not afford, on the wages they received, to live in a bungalow or in places where there was plenty of air. It is a race that has been used to very little clothing. Their skin was exposed to the sun all the time. They went into the tenements and put on the white man's clothes, with the result that to-day 45 per cent of the cases of tuberculosis in the Territory of Hawaii are among the Hawaiians.

By the rehabilitation bill, on which Judge Raker has questioned the Delegate, the Delegate has in mind getting these people, our people, back to the land away from the tenements, decreasing the

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Mr. KALANIANAOLE. They are needed immediately. If we can get them in 30 days or 6 months, so much the better. We must have them.

The CHAIRMAN. If the legislation was reduced in the period of time from five years to, say, three years, would that afford you any relief?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. I think so, but why change it when it is in the power of the President under this resolution to stop it at any time within the five-year period.

The CHAIRMAN. Would three years be a long enough time?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. I do not know whether it would be long enough because I am not familiar with the time it would take to bring in a permanent class of immigrants.

The CHAIRMAN. If this bill should be made three years, and the Kleczka and Raker proposition added to it, would it not be a less objectionable bill; that is to say, if the admission of Chinese for three years carried a subsequent plan for the admission of nonadmissibles?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. I could not give an intelligent answer to that question. I would rather have it answered by those men who have made a study of the situation, and who have been sent here by the Territorial government. They can answer these questions. The only question I can answer is this: That I, as delegate, the representative in Congress of the people of Hawaii, feel that the Chinese should be brought into the territory as soon as possible, for the Territorial government and the people, as a whole, are in favor of this proposition.

Mr. RAKER. Do you not believe that if conditions get really acute, relative to the saving of the sugar and the pineapple crops, the people of Hawaii would take the matter up and relieve themselves of that situation, rather than to open the doors to oriental coolie labor, under a system of peonage?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. If you leave this to the people of Hawaii, and they had anything to do with this legislation, they would not wait one minute; they would solve the problem immediately by a restricted immigration of Chinese. We know our troubles, and you do not.

Mr. RAKER. How would you solve it?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. We would solve it by bringing in exactly those people we are asking Congress now to bring in. We have done it before annexation. The immigration question is not a new one for Hawaii. Since 1850 we have brought many races into Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. Under contract?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. Call it contract, or call it anything you like.

Mr. RAKER. It was under contract, was it not?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. Yes; under contract.

Mr. RAKER. But you do not want to do that again, do you?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. We do. That is the only way to solve the problem.

Mr. RAKER. The delegate does not mean that he would bring in these people under contract as they did before annexation, does he?

Mr. KALANIANAOLE. I do not understand what you mean by contract or by peonage; I do not understand what you mean by that.

Mr. RAKER. It means that these people are brought in there and they have to work just where you tell them.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. It is bringing them in in the way the resolution says. If you call that contract, call it contract; if you call it peonage, call it peonage.

Mr. RAKER. But bring them in?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Bring them in. If Congress does not feel they ought to be brought in, let it say so; but, if Congress does think the conditions are such that Congress would be warranted in passing such legislation, then do so.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, would I be considered selfish if I asked three or four questions?

The CHAIRMAN. No; we would be glad to have you do so.

Mr. SHAW. I am sincere, and I do not want to interrupt the flow of thoughts of any of the distinguished people who know all about this proposition. I shall confess at the outset that I do not know anything about it. After attending one or two meetings up here I thought I had a pretty fair understanding of the situation, but I do not go back any and I do not advance any; I am right where I was after the first two or three meetings. If this condition has been so serious over there for so many years, and there have been so many hearings upon the matter, why is it that nothing has been done? That is question No. 1.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you asking me, or the Delegate?

Mr. FREE. I might answer about some things that you do not know. These people have tried, as I understand, in one way or another to bring all classes in there. The Portuguese were brought in from time to time, and the Portuguese took it simply as an opportunity to get a foothold on the island, and then make a hop over to California. I have figured we got thousands and thousands of these people. That is what has happened to them. They have taken a lot of labor into Hawaii, but it has all gotten away from them because they have used it as a stepping stone to get on the mainland.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. They even sent vessels over from California to take our laborers away, and we had to pass a law in the Territory to prohibit it.

Mr. SHAW. Now, we are assuming that this is a serious problem over there and needs some attention.

The CHAIRMAN. We all agree to that.

Mr. SHAW. Do we all agree that we are going to do something?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the bill is still under consideration. We are trying our best to get as full a hearing as possible. The assumption, Mr. Shaw, is this, that if this committee reports out this legislation, or any substitute or any modification, we are then in duty bound to try to pass the thing by all honorable methods. To do that we must be prepared to answer every kind of a question. If the bill is sent out, we want it in shape to secure the strongest possible support. Opposition will arise from various sources with a great array of data and statistics and figures and charges. The weather has been very warm and we have held half-day hearings every day that has been convenient to the visiting delegation sent by the Territorial legislature, who are entitled to full hearings because they rank in importance with the legislature of a State, and just below the House of Representatives itself. This is the first time we have taken up this question as coming from the constituted authorities of the Territory of

Hawaii. The resolutions for the admission of Chinese before this committee before have had, say, but two or three witnesses behind them, and while Judge Raker and those of us from the Pacific coast have known the seriousness of the Japanese danger, we have not made any headway, even in regard to the danger on the Pacific coast, the public generally looking at it lightly because of the smallness of numbers. I expect the judge and myself have been called Japophobes many thousands of times. Now we are getting along with this hearing. We have had to go slowly and carefully, for the reason that it is possible that some of this problem may run to the State Department and to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Personally, I am very anxious to see this legislation modified, carrying with it some practical plan, enacted at the earliest possible date, for I do realize that the United States Government, in an effort to handle immigration to its continental part, has passed the literacy test which, in itself, cuts off the class of people who would go to work on the sugar plantations, which is the hardest kind of labor, and on top of that we have barred the people from oriental zones, except the Japanese, and then on top of that, by agreement, we obliged the Japanese to stop sending the picture brides, under the gentlemen's agreement, and, finally, on top of that, we have adopted a 3 per cent restriction. All of these things may be very good for continental United States, and, in fact, we have always thought so, but you can readily see that they do not fit a tropical country, and the statistics brought here by these Territorial senators showing the whole population of the islands, and how it is divided among the white people, the Portuguese, the Filipinos, the Japanese, the Chinese, and other people on the Pacific, are interesting and astonishing. They show that we must find a lot of labor adaptable to tropical countries.

Now we are about to conclude the public hearings and I am ready to get busy with you on this as fast as we can work, and see if we can get anything out of it. We have produced a modified and improved resolution. It is up to the committee whether the members desire more evidence, more exhibits, or whether we shall proceed to discuss the two resolutions with a view to coming to a vote. Or we can wait and see if we can take care of Hawaii and Alaska in some way in the permanent bill which we must soon produce.

Mr. SHAW. I am not criticizing the chairman nor the committee for having a full hearing, but it seems to me there is too much of this "ring-around-a-rosey" business. Is it possible that anybody on the committee is pussy-footing and is not saying what he really thinks? I am not afraid to say what I think about the situation, and is not that the way to get down to the principle of the thing and decide what to do, and do it fearlessly?

Mr. KLECZKA. What is your second question?

Mr. SHAW. The second question is: What is Judge Raker's provision that you referred to a moment ago? I would like to know what that is.

The CHAIRMAN. The judge developed a plan here, or a suggestion here—all legislation has to come up by suggestion, and then there is a debate here which was at the conclusion of the debate, or suggestions, or to be more accurate, Judge Raker took the lead in discussing and suggesting, and then those who were admissible to the

might be permitted to go to Hawaii or Alaska, there to remain until they had acquired citizenship.

Mr. WILSON. That was the suggestion presented to the committee by Mr. Mead.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; it was presented originally by Mr. Mead.

Mr. MEAD. Not as a substitute, but as a practical piece of legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask Mr. Dillingham, do you think that anything could be accomplished by shortening the five-year period mentioned in this resolution 158, or rather the new resolution, and at the same time adding to it a permanent provision of the kind suggested here by the Mead plan?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. You gentlemen know a great deal more about the process of legislation here than we will ever know. This legislation, as amended by the Delegate, I submit would put the power in the President to decide the emergency. That is not a new form of legislation. There is something similar to that plan in operation. The President can carry that obligation, as I see it, and can decide how long that emergency lasts. I am afraid of cumbering up this legislation with suggestions which will tend to draw away the thought from the great emergency which is presented. The Delegate this morning has hit the nail on the head. We have got to do something, and do it quickly, and we have been glad to go into the last corner for information which would be of value to this committee, to show exactly what the conditions are, as we see them, and put you in a position to judge as to the seriousness of our condition. I feel that we in Hawaii should be considered in your permanent immigration legislation. That is where we belong for our permanent population. I see nothing binding about this. I see no horrible bugbear in the future, no development of the problem of race issues, and so on, in this arrangement. It can be stopped practically at any time. It can be tried, and if it does not work it can be stopped. I, of course, take no stock at all in peonage and contract labor and so on, because all of those points have been covered by lawyers in whom I have the greatest confidence, who tell me there is nothing in it at all but a talking point, so what we are asking is wholly consistent, as we see it, with the policy of the United States Government, which must be the protection of American interests in every part of the United States. That is where Hawaii comes in. Your new resolution puts it up to the President to initiate action by proclaiming that an emergency exists if he so finds.

Mr. KLECZKA. If the period was limited to, say, three years, or two years, and if at the expiration of that time the emergency existed you could not have this act extended, it would remove a great deal of the objection that is apparent at the present time to the passage of this legislation.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Kleczka, we are not coming here again for any extension or change in any legislation that is not necessary; we are too busy at home. Congress as well as business men have to have confidence in leaders, and Congress must look to the leader of the Nation to decide certain matters, and it seems to me this matter comes wholly within his prerogative. It does not seem to me that it is stretching things to leave it in his hands. If he can dictate conditions in time of war, it seems to me he can dictate conditions to prevent war, and that is the object of this legislation.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT OF MR. HARRY IRWIN, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

Mr. IRWIN. It has been suggested, during the course of this hearing, that the people of Hawaii have been negligent in failing to call the attention of the United States Government to the condition confronting the Territory with respect to the danger which now threatens its economic and political life, through the preponderance in population of one alien race.

We earnestly claim that we have done everything that we could do in the past to keep the proper officials of the Federal Government informed on these matters, but with no apparent results. It is only when the danger has become so acute and threatening that the governor and the Legislature of Hawaii became extremely alarmed over the situation and thereupon created this commission and authorized it to lay our case directly before Congress.

The danger of Japanese control has been recognized in Hawaii as far back as the days of the monarchy. The Government of the Kingdom of Hawaii, recognizing the danger of an unbalanced population, prohibited the immigration to Hawaii of aliens, except under certain restricted conditions. In the enforcement of those immigration laws, the government of the kingdom refused to allow several shiploads of Japanese immigrants to land and they were compelled to return to their homes.

This incident and the controversy which grew out of it are reviewed by Prof. W. D. Alexander on page 321 of his "History of the Hawaiian people," as follows:

Difficulty with Japan.—During the years 1896 and 1897 certain Japanese emigration companies made strenuous efforts to induce large numbers of their countrymen to emigrate to the Hawaiian Islands. Having ascertained that extensive frauds were being practiced on these people, and that the immigration laws were being evaded, the Hawaiian Government caused a strict examination to be made, and on the 23d of March, 1897, forbade the landing of several hundred Japanese immigrants. In all, about 1,100 immigrants on different occasions were obliged to return to Japan, where this severe action excited intense feeling. The Japanese Government sent the cruiser *Naniwa* in May, with a special commissioner, to investigate the matter. After a lengthy correspondence, the difficulty was amicably compromised the next year by the payment of an indemnity of \$75,000 to Japan. This was done at the instance of the United States Government, to remove a possible hindrance to annexation (p. 321).

It is thus seen that as early as 1896 the danger of this alien influence was recognized by the Hawaiian Republic and an attempt made to avert it, and that the attention of the United States Government was then very directly called to it with the result that, acting on the advice of the American Government, the little Republic was forced to pay a considerable sum by way of damages for its attempt to protect itself against this alien horde.

Coming down, now, to the year 1898, at about the time of annexation, Congressman Hitt, for the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted to the House of Representatives Report No. 1356, in which he deals with the conditions in Hawaii, and as showing that the very danger which now actually threatens us was then plainly predicted, the following excerpts are taken from the report in question:

The Japanese are intensely Japanese, retaining their allegiance to their Empire, and responding to suggestions from the Japanese officials. Very many of them served

in the recent war with China. The Japanese Government not long ago demanded of the Hawaiian Government, under their construction of a treaty made in 1871, that the Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands should have equal privileges with all other persons, which would include voting and holding office. This claim was made with a flood of Japanese subjects, under the supervision of the Government of that country of from 1,000 to 2,000 per month, were being poured into the Hawaiian Islands, threatening a speedy change of the Government into Japanese hands, and ultimately Japanese possession. The demand was resisted by the little Republic and a treaty of annexation with the United States arrested it for a time.

Japan protested earnestly to our Government against that treaty, but our Secretary of State refused to consider their protest; yet the Japanese Government has not withdrawn its demand on the Hawaiian Government and is waiting to renew and press with more energy and success if annexation to the United States is rejected by Congress. It could then in a few months throw many thousands of Japanese subjects into the Hawaiian Islands, completely overwhelming all other influences (pp. 1-3).

Hawaii has attempted to stay this invasion by legislation against contract labor and paupers identical with that of the United States, and has thereby become involved in its present controversy with Japan, the latter country refusing to recognize the validity of such legislation and practically claiming the absolute right of emigration by her people to Hawaii.

Even though the Hawaiian legislation referred to is sustained, immigrants will not come within its terms will soon give an overwhelming Japanese majority to the inhabitants of the country.

Under the existing constitution of Hawaii the Japanese are not citizens and are ineligible to citizenship; but an energetic, ambitious, warlike, and progressive people like the Japanese can not indefinitely be prevented from participating in the government of a country in which they become dominant in numbers and the owners of property.

Already they are restless under the restrictions imposed upon them, and with their growing wealth, commerce, and numbers it will be impossible for any independent government to long withhold political privileges from them.

Even though political privileges may for some time be withheld from them, commercial men are active and progressive and are rapidly establishing themselves in Hawaii.

Experience has shown that in Hawaii, as elsewhere, blood is thicker than water (p. 30).

HAWAII DRIFTING JAPANWARDS.

I make no charge that the Japanese Government has hostile intentions toward Hawaii. But, regardless of the declarations or intentions of the Japanese Government, the fact is that Hawaii has, against the will and efforts of its government people, drifted Japanwards during the past two years; and unless radical action is taken to stay the process there can be but one logical result, viz, the ultimate annexation of the Japanese, and thereby of Japan, in Hawaii. This has progressed in the teeth of the American policy of exclusion of foreigners from Hawaii, and with no tangible overt act on the part of the Japanese Government (pp. 30, 31).

The present Hawaiian-Japanese controversy is the preliminary skirmish in a great coming struggle between the civilization and the awakening forces of the East and the civilization of the West.

The issue is whether, in that inevitable struggle, Asia or America shall have the advantage ground of the control of the naval "key of the Pacific," the commercial "crossroads of the Pacific."

All that has held, and is now holding, Hawaii for the United States is a hard-resolute and determined men who, against heavy odds, are doing all that is within the bounds of possibility to prevent Hawaii from retrograding into an Asiatic dependency and to hold the country to that destiny which American statesmen have for so long regarded of party, outlined for it. But there is a limit to their strength, and from the great Republic is to come in time, it must come soon (p. 31).

It would be difficult to imagine a more powerful and direct prophecy than is contained in this official report which, in the light of the present events, has now all the force of prophecy.

In the year 1904 Gov. George R. Carter, of the Territory of Hawaii, in his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior, called the attention of that department of the United States Government to

necessity of bringing in to the Territory other classes of immigrants which would have the effect of bringing about a more balanced population. In this connection, he said:

Under the existing laws of immigration it is impossible for Hawaii to get immigrant classes from Europe or other occidental countries. Hawaii is 5,000 miles from the point where the great numbers of immigrants land in the United States. Hawaiian interests have tried the experiment of bringing immigrants from Atlantic ports of the United States to Hawaii and have failed. We are therefore forced to take immigrants from the Orient or go without, and to go without means the ruin of Hawaiian industries, a condition that the Congress of the United States can not afford to permit, much less to exist, as it certainly would be making a failure of the industrial situation in Hawaii by the continued application of such a drastic measure. No class of American citizens would be injured by the special legislation above referred to, permitting a restricted immigration of field laborers from China; on the contrary, the interests of all Hawaiian citizens and producers as well as of the planters themselves would be furthered by such legislation. The population thus created would increase the Hawaiian market for American products and be for the direct interests of workmen on the Pacific coast and in all industries supplying goods to the Territory, while it would not be a competing element upon the mainland.

By the acquisition of distant territory in the Pacific Ocean the domain of the United States is extended in such a degree that in making laws existing conditions should be recognized. In matters of immigration the restrictions which are required for the protection of the mainland may be very injurious for distant possessions, and a distinction should be made by special legislation, so that classes not desired on the mainland can be excluded and the distant possessions provided for as their needs may require (pp. 11, 12).

Again in the same year, 1904, Mr. Lucius E. Pinkham, who was then the president of the Territorial board of health and later governor of Hawaii, acting on the suggestion of Gov. Carter, organized a joint committee of six, representing the labor council and the several trade-unions in Hawaii. This committee was organized for the express purpose of making a critical study of the labor situation throughout the Territory, and, in making this study, the committee covered practically every foot of ground in the islands. The report which the committee made is on file in the public archives in Honolulu, fills four portfolios, and was given the widest publicity at the time it was prepared. The report of the investigation is well summarized in a letter written to Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, by the Labor Council of Honolulu, in the year 1905. From this letter the following excerpts are quoted:

Said joint committee virtually covered every foot of the islands. * * * We saw everything and are in a position to speak on the matter. These islands can not be classed with the mainland in any shape, form, or manner. The object of this committee was to advance the interests of white labor in this Territory and to endeavor to secure for white mechanics positions now held by Asiatics.

After a full and thorough investigation, the majority of this committee concluded that white men would not work in the cane fields and, if they would, they could not be obtained.

We brought the matter of such a large number of Japanese holding mechanical positions to the attention of the managers of the plantations, and, without exception, they state that they would prefer white mechanics, but that if they were to let them, the Japanese as a whole would quit, and as they predominate in such large numbers, would simply cripple the sugar industry; that if they had some labor to counteract the Japs, they would be in a position to fill these mechanical positions with whites.

In 1907, the governor of Hawaii, in his annual report to the secretary of the Interior, called the attention of that department to the local attempts which were then being made to offset the preponderating Japanese population and said:

The most significant effort made during the past year, as regards immigration, has been the carrying out of a policy to offset the oriental population in Hawaii with Europeans.

In the year 1912 the Delegate to Congress from Hawaii filed with the President and with the Secretary of the Interior a formal protest against the then existing conditions in the Territory with special reference to the large and preponderating Asiatic influence and the failure of the Government more completely to Americanize the Territory. The Secretary of the Interior thereupon visited Hawaii and made an extensive study of conditions on the ground. He held many public hearings throughout the islands. What conclusions were reached by him we do not know, for no report of those conclusions or findings was ever published.

In the year 1913 the governor of Hawaii again called the attention of the Secretary of the Interior to the Territory's need for special legislation, to the end that it might obtain a more diversified population. On page 9 of his report for that year, we find the following statement:

Legislation by Congress, if any should be enacted, imposing a literacy test upon immigrants, should except from the test Caucasian immigrants to Hawaii. The reasons advanced for such a test in the case of European immigration to the mainland do not apply to such immigration to Hawaii. The former is largely of self-selected single men, while the latter is almost exclusively of Government-selected agricultural families, whose children, as experience has shown, quickly become educated, worthy American citizens. Local racial conditions also in Hawaii differ from those on the mainland, and if only literates could be introduced the Americanizing of the Territory would not be as rapid as would otherwise be the case. Legislation should be enacted by Congress also to prevent Caucasian immigrants introduced into Hawaii by the Territory from proceeding from the Territory to the mainland unless they conform to the immigration laws in respect of literacy and also unless they reimburse the Territory for the expense of bringing them to Hawaii. At present a large percentage of the immigrants thus brought from Europe apparently take advantage of the assistance offered by the Territory merely to go from Europe to the Pacific coast, using Hawaii as a stepping-stone, thus taking an unfair advantage of the Territorial government and evading the spirit of the Federal immigration laws.

In the year 1919, when the Hawaiian Legislative Commission appeared before the House Committee on the Territories, the attention of that committee was very directly and positively called to the danger which confronts the Territory in this regard.

During the past 10 years the Legislature of Hawaii has invited four different parties, consisting of Members of both Houses of Congress, to visit Hawaii at the expense of the Territory. It was felt that the first-hand information thus gained by Members of Congress would be of the greatest value to them in legislating for Hawaii. On the occasion of each of these visits, the attention of Senators and Congressmen was called to these conditions and to the danger of subsequent Japanese control unless some method should be devised to offset their growing influence.

Finally, driven desperate by the condition which now actually confronts us and by the apparent lack of interest taken in our previous appeals, we come here as an official commission, representing the people of Hawaii, formally to present our case to Congress for relief.

Any statement that we have not previously warned the Federal Government of the danger that has now grown acute is not correct. We have repeatedly cried a warning and pointed to the danger, and to-day we cite it again. The Territory of Hawaii is threatened with

total alienation from the American Nation. We beseech you to prevent such a calamity by affording us the relief that we seek.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection I think the public hearings might be closed. Mr. Dillingham, all will agree with the statement made by Mr. Wilson that you and the members of your commission from the Hawaiian Legislature have made a strong case; that the Americans in Hawaii are making a strong fight, and holding up under odds is apparent. Whether this form of emergency, form of relief, is the thing, I am not prepared just now to say, but to me it is clear that something must be done. Whether such a resolution can pass the House and Senate, I do not pretend to say, but I feel that you and all members of your commission have shed much light on the whole situation, which, while it seems to be one thing as an immediate emergency, is really another thing more subtle, more dangerous, and compared to which the loss of a few sugar crops is nothing. If you lose your crops and your business and your plantations, none of these things will fall into the hands of Americans of either high or low estate. For the committee, I thank the commission.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned to meet in executive session, to-morrow, July 8, at 10.30 o'clock.)

(NOTE.—Hearings were resumed July 22, and will be published as part 2, serial 7.)

APPENDIX I.

INDORSEMENTS OF THE RESOLUTION UNDER CONSIDERATION AND OF THE METHOD OF RELIEF PROPOSED THEREIN, FROM CIVIC AND COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS.

HONOLULU, June 25, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.:

A largely attended special meeting of the chamber unanimously indorse joint resolution to authorize the Secretary of Labor to permit the importation of alien labor for agricultural and domestic work in Hawaii.

COMMERCE.

HONOLULU, June 28, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.:

The Honolulu Press Club unanimously indorses joint resolution. Vitally important.

HONOLULU, June 26, 1921.

DILLINGHAM, New Willard, Washington, D. C.:

The Medical Society of Hawaii indorses labor resolution.

PUTNAM.

HONOLULU, June 30, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Labor resolution is heartily indorsed by Hawaiian Islands Hotel and Restaurant Associations.

A. J. PEDERSON, President.

HONOLULU, June 25, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington:

Kaneohe Rice Mill Co. indorses joint resolution.

HANEBERG.

HONOLULU, June 26, 1921.

RETLAW, Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Housewife's League of Hawaii heartily and unanimously indorse joint resolution.

CECILIE KNUDSEN, Secretary.

12

3000 1000 1000000 2 2

CAMPBELL.

Копия в: [illegible]

ORAL.

Revised 1-2-2000, D.C.

STUART JOHNSON, *President.*

Revised, 1940, Washington, D. C.:

WARREN, President.

Revised, 1934. Washington, D. C.:

L. H. UNDERWOOD, Vice President.

Director, FBI, Washington:

That the Maui Chamber of Commerce, a nonpolitical organization having no connection with the Government of Hawaii, has petitioned the United States Congress and indorses the passage of joint resolution introduced by Senator Hiram Bingham under date of June 20, 1921, permitting importation into Hawaii for limited periods of time sufficient agricultural labor to meet the seasonal labor shortage.

word meaning 'Walter Dillingham,' used as an

[Telegram.]

HONOLULU.

W. A. R. Co., Inc., New York, N. Y.

of our present condition should remember that the original Hawaiian immigration policy was one of numbers. Accordingly, we stopped the immigration reopened it and Congress did nothing to was during this period that the preponderance We ought now to send back every Japanese who came and his children American citizens. Introduce this and insure our future. This project far

GEO. R. CARTER, *Former Governor.*

HONOLULU, *July 5, 1921.*

...unanimously adopted by the Woman's Club of Maui:
 ...a nonpolitical, nonsectarian organization,
 ...a membership of approximately 180, and whose
 ...highest welfare of Maui, indorse and urge the

passage of the joint resolution recently introduced in the United States Senate permitting the importation into the Territory of Hawaii for limited periods of time of sufficient agricultural labor to relieve the present acute labor shortage."

Mrs. W. O. AIKEN, *Secretary.*

HONOLULU, July 3, 1921.

RET LAW, *Willard, Washington, D. C.:*

The Kona Improvement Club strongly favors the admission of alien labor to Hawaii.

McKILLOP, *Secretary.*

HONOLULU, July 6, 1921.

WALTER DILLINGHAM,

Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

The Honolulu Welding & Machine Co. employ dozens of skilled mechanics, who individually and collectively indorse and urge the importation of oriental labor as requested by your commission. It is the only solution to save Hawaii's chief industry, which will collapse under present conditions.

FRANK HOWES, *President.*

HILO, HAWAII, July 14, 1921.

RET LAW,

Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

Board of trade Hilo approves labor resolution.

MARINE ENGINEERS' BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION, No. 100,
AFFILIATED TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Honolulu, June 18, 1921.

Mr. WALTER DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Hawaii Labor Committee, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The members of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, No. 100, of Honolulu, desire to express their full accord with the proposed measure to admit Chinese agricultural laborers to the Hawaiian Islands.

Having from the nature of our occupation special opportunities to see conditions on the various sugar plantations, and being for the greater part old residents of Hawaii who have seen the several classes of labor tried out at this work, we feel competent to express an opinion upon this subject and would say that of all the labor that has been employed by the plantations the Chinese have been the best suited to the climate and class of work.

With this conviction, and considering the handicap that the sugar and pineapple industries labor under with the labor at present available and the distance that has to be covered to place their products on the market, we feel that we should give our fullest approbation to a measure that, if passed, will assure the prosperity of the Hawaiian Islands; if rejected, will mean practically their ruin.

With the concurrence of our 80 members and wishing you the fullest success in your efforts, we are,

Yours, very truly,

M. E. B. A., No. 100,
Honolulu, T. H.,

By C. B. COTTRELL,
J. T. BOYD,
JAMES H. DAVIS,
Committee

MOKULEIA, WAIALUA, June 15, 1921.

To the HAWAIIAN LABOR COMMISSION.

GENTLEMEN: I would like to bring to your attention the serious labor shortage now existing on this section of the Waialua Agricultural Sugar Co. under my charge, an acute one, which not only jeopardizes this plantation but every sugar plantation and every agricultural industry of the Hawaiian Islands.

I am the irrigation and cultivation overseer of the Mokuleia section, one of seven sections which constitute the Waialua Agricultural Sugar Co., and have under my charge 1,600 acres of irrigation cane lands, requiring approximately, figuring (as we do) at 9 acres per man, 178 men; instead I have at present the large sum of 49 men and 10 women; total of 59, or a shade over one-third of the required number necessary to keep this section in shape.

This number is not necessarily required for irrigation and cultivation the whole year round, it being the rule during winter rains (various fields having attained their full growth) to draw on a portion of this force and put them to work in various tasks such as cleaning and repairing storm ditches and waste ditches, road repairs, and such like, but, most important of all, repairs to and concreting of some of my long main water supply ditches, which run for a good many miles through this section.

This is all very necessary work, particularly the cementing of our supply ditches, in order to conserve our irrigation water, which we are always very short of in the dry summer months. This work has to be done in the winter, because even under normal conditions it is impossible to spare men from the fields at any other time.

Now (as I said above), important as this work is, I have been unable to do any of it for the last two years, simply on account of the labor shortage, which is growing yearly and daily worse.

The crop now being harvested (1921) will show great loss not only due to strike of last year, which reduced the tonnage of cane and sugar tremendously, but to the lack of sufficient and efficient hands to terminate the grinding in the proper season, thereby causing deterioration of juice by long standing.

Now, in regard to the growing crops (so far only dealing with 1922) again, owing to the late harvesting of this crop, are all undermanned, and all, I regret to say (with the exception of one field of H109 late plant), dishearteningly overgrown with weeds, and although being under cultivation for the last three months, has only had one and one-half rounds of water, where it should have had at least four. I might mention here that 150 acres of the above-mentioned area are short ratoons, which were short ratoons last year, and should have been harvested then; but owing to strike, had to stand over till the early part of this year.

Another field of 74 acres, originally intended for short ratoons, has not had any attention so far, and unless irrigated soon will die out completely.

About 600 acres of my 1923 crop will be needing attention very shortly, and I have to give thought to the problem ahead, for I can not see where the labor is coming from to handle it, and feel sure that if this situation (which I assure you is very acute) is not relieved immediately, a great portion of this area will have to be abandoned.

In regard to the class of labor, I have here, at present, Japs and Koreans.

Japanese in the past have been very satisfactory and industrious and peaceable; but of late have grown discontented and dissatisfied, and hundreds of them are returning to Japan.

My experience with Koreans is that they are inefficient, stupid, stubborn, and lazy, and by comparison with the Jap are not to be considered; even these are very scarce, and as agriculturists they are a failure.

Now, this shortage of labor threatens the life of the islands, every industry is suffering from it, and unless new labor is obtained the situation will be very serious.

The Chinese coolies seem to be our only salvation; they have proved themselves efficient in the past, industrious, and peaceable.

They do not (like the Jap) engage in trades or professions; but are content to "be tillers of the soil," and so make good field laborers.

We feel confident you fully realize the gravity of the situation and know you will do your utmost to convince the "powers that be" in Congress to readjust laws in order to obtain for these islands permission to admit Chinese labor in sufficient numbers to save the life of our industries.

I remain, respectfully,

W. B. GREENFIELD,
Section Overseer, Mokuleia Waialua Agricultural Co. (Ltd.).

WAIALUA, HAWAII, June 14, 1921.

HAWAIIAN LABOR COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Being employed by the Waialua Agricultural Co. (Ltd.) as an overseer, taking care of approximately 1,500 acres of cane land, I am directly interested in the labor situation in Hawaii.

Personal observation has convinced me that there is immediate need of an additional supply of labor for carrying on the field work on this and other plantations in these islands. On this plantation the shortage of labor is so acute that the fields are being neglected and as a result—

- (a) They are overgrown with weeds;
- (b) Are not being properly irrigated;
- (c) Cane that should be harvested during the period when the sucrose content is highest must be left standing on the fields; and
- (d) No planting can be undertaken for the crops of 1922 and 1923.

This shortage obtains on all sections of this plantation. From information I have received of intimate friends on other plantations in these islands, the scarcity of labor is general, and it is the consensus of opinion that great losses will be entailed if relief from some source is not forthcoming at an early date.

I have had occasion to supervise Chinese laborers and in all cases they have given very satisfactory results. The Chinese as a rule are honest, industrious, law-abiding, can adapt themselves readily to conditions existing on Hawaiian plantations, and consequently their output is above the average of most of the other classes of labor now available.

The activities of the military and naval establishments in Hawaii and the rapid development of the pineapple industry, homesteading and other small farming have seriously affected the supply of labor for field work, and it is urgently requested that remedial action be taken as soon as possible.

Yours, very truly,

FRED A. ESCOLONA,
Overseer Kemoo Section,
Waialua Agricultural Co. (Ltd.), Waialua, Hawaii.

WAIALUA, June 11, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Hawaiian Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to a request for an opinion on our labor shortage, will say that conditions in Hawaii are in a mighty precarious state, and will be much worse in a few months from now unless we can get more agricultural labor.

I am employed by the Waialua Agricultural Co. as section overseer over 2,600 acres; have had over 20 years' experience in the sugar business, the most of which time has been spent directly with field labor—chiefly unskilled.

Through shortage of labor on this section alone harvesting of crop 1921 has been delayed 4 months. This not only means a loss of at least 3,000 tons of sugar, but it will set back the 1923 crop to the extent of 4,000 to 5,000 tons of sugar unless we can get labor right now to save it. The 1922 crop has already suffered a reduction of approximately 4,000 tons of sugar, and this through the shortage alone of labor.

Besides all crop losses, there is the maintenance of water-heads, reservoirs, wads, and buildings, etc., which simply has had to be left alone. This means extra labor and more cost in the future if we expect to get things in shape again.

Chinese labor of the agricultural class, beyond a doubt would fill the breach. My experience with them is they have stayed more with the agricultural work than any other labor that has come to these islands.

Aside from importing Chinese for field labor the very fact that we have them here will be a fortification to the welfare of Hawaii.

Trusting that you and your honorable committee shall be successful in convincing Congress how serious the situation is,

Yours, very truly,

GEO. M. ROBERTSON.

KAWAILOA, WAIALUA, OAHU, June 11, 1921.

HAWAIIAN LABOR COMMISSION,
Washington.

DEAR SIR: During all my 25 years' experience on plantations I have never witnessed a shortage of labor such as exists to-day. On the Kawailoa section, where I have been for the past 11 years, we are only able to take care of and cultivate about one-third of the area that we did in former years. All the fields that has been harvested since January, 1921, are still laying as the harvesters left them. And owing to the slow harvesting of the crop there will be no labor available to do any necessary work on them. Which means that all fields that should be growing the 1923 crop will have to

be abandoned. Should we be unable to get a supply of labor from outside the Territory there is no hope for the plantations but to close down.

According to my own experience and observation, the Chinese is by far the most superior agriculturists to anything we have on the plantation to-day.

Yours, respectfully,

GEORGE WILSON.

WAIALUA AGRICULTURAL CO. (LTD.),
Kawailoa, June 11, 1921.

CHAIRMAN HAWAIIAN LABOR COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: The members of the sugar industry of these Islands are anxiously awaiting the result of your activities in Washington.

We sincerely hope that you can convince Congress of the absolute necessity of procuring Chinese labor for the production of sugar.

The labor situation on the plantations at the present is deplorable.

The harvesting on my section has been considerably delayed, with the result that at least 25 per cent of the canes will be unfit to send to the mill, as they will be completely "dried" out. After same has been harvested, there will not be a laborer available to get the fields in shape for the 1923 crop. The management have decided to abandon 400 acres of excellent sugar cane lands—a loss of approximately 2,400 tons sugar that is only on one section.

I have handled Chinese labor in various parts of the world and they have always given entire satisfaction as agricultural laborers and are in my estimation 100 per cent more efficient than the Filipino as a field laborer.

Trusting this data will be of use to you in your efforts to procure the labor that is so vital to the sugar interests of these islands.

I am, yours, sincerely,

O. S. CONSIN,
Water Luna, Waimea.

WAIALUA AGRICULTURAL CO. (LTD.),
Oahu.

HONOLULU, T. H., June 10, 1921.

MR. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DILLINGHAM: The need for laborers for the cane fields is beginning to show in the slack work in the two iron works of this city and both shops have laid off a number of men because of lack of work.

This is because the plantations are not prosperous and are suffering because they do not have men to properly take care of the cane now growing and to plant more cane or to harvest that which is ready for cutting.

I hope that you can soon get permission to bring laborers to Hawaii. I have been a workingman in the islands for 23 years and know that the plantations must have laborers that can work in the cane fields and that white men can not do this kind of work.

Yours, truly,

C. W. KIESEL, Coppersmith.

OAHU RAILWAY & LAND CO.,
Honolulu, Hawaii, May 3, 1921.

THE HAWAII EMERGENCY LABOR COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: The Oahu Railway & Land Co., in common with other employers of labor throughout the Territory, has been decidedly handicapped in carrying out its obligations to the traveling public and other customers, due to the shortage of labor in the Territory.

We have been compelled to double track 15 miles of our main line in order to handle the pineapple shipments during the canning season each year. This work, while it will be completed in time for the coming season, has been delayed not less than two months, due to our inability to secure enough laborers to carry out the work. This delay has prevented the repairs to one of our branch lines which was seriously damaged by the heavy storms of last January.

We have also had to postpone the moving of a station and construction of additional tracks at Schofield Barracks, work which is urgently needed for the convenience of the Government and the personnel at Schofield Barracks.

In order to accomplish as much as we have in this program it has been necessary to take labor from regular section gangs and improvise or construct devices for unloading and spreading material. We have been paying a considerably higher rate of wages for our labor than is reported to obtain on either sugar or pineapple plantations. If our information is correct, we are now paying more than a dollar a day above the wages paid similar classes of labor in these industries; this without securing additional labor.

Several months ago we had printed in the Japanese papers advertisements for laborers. These advertisements were not over the signature of the railway, but that of one of its Japanese foremen. No results were noticeable from these advertisements.

In our judgment, an additional supply of labor is urgently needed. All of the plantations served by this road are very much behind with the present crop of sugar, due to a shortage of labor to harvest the cane; the conditions will surely be worse in July and August, when the pineapples have to be harvested, and unless some relief is obtained a decided curtailment of output must result.

Yours, very truly,

OAHU RAILWAY & LAND CO.
GEO. P. DENISON, *General Manager.*

HONOLULU, HAWAII, May 3, 1921.

W. F. DILLINGHAM, Esq.,
Chairman of Labor Commission.

DEAR SIR: As a workingman who has the interest of American workingmen at heart and as a citizen who prizes his citizenship higher than St. Paul, I wish you success in your mission to Washington to secure for the agricultural interests of this Territory 25,000 Chinese laborers.

I have resided in this Territory 32 years, being engaged by the late B. F. Dillingham in San Francisco to build cars for his railroad. I am still building cars for the same railroad. During those years I have consistently worked for the Americanization of the islands, helped to organize the Republican Party, was a member of its first executive committee, and served one term in the legislature.

I am in favor of bringing in Chinese labor for our sugar plantations and pineapple canneries, because the very life of those industries depends on this labor, and the commercial and business life of the Territory depends absolutely on these industries.

To say that white men can or will work on the torrid sugar plantations cutting and loading cane is an absurdity. The time is past, if it ever was, when he would do it. It is contrary to nature's laws for white men to toil at hard, laborious work under an equatorial sun; even the Japanese quit at the earliest possible time.

I am in favor of bringing in Chinese labor, because from a national and business point of view it is wrong to allow Japanese nationals to hold by the throat—and can throttle at any moment—the business and commercial life of an American Territory.

I am in favor of bringing Chinese labor here because, in the world's chaotic state, China is our loyal friend. Our Chinese business men are honest and progressive and there is no more loyal and patriotic American than our Chinese-American. Thirty thousand Chinese will help, not hinder, the Americanization of this Territory, because they are honest and industrious workers and because they will squeeze out an un-American and undesirable element.

There is no one longs more ardently for the day to come when over our great land all will be good and loyal citizens, all shall live in peace and prosperity. To bring about this condition Hawaii, if allowed, will surely do her part. She can not, however, do it if she is made a desert of, and a refusal of your request by Congress would tend to that result.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN A. HUGHES.

HONOLULU, H. T., May 3, 1921.

MR. WALTER F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman the Hawaiian Emergency Labor Commission,
Honolulu, H. T.

DEAR SIR: As a mechanical engineer and a resident of Hawaii for nearly 40 years, I am very much interested in the objects of your mission to Washington in an effort to secure Chinese labor for agricultural purposes. I beg to state that my experience with this class of labor while acting in an official capacity on sugar plantations 30 years ago

was eminently satisfactory for industry and reliability, and such few of them as have remained on the plantations that I have knowledge of are still giving good service there.

Since the introduction of Japanese labor in the islands, I have noted with regret and alarm the steady decrease in the number of American mechanics which I believe is largely due to the intense competition which they have to meet from semiskilled mechanics who originally came to Hawaii for agricultural purposes and whose mode of living makes it impossible for any white mechanic to compete with them; and, when we had Chinese labor on the plantations, such conditions as these did not exist.

I have noted in the past few years that these semiskilled Japanese artisans have been leaving the agricultural districts and taking up their residence in the towns to such an extent that at the present time agricultural industries of Hawaii are suffering from a shortage of labor.

As an American citizen and a permanent resident of Hawaii, I am vitally interested in all that concerns the prosperity of the islands; and I view the present situation with some alarm as the outlook seems to indicate that, owing to the foregoing mentioned conditions, the situation will get worse instead of better, and I firmly believe that a large majority of the reputable American citizen residents of Hawaii would gladly welcome the reintroduction of Chinese labor for agricultural purposes which would tend to alleviate our present industrial conditions and stabilize the prosperity of the islands. In closing, I desire to say, without bias or prejudice, that many of us consider that, owing to their intense nationalistic characteristics and dual citizenship, the ever-increasing population of native-born Japanese are a distinct and serious menace to the Americanization of the Hawaiian Islands.

Hoping that the special labor commission will be successful in their efforts, I am

Respectfully, yours,

H. G. WOOTTEN, *Engineer.*

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 7, 1921.

WALTER F. DILLINGHAM, Esq.,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The question of bringing Chinese laborers into Hawaii is now being agitated, and I want to tell you that I am in favor of it; let them come, we need them.

Sincerely, yours,

JOHN ANDERSON, *Well Driller.*
JAMES ARMSTRONG, *Carpenter.*

WAIPAHU, OAHU, HAWAII, June 10, 1921.

The DIRECTOR BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: I think the idea of importing Chinese to work in the cane fields an excellent one.

How serious the present shortage of labor is can be easily seen by those of us who work on a sugar plantation. It threatens slow strangulation of the sugar industry in these islands.

The Chinese have a capacity for steady, hard work and a habit of contentment which make them ideal laborers.

I hope therefore that the commission now in Washington may be successful.

Very truly, yours,

E. A. BOXALL.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 13, 1921.

W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DILLINGHAM: As a mechanic employed by one of the local fertilizer manufacturers, which business is dependent upon the sugar industry in Hawaii, I am very much interested in the importation of laborers for work in the cane fields, as the need for sufficient labor has been keenly felt on the plantations and this unfavorable situation is reflected in all industries in the islands.

As soon as hard times hit the plantations, it affects all local concerns and I therefore hope that you will be able to secure laborers before it is necessary to shut down the concern I am working for, as I have a family dependent upon me and do not want to lose my job.

Yours, very truly,

CHAS. D. ARSTAD.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 13, 1921.

W. F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DILLINGHAM: I am very much interested in your efforts to secure permission to bring laborers to Hawaii, as the plantations are very badly in need of laborers that can work in the fields.

Knowing that unless laborers are secured, most manufacturing concerns in Hawaii will be compelled to shut down, I naturally do not want to lose my job and hope that your efforts will be successful.

Yours, very truly,

J. C. BRUNS, *Machinist.*

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.:

I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 50 years, and have been employed as a skilled mechanic for many years. I understand the labor conditions on the islands, and realize that in order to keep industry going on these islands, it is necessary that laborers be brought here to work in the fields only, and to be returned after working a certain number of years. As it is too hot in the open fields where hard labor is performed the Americans can not work; and I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought for plantation work only.

A. G. CUNHA,

Foreman Patternmaker.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, May 3, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM.

DEAR SIR: As you know, I have been on the islands since 1900, starting in as a launchman, and have been steady at it until now.

At present I am manager and control Young Bros. (Ltd.), who have a fleet of 14 boats, doing all the towboat and launch business of this port.

I have always worked with Hawaiian natives, who make wonderful boatmen.

My company has grown with the shipping. At first sailing vessels, with coal in and sugar out, later steamers, cargoes in and sugar out. Without sugar, our business would be dead.

The islands need laborers, the Hawaiians and whites can not work in the fields, so our salvation is in orientals. No laborers, no sugar; no sugar, no ships; no ships, no business.

Yours, truly,

JOHN A. YOUNG.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 10, 1921.

Mr. W. T. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Hawaii Labor Commission, San Francisco.

DEAR MR. DILLINGHAM: Understanding that you are going to Washington in connection with labor matters in the Hawaiian Islands, and in order to relieve conditions there by bringing in a certain number of Chinese laborers, I wish to state that I have been in the general contracting and building business in the Hawaiian Islands for the past 44 years, having arrived there in 1877, and have been and am now familiar with labor conditions through all the islands. I am also familiar with labor conditions on the Pacific coast. Nowhere is labor better treated than in the islands, with good, free accommodations, firewood and lights, and good working conditions. The best and most orderly and efficient labor that we have had in the islands are Chinese, a class of labor that can perform work, particularly in the rice fields, that is difficult, if not impossible, for any other class of labor to perform. Since Chinese have stopped coming to Hawaii and those in Hawaii have left for China, the rice industry has practically gone to ruin. This class of labor does not compete with the white labor, and there is a great need for them in Hawaii now with the shortage of labor there. They do not come in contact with the white mechanic. I am writing this from the standpoint of a mechanic.

Yours, truly,

JOHN F. BOWLER.

HONOLULU, T. H., June 6, 1921.

Mr. WALTER F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I sincerely hope that you will succeed in impressing on Congress the pressing need of our plantations for labor and that your request for 25,000 Chinese laborers for the islands be granted. I might say sugar is the principal, the only product of our islands; without it the commercial life of the Territory would die; to raise it we must have labor, which we have not at the present time. White men can not cut and load cane under a tropical sun; it has been tried and failed. And again, without any prejudice, alien nationals that can not and will not assimilate or become Americans should not control the industrial and agricultural business of an American territory. I am a blacksmith, have resided here for 40 years. I believe that in bringing Chinese labor here it will help out every interest in the Territory.

Yours, truly,

J. MACHADO.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 10, 1921.

W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission.

DEAR SIR: Regarding the bill passed by the last territorial legislature to allow importation of Oriental laborers, I desire to state my views on same.

I am in favor of such importation provided they are employed as agricultural and plantation laborers and as household servants.

When they feel disposed to quit field and household work, they should be immediately deported to their own country.

Believe they should not be allowed to own or hold land. I have been a resident of the Territory for six years and have been employed as carpenter, carpenter foreman, and at present superintendent of construction.

Yours, for a better Hawaii,

B. S. MACINTYRE.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 7, 1921.

W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Having been asked to forward my indorsement to your mission in Washington at the present time, I do so with pleasure. I feel that after 40 years' residence in Hawaii, working as a blacksmith, gave me the opportunity to observe field work on the plantations of these islands.

I am convinced that the field work of the sugar and pineapple estates can not be worked successfully by American labor, and in view of the fact that our estates are going back in their production for the want of Oriental labor, and as our fields are the "heart-beat" of all other industries in these islands, I wish you success in your mission to secure a modification of the Chinese exclusion act, that labor may be brought to Hawaii and the normal production of the Territory's industries may be kept going.

I am, faithfully, yours,

CHARLES CROZIER.

WAIPAHU, June 10, 1921.

The DIRECTOR BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
 HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: I take the privilege of writing these few lines below, being one in full sympathy with united action in the bringing of more laborers to these islands.

There is no doubt to my mind, and I am sure to all here on these islands, that the shortage of labor, which is a very serious fact, must be immediately remedied, and do hope that all can see that the importing of more laborers is the only remedy.

The sugar industry must be kept going in full blast, or go under, which means success or loss to all here in the islands.

Yours, very truly,

W. W. COCKBURN, *Electric Engineer.*

In sympathy with the above statements.

JULIUS WEBER, *Electrician.*K. TOKASHE, *Electrician Helper.*K. SHINCOMURA, *Electrician.*BEN KALEIWAHEA, *Electrician Helper.*FRANK R. AUERBACH, *Electrician.*

WAIPAHU, June 10, 1921.

THE DIRECTOR BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: I am glad to have this opportunity to express my approval of the proposed importation of Chinese labor to the Hawaiian Islands.

On account of the shortage of labor I am to-day operating one of the largest boiling houses in the islands at a little less than two-thirds its capacity. This should be sufficient evidence to convince anyone that the need of additional labor for the successful carrying of the industry is immediately required.

I would also like to add that I have been employed here in the islands a little more than one year and prior to that time have been in the sugar industry on the mainland for 20 years, and, therefore, feel that I am in a position to say that the laborer on the mainland, especially the Caucasian is not adaptable to the climate and conditions here. He has not the temperament or desire for the kind of work that is here required.

On behalf of the Chinese, I can say that it is my observation that he is the most reliable and trustworthy laborer here to-day. He is intelligent and his former employment makes him readily adapted to the work and his standard of living makes it possible to secure his services at a more nearly equal basis to the same class of labor in the other sugar-producing countries. He does not assimilate the business of the country or create any social or political disturbance, and to my mind he represents the laborer that is most desired.

Hoping that the above may in some way assist in securing the desired results, I am,
Sincerely, yours,

C. J. FLEENER,
Sugar Boiler, Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.).

WAIPAHU, OAHU, June 9, 1921.

DIRECTOR BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION.

DEAR SIR: I am very strongly in favor of importing Chinese labor to these islands. If we do not have more labor most, and in fact all, the plantations will have to curtail their output of sugar. By doing so they will cut down their forces of skilled and semi-skilled labor who are not able to work in the fields. This will be felt by all the trades in the islands and would tend to cripple all of the island industries.

Yours, truly,

CHAS. COMAN.

WAIPAHU, June 11, 1921.

THE DIRECTOR BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, T. H.

DEAR SIR: It is evident to the most casual observer of labor conditions in the Hawaiian Islands that the sugar industry is suffering from a very serious shortage of unskilled labor.

This condition, coupled with the present price of sugar, is sufficiently serious not only to effect the general prosperity of the Territory, but to threaten a large number of the plantations with financial ruin.

For these reasons, I am heartily in favor of the movement to import unskilled labor into this Territory, as in my opinion it is the best step that can be taken to avert serious consequences to our agricultural life caused by the present acute labor shortage.

Yours, very truly,

J. G. WALSH,
Clerk, Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.).

WAIPAHU, OAHU, June 9, 1921.

DIRECTOR, THE BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN PLANTERS ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to put before you these few lines at this time when the days of strikes and discontentment among the labor, and the labor being very much depreciated in various ways on these islands at the present day, I consider that it's not

before time that something should be done in the direction of getting the cost of production back to something like normal, or as near as possible, because the world at the present day is in general suffering greatly from these causes when labor has got to be paid at a higher rate, and at the same time the Japanese especially would like to impress on you that he does not require to do an honest day's work, but he is very keen in figuring out a percentage or what he thinks or what is probably being instructed him by his union. It is a pity that such a poor and destitute state as China is in at the present that some substitute could not be temporarily got from there, and by doing so would contribute toward helping the starving millions. This place I understand is one of the largest plantations on the islands, and have always employed a good number of Chinese, and which they have always been reckoned to be the best, efficient, and most reliable labor there is for this class of work.

I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

ERNEST H. NISBET,
Clerk Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.)

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 18 years and am a draftsman by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields, and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

CLARENCE HANYES.

WAIPAHU, OAHU, June 10, 1921.

HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,

Honolulu, Oahu.

GENTLEMEN: As an employee of one of the sugar plantations—Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.)—in the Hawaiian Islands, I indorse every effort made by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association to help relieve the labor famine in the sugar plantations by importing 30,000 Chinese laborers on a contract basis of five years with an additional option of five years on condition that the plantations needed them and also on condition that they proved themselves to be good workers and good residents.

Too much can not be said on this subject. It has also been discussed so much pro and con that it would be mere repetition if I dwelt into the advantages and disadvantages of this move. Moreover, I might not be considered an impartial judge of the situation by my nationality. But, look east, west, north, south, and in the direction of the cane fields. Recall the tasseling days of those matured fields. Recall the days when you passed them months ago and thought that the cane was ready to be cut and shipped to the mill. You wonder even now that this very same cane, once so healthy, stalwart, and juicy, now so sickly, dry, and toward the stage of fermentation, remain in the fields. Then look at the fields of young cane, now vast stretches of Celehua, lantana, and wild grass. Could even an untrained observer help concluding that one of the major reasons for this condition of affairs is that there is a shortage of good, faithful farm laborers, laborers that are born agriculturists, used to hardships and accustomed to climatic conditions similar to ours.

Yours, very truly,

A. B. LAU,
Warehouse Clerk, Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.).

HONOLULU, T. H., June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for two years and am a draftsman by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own, or be employed in, any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the Legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

O. HANSEN.

JUNE 10, 1921.

The DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, T. H.

GENTLEMEN: Owing to the fact that there is a great shortage of labor existing in these Islands at the present time, I wish to go on record as one supporting the effort being made to import laborers to the Hawaiian Islands.

If such labor shortage is to continue, it would mean that the plantations would have to reduce the area now under cultivation, and to save an industry which we have tried hard to keep up, I believe that the importation of such laborers would be of great benefit to all concerned.

Yours, respectfully,

(Miss) R. H. PAULSEN, R. N.,
Nurse Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.)

HONOLULU, T. H., June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for years and am a draftsman by trade. I have worked at my trade in the Islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields, and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the Islands as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the Islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own, or be employed in, any business except agricultural field work and as house servants and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

H. J. DIEM.

WAIPAHU, OAHU, June 9, 1921.

The DIRECTORS, BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS H. S. P. A.
Honolulu.

GENTLEMEN: As one of some years' experience on the sugar plantations of these islands I have had an opportunity to study the labor problem. The present lack of unskilled labor is undoubtedly a serious menace to the prosperity of the sugar industry

and I am strongly of the opinion that unless immediate action is taken to relieve the labor situation the prosperity of these islands will be greatly jeopardized. The climatic conditions are apparently against the successful employment of Europeans and I would strongly advise bringing in orientals, more especially Chinese.

Respectfully, yours,

DAVID H. KYDD

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I was born in the Hawaiian Islands and am a boilermaker by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

As Americans will not work in the cane fields, and as the work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

S. HAILELE MAKAHULI

WAUPAHU, OAHU, June 9, 1921

The DIRECTORS BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS, H. S. P. A.,

Honolulu.

GENTLEMEN: I am a native of Portugal and have been a resident of the islands for the last 39 years. During this time many of my countrymen have come to the islands to work on the plantations, but they do not seem to care for the work after a year or two at the job.

Most of them come to Honolulu after they have saved a little money and leave the coast.

The orientals appear to be the only class that stays with the work on the plantations and if the Hawaiian Islands are to keep up their productiveness then the only thing is to have sufficient oriental labor to take care of its industry.

Respectfully, yours,

FRANK SOUZA

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I was born in the Hawaiian Islands and am a boiler maker by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

As Americans will not work in the cane fields, and as the work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

JOHN E. BUTLER

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 7, 1921

Mr. WALTER F. DILLINGHAM,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in favor of the Chinese being brought in here as laborers. They will be of great benefit to us.

Sincerely, yours,

JAMES CARD, Well Driller.
J. S. MARTIN, Tailor.
C. G. BOCKUS, Foreign Language

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I was born in the Hawaiian Islands, and am a boilermaker by trade. I know something of the conditions on the plantations.

Americans will not work in the cane fields, and as work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

DAVID KEAWEFOO.

OPAEULA DIVISION, W. A. Co.,
 June 10, 1921,

To the honorable LABOR COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

SIRS: At the request of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association I am writing to you in regard to the labor conditions in Hawaii at present.

First. I will take up the acreage of sugar cane in my division in 1919. At that time I had about 2,200 acres in my division and about 225 men to cultivate that amount. At present I have about 1,600 acres in cultivation, 600 acres lying fallow on account of the shortage of labor, and no prospects of being able to replant for years on account of the shortage of labor. These lands are all under our irrigating system, so they are our best uplands.

Second. I will take up the shortage of our sugar crops for the last year and the next three years. In 1920 the W. A. Co. ground about 31,000 tons of sugar; in 1921 will grind about 29,000 tons; 1922 will be very fortunate if we get 27,000 tons. With the labor that we now have we are not getting the results that we got five years back; the Chinese are all very old; the Japanese are leaving the plantations and going into business for themselves as fast as possible.

Third. The Filipinos are very unreliable; 25 per cent work only 25 per cent of the working days in the month; the other 75 per cent about 80 per cent of the time. A good Chinese will cultivate about 10 acres, a Filipino about 6 acres per man.

Fourth. I will take up the system of our crops. We start our crops of cane in July if we have the labor, as that is the proper time to start a cane crop. But this season we will not get the old crop harvested until about the 1st of October or November, so that our next crop will be about four months short in growing time, which will reduce the number of tons of sugar per acre about $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 tons per acre.

Fifth. I will take up the system of plowing and planting each year. Under the old system we plan to plow at least 1,500 acres every year so as not to let our ratoons remain too long, as that cuts down on the sugar tonnage. After so many years of continuous ratooning all this work has stopped all on account of no labor.

Then there is other work that should be done at all times. Buildings for laborers, railroad and reservoirs for water, tunnels, upkeep of farm implements, such as trucks, locomotives, flanches for flanching cane, all of which require a large amount of labor, but without that labor Hawaii is bound to get back instead of forward. With a good supply of good labor Hawaii is bound to go forward, and my 16 years' experience on a sugar plantation with all kinds of labor convinces me that the Chinese is the king of them all.

Respectfully, yours,

JAMES B. CONOR,
Division Overseer, Waco (Ltd.).

HONOLULU, JUNE 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I was born in the Hawaiian Islands and am a boilermaker by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

As Americans will not work in the cane fields, and as the work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

MOLENA K. KEKAUHA.

The cutting down of the output of any particular plantation would also mean that a considerable portion of the plant would lie idle, with a consequent loss to its stockholders.

It is to be hoped that the efforts now being made to procure the required additional labor for Hawaii will meet with success.

Yours, very truly,

ARTHUR GROUNDS.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 35 years, and am a molder by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

Americans will not work in the cane fields. This work has always been done by unskilled oriental labor. It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics almost entirely depends on the prosperity of the sugar and pineapple plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should be for agricultural field work only and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the Legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

STEPHEN SMITH.

JUNE 9, 1921.

The BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, T. H.

GENTLEMEN: As a welfare worker on one of the largest sugar plantations in Hawaii. I am writing to ask you to do your utmost to secure the passage of the bill which provides for the importation of labor into Hawaii. Anyone who is as close to the labor problem as I am, must realize that unless men can be brought into the Territory to cover the labor deficit, an almost irreparable damage to Hawaiian industry will be done.

Respectfully, yours,

(Miss) MEDA C. LYNN.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 30 years, and am a shipwright by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

Americans will not work in the cane fields. This work has always been done by unskilled oriental labor. It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics almost entirely depends on the prosperity of the sugar and pineapple plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should be for agricultural field work only and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

WM. LYLE.

JUNE 9, 1921.

The DIRECTOR BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS, H. S. P. A.,
Honolulu.

SIR: Having been employed on a sugar plantation for many years, during which time I have made a special study of the effect of the labor situation on the production of sugar, I feel the time has arrived for a change in the policy of the Government in the importation of oriental labor.

Owing to the present shortage of labor in these islands it is impossible to operate the area under cultivation. This would mean the closing down of considerable acreage necessitating the dismissal of many skilled and semiskilled employees and likewise affecting all other allied trades and professions.

Sugar being the chief product of this Territory, the shortage of labor would naturally tend to cause a financial depression resulting in the crippling of our main industry.

This being so I would like my name to go on record as strongly favoring the present action being taken by the Hawaiian Commission in Washington to gain the sanction to import this labor.

I am, yours, faithfully,

E. F. SHACKLETON.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for life, and am an engineer and gas man by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

Americans will not work in the cane fields. This work has always been done by unskilled oriental labor. It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics almost entirely depends on the prosperity of the sugar and pineapple plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should be for agricultural field work only and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the Legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

WM. GREEN.

Twenty-five years on sugar plantations as a luna and locomotive engineer.

JUNE 9, 1921.

BUREAU OF LABOR, H. S. P. A.

GENTLEMEN: As an employee directly connected with the sugar industry of these islands, I most heartily indorse the movement to bring a supply of unskilled laborers to the Hawaiian Islands.

The necessity of this is of great importance, as the welfare of the Territory is being retarded by lack of field laborers.

The sugar industry seems to be the hardest hit by the shortage, as valuable cane land is lying idle, and land under cultivation is also suffering from shortage of labor.

The commission appointed by the last legislature has my heartiest support.

Yours, truly,

WILLIAM CORMACK.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for eight years, and am an engineer by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

Americans will not work in the cane fields. This work has always been done by unskilled oriental labor. It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics almost entirely depends on the prosperity of the sugar and pineapple plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should be for agricultural field work only and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

S. GERRY.

WAIPAHU, OAHU, HAWAII, June 9, 1921.

THE DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

SIR: In view of the publicity that has been given Hawaii's request for the importation of Chinese labor, I would like to be permitted to express my opinion.

The large amount of land now under cultivation has been made possible by the use of oriental labor in the fields, as the whites and native Hawaiians do not take to that

kind of work and as a rule do not find it necessary to do so in order to earn a living. As the old type of laborer returns to his own country or grows too old for hard labor under a tropical sun, the younger generation, educated in American schools, will not take their places in the fields as they are fitted for higher and better-paid work.

It would seem, therefore, from this, that there will have to be some means of getting a fresh supply of labor every decade or allow a lot of valuable land to lie idle. This naturally would cause all the agricultural concerns to cut down their overhead to a minimum, throwing the majority of the skilled and semiskilled out of employment and cutting down the wages of the remainder. A step of this kind would have the effect of a financial panic in a community of this type, whose main products are agricultural, and would react, not only on the employees thrown out of work, but on the entire business life of the Territory.

A large percentage of the skilled employees on plantations, educated in their own particular work and knowing nothing of any other business, while able to support their families in comparative comfort now, would be forced to accept work that they were unfamiliar with, and therefore would be unable to earn a decent living.

The large companies engaged in this work can cut down their capital, their overhead and other expenses to conform with the decreased production, but the employees and the community as a whole would be the real losers. For these reasons I am adding my plea to the many others that Congress allow us to import oriental labor and keep our business and industrial life alive and thriving.

Yours, very truly,

WALTER M. BRIDGES.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM.

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 32 years and am a structural worker by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can not longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

JOE RAWLING.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM.

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 12 years and am a boiler maker by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

As Americans will not work in the cane fields, and as the work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

PETER A. ANDREWS

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for nine years, and am a machinist by trade. I know something of the conditions on the plantations.

Americans will not work in the cane fields, and as work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

A. F. SILEN,
Acting Assistant Superintendent, Honolulu Iron Works.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921.

MR. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 23 years and am a painter by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the field.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

A. D. WISE.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

MR. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

I am a foundry foreman by trade and have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for twenty years. I know something of the conditions on the plantations and that American^o will not work in the fields. As work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

Yours, very truly,

FRANK J. CLARK,
Foundry Foreman, Honolulu Iron Works Co., Honolulu, Hawaii.

HONOLULU, June 6, 1921.

MR. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 21 years and am a plasterer by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own, or be employed in, any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

DON RADUFER.

kind of work and as a rule do not find it necessary to do so in order to earn a living. As the old type of laborer returns to his own country or grows too old for hard labor under a tropical sun, the younger generation, educated in American schools, will not take their places in the fields as they are fitted for higher and better-paid work.

It would seem, therefore, from this, that there will have to be some means of getting a fresh supply of labor every decade or allow a lot of valuable land to lie idle. This naturally would cause all the agricultural concerns to cut down their overhead to a minimum, throwing the majority of the skilled and semiskilled out of employment, and cutting down the wages of the remainder. A step of this kind would have the effect of a financial panic in a community of this type, whose main products are agricultural, and would react, not only on the employees thrown out of work, but on the entire business life of the Territory.

A large percentage of the skilled employees on plantations, educated in their own particular work and knowing nothing of any other business, while able to support their families in comparative comfort now, would be forced to accept work that they were unfamiliar with, and therefore would be unable to earn a decent living.

The large companies engaged in this work can cut down their capital, their overhead and other expenses to conform with the decreased production, but the employees and the community as a whole would be the real losers. For these reasons I am adding my plea to the many others that Congress allow us to import oriental labor and keep our business and industrial life alive and thriving.

Yours, very truly,

WALTER M. BRIDGES.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM.

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 32 years and am a structural worker by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can not longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

JOE RAWLINGS.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM.

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 12 years and am a boiler maker by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

As Americans will not work in the cane fields, and as the work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

PETER A. ANDREWS.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for nine years, and am a machinist by trade. I know something of the conditions on the plantations.

Americans will not work in the cane fields, and as work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

A. F. SILEN,

Acting Assistant Superintendent, Honolulu Iron Works.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 23 years and am a painter by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the field.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

A. D. WISE.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

I am a foundry foreman by trade and have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for twenty years. I know something of the conditions on the plantations and that Americans will not work in the fields. As work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

Yours, very truly,

FRANK J. CLARK,

Foundry Foreman, Honolulu Iron Works Co., Honolulu, Hawaii.

HONOLULU, June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 21 years and am a plasterer by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own, or be employed in, any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

DON RADUFER.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 8, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DILLINGHAM: The need for laborers for the cane fields is beginning to show in the slack work in the two ironworks of this city and both shops have laid off a number of men because of lack of work.

This is because the plantations are not prosperous and are suffering because they do not have men to properly take care of the cane now growing and to plant more cane or to harvest that which is ready for cutting.

I hope that you can soon get permission to bring laborers to Hawaii. I have been a workingman in the islands for years and know that the plantations must have laborers that can work in the cane fields, and that white men can not do this kind of work.

Yours, truly,

A. K. DECKER.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for five years and I am a bricklayer by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese who generally did the more skilled labor in the fields.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own, or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

B. KENEALY.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
*Chairman Labor Commission,
 Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for years and am a foundry superintendent by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands for two years and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own, or be employed in, any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

F. J. McGRILL,
Foundry Superintendent Honolulu Iron Works Co.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 10 years and am a carpenter by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields, and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the field.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands, as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own, or be employed in, any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

WM. E. HUGHES.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for five years and I am a marble letterer by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the field.

It is necessary that laborers be brought to the islands as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

J. A. REED.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 12 years and am a carpenter by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that laborers be brought into the islands as the work for skilled mechanics in almost every line depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants, and should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

P. O. N. HUGHES.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 10, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DILLINGHAM: The need for laborers for the cane fields is beginning to show in the slack work in the two iron works of this city and both shops have laid off a number of men because of lack of work.

This is because the plantations are not prosperous and are suffering because they do not have men to properly take care of the cane now growing and to plant more cane or to harvest that which is ready for cutting.

I hope that you can soon get permission to bring laborers to Hawaii. I have been a working man in the islands for 21 years and know that the plantations must have laborers that can work in the cane fields and that white men can not do this kind of work.

Yours, truly,

W. A. WELBOURN, *Carpenter.*

HONOLULU, OAHU, June 10, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I was born in Honolulu, Oahu, July 17, 1886. I've lived there ever since. Never was away from the islands. I am a labor foreman and a hoisting engineer by trade.

My father was a descendant of Portugal and my mother a Hawaiian.

I am a citizen and a citizen since the annexation to the United States on July 7, 1898.

In agreement with the bill passed by the last legislature to allow the importation of oriental laborers into Hawaii. I'm in favor of allowing such laborers to work only in the cane fields and as household servants. When they no longer want to work in the cane fields, I am in favor of deporting them to their mother country.

Experience has taught that only this class of labor can work efficiently in the plantation fields.

I believe that they should not be allowed to own any real estate. I am convinced that the prosperity of the Territory of Hawaii depends largely upon the success of the plantations securing plenty of laborers, because the failure of the plantations would undoubtedly result in hard times for all other business interests, as practically all shipping would be at a standstill.

The foregoing views are those of one who has spent his lifetime in the islands and who looks to the future prosperity of the Territory of Hawaii. I am,

Yours, faithfully,

RICHARD PHILLIPS.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have been in the Hawaiian Islands for years, and am a boiler maker by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

As Americans will not work in the cane fields, and as the work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

M. LOUIS, Jr

HONOLULU, T. H., June 8, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DILLINGHAM: The need for laborers for the cane fields is beginning to show in the slack work in the two iron works of this city and both shops have laid off a number of men because of lack of work.

This is because the plantations are not prosperous and are suffering because they do not have men to properly take care of the cane now growing and to plant more cane or to harvest that which is ready for cutting.

I hope that you can soon get permission to bring laborers to Hawaii. I have been working in the islands for 37 years and know that the plantation must have laborers that can work in the cane fields and that white men can not do this kind of work.

Yours, truly,

JAMES MCANDREWS, *Boiler Maker.*

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

I am an engineer by trade and have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 30 years. I know something of the conditions on the plantations, and that Americans will not work in the fields. As work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

Yours, very truly,

J. S. MUIRHEAD.

WAIPAHU, June 9, 1921.

The DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: One of the most vital questions affecting practically every resident of the Hawaiian Islands is how to remedy the serious labor shortage now existing and which has reached the critical point. In my opinion it is the duty of anyone living here, whether he is deriving his livelihood direct from work on a plantation or from other sources, to work for the best interests of the plantations, which here is identical with the best interests of the whole community. The planters see a steady exodus of their experienced Japanese laborers back to their native country, and while it is true that to a certain extent the labor force is recruited by Filipino laborers, I think most will admit that the Filipinos do not now, if they ever will, replace the Japanese in efficiency. They are, in the first place, not physically able to stand the work and seem to lack the stamina for steady, organized labor. The only solution seems to be to impress upon the United States Congress the necessity of coming to our aid by repealing the Chinese exclusion act.

We are all familiar with the objections of such action, mostly coming from organized labor in the States, but the objections do not apply to local conditions here. This is preeminently an agricultural country, employing only a very limited proportion of skilled labor and the danger of competition against such skilled labor would be negligible for a good many years to come. If Congress does not come to our aid, the day will come, in fact is very close, when the plantations will have to reduce their acreage under cultivation for lack of labor to work the fields, with the result of throwing a lot of skilled and semiskilled men out of employment, and the loss will not be the loss of the few but will be shared by the community at large.

Yours, respectfully,

A. HALBERG.

WAIPAHU, OAHU, HAWAII,
June 9, 1921.

DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: I am very much in favor of the efforts being made by the labor commission, now in Washington from these islands, to obtain the admission of Chinese laborers for our plantations.

Being an employee on one of the sugar plantations I have an opportunity to see at first hand what a slowing-down effect the present labor shortage is having on the mill and agricultural operations. Unless some remedy is found for this condition it will surely mean the curtailment of production and the operation of the factory on part time, resulting in unemployment of skilled white labor. That would work a hardship on those men here who have had a special training for the work they are doing.

For the past eight years I have seen the Chinese at work on the plantations here, and they are capable and willing workers. There is an urgent need for that class of workers, and they should be allowed to come to these islands.

Very truly, yours,

H. W. ROBBINS.

WAIPAHU, HAWAII, June 9, 1921.

To the DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,

Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: The labor shortage question in the Territory of Hawaii is becoming an acute question. The quality of labor required here principally in the sugar plantations is not available. This shortage is made up of a number of circumstances that it is unnecessary to enumerate, except, on one point which is, the demand is far greater than the supply. In this case the supply will have to be replenished to enable the island to hold its own, and not fall under a financial crisis, which would mean ruin to agricultural industries of the islands, which has taken a long number of years to build up to the standard which it stands at the present.

I sincerely hope that some aid can be obtained to replenish the labor supply and not endanger the welfare of skilled employees as well as the industry.

Yours, very respectfully,

GEO. W. McDUGALL. *Section Overseer.*

WAIPAHU, T. H., June 9, 1921.

The DIRECTOR, HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,

Honolulu, T. H.

DEAR SIR: As an employee on a sugar plantation I have become convinced that unless the acute labor shortage, which has become the most serious problem affecting the sugar industry of Hawaii, is alleviated in the near future, the most serious consequences may ensue which may cripple the whole agricultural business and prosperity of these islands.

The most available source of supply of efficient and suitable labor appears to be the Orient, and this being so I wish to record my hearty indorsement of the action attempting to gain permission to import oriental labor.

Trusting that these efforts may prove successful,

Yours, truly,

T. G. WALKER.

HONOLULU, June 7, 1921.

W. F. DILLINGHAM,

Chairman, Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have been a resident of these islands for the past 13 years, and have had considerable opportunity of observing the plantation and field work of these islands.

I am convinced that the ordinary field work of the sugar plantations and pineapple fields can not be, and never will be, done by white American labor. The mechanical work of the sugar mills and pineapple canneries is, and always will be, performed by them, but the purely agricultural work of the fields is impossible for them.

Wholly dependent as we are on our sugar and pineapple industry I am convinced that our only salvation from the present dire shortage of field labor is the importation of oriental laborers (other than Japanese).

For our protection, and that they may be contented, I would suggest that provision be made for the returning to their own country at the termination of their contract. any orientals that may be brought here to work in the fields.

I am wholly in favor of the measure before Congress whereby such may be brought to these islands, especially the modification of the Chinese exclusion act. I consider it the one thing needed to bring back a measure of prosperity to these islands, and that without it we are, and shall continue to be, in dire straits with regard to our field labor.

I am yours, faithfully,

E. M. BULL.

WAIPAHU, HAWAII, June 10, 1921.

The DIRECTOR BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,

HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,

Honolulu, Hawaii.

SIR: I entirely indorse the action of the special committee sent to Washington, D. C., for the purpose of trying to show Congress the entire necessity of bringing field laborers to these islands.

With the present labor shortage, the fields will fall far short of former years and will, in fact, have to leave valuable land lie idle altogether.

A white man will not and can not work in the fields. This is a proven fact, hence, the importation of Chinese is the only solution.

Should Congress not grant the permission of the importation of laborers from the Orient, the islands will receive a severe blow, for it is entirely an agricultural country, and everything depends upon them, and with the present lack of labor it will be impossible to make the plantations pay, and further more result in a general suffering, for, the plantations are owned by all. Practically every man and woman who has saved a few dollars, has it invested in sugar and pineapple stock.

If these two industries having made Hawaii what it is, should fail, through lack of labor, a sad state of affairs will exist in Hawaii.

Yours, very truly,

ROBT. FRICKE.

HONOLULU, June 10, 1921.

MR. WALTER DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission from Hawaii,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: As a resident of Hawaii for the past 35 years and a marine engineer on the steamers plying between the islands, I have been in a position to observe the labor conditions here and on this account desire to express my views to you.

White labor, as you know, has been tried on the sugar plantations at various times without success, this labor being unable to withstand the climatic conditions here. There is at present a very acute shortage of labor in the islands and it is absolutely necessary that some relief be obtained.

The present financial depression here, due to the shortage of unskilled labor causing great loss to the sugar plantations through inability to take off crops, is reflected in all other lines. This has affected me in my capacity of marine engineer by the fact that several of the interisland steamers have been laid up through the inability of the plantations to harvest crops owing to shortage of labor, thus causing the crews of the vessels to be out of employment.

I trust that your commission will be able to secure some relief by procuring additional unskilled labor for our main industry, upon which everything in the islands depends.

Yours, very truly,

J. M. LITTLE, Marine Engineer.

WAIPAHU, June 9, 1921.

THE DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: I suppose you are aware of the fact that the sugar plantations in Hawaii are in need of more labor; that the cane is burning up in the fields on account of not enough help to irrigate; that the young cane is being choked and stunted in its growth with weeds, and that the sugar mills are only turning out about 50 per cent of their capacity. Any person can see this by visiting the various plantations.

If these conditions are allowed to exist much longer, a number of the weaker plantations will have to close down, thereby throwing a number of skilled men out of employment.

It seems to be a pity that after all the years of struggle to build up an industry, it will soon be destroyed and only on account of not having labor to carry it along. I know the struggle and hardships the majority of the plantations had to endure to build up the industry, as I have followed plantation life in a mechanical way for 25 years.

Why not send an earnest official to the Congress of the United States to allow the Territory to bring labor from somewhere to save the industry. Congress knows the isolated place we live in, and it also knows, or should know, that white men can not be brought down here from United States and paid wages high enough so they can live up to a white man's standard of living, in competition with Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines.

I feel that if it is gone about in the right way that Congress will give us the desired help so the industry can be carried on.

Yours, respectfully,

C. H. McNALLY.

ENCLOSURE **12/1/54**

Part 1.

ARTHUR C. BERTS, Secretary.

WAIPAHU, OAHU, T. H.,
June 10, 1921.

To the DIRECTORS BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS:

I am in favor of importing Chinese laborers. If we don't have more laborers soon it will mean a hard hit for the plantations. As a matter of fact the plantations have to cut down their output, which will mean a reduction in the skilled and semiskilled labor, which will effect most of the trades outside of plantation and cripple the island industry.

F. J. OLSEN,
Mechanic Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.).

OAHU SUGAR CO. (LTD.),
Waipahu, June 10, 1921.

The DIRECTOR BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, T. H.

DEAR SIR: I wish to say a few words in regard to labor shortage in the Territory of Hawaii at the present time and the general condition amongst the sugar plantations and other concerns in need of help. The only thing, in my opinion, is that this Territory to relieve itself from present conditions, is to import more labor suitable to the climate and conditions in Hawaii.

Yours, very truly,

ANDREW A. BUTA, *Shipping Clerk.*

WAIPAHU, OAHU, June 10, 1921.

HONOLULU SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu.

GENTLEMEN: Have noted your movement through a labor commission in Washington to have Congress let down her immigration laws by allowing 30,000 Chinese to come into Hawaii as agricultural laborers on the sugar plantations. I for one heartily indorse this move, and think if it is put up to the powers that be in Washington in the proper light they will let the plantations import these Chinese. It is the one thing that will save the plantations from cutting down the size of their plantations, thereby allowing much valuable land to remain idle.

I was born and have lived practically all my life on a plantation and have seen all classes of labor tried out, including the Portuguese, Spaniards, Poles, Hindus, Porto Rican Negroes, and the Filipinos, and they have all been found wanting. The Japanese and Chinese have been the only ones that have proven a success when it comes to production—the unskilled labor that is necessary on a sugar-cane plantation.

The importing of Japanese, I think, is out of the question as a result of the feeling that has been growing against them during the last few years in continental United States, especially on the Pacific coast. Therefore it is the Chinese that will have to be worked, for they are the only remaining source of unskilled plantation labor that have proven a success.

The future of the country also can be taken into consideration, especially the Americanization of the country. The Chinese children in Hawaii of the laboring families have proven to be much better citizens as a whole than any of the other classes of laborers that have been brought to this country. Therefore I think that no matter which way anyone looks at the proposition, the Chinese are the people that will be able to solve our labor shortage here in Hawaii, where the situation has become very serious and the prosperity of the islands in grave danger of taking a long fall on account of this labor shortage. Hoping you will be successful in mission to secure these Chinese laborers, I remain,

Yours, very truly,

HENRY B. DYSON,
Luna Construction Gang, Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.).

JUNE 10, 1921.

HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Bureau of Labor, Honolulu, Hawaii.

GENTLEMEN: I wish to place on record the plantation conditions of the last 12 months, due to the labor shortage.

All department heads are agreed that the existing shortage of unskilled labor is so seriously affecting the sugar industry of Hawaii that an appeal to the Federal Government at Washington to sanction the importation in sufficient numbers of unskilled labor to work in the fields is the only protection for Hawaii's main industry.

The plantations are finding it increasingly more difficult to take care of the much delayed 1921 crop.

Unfortunately, the 1922-23 crop has already felt the delayed planting and want of attention so necessary to young cane. It is difficult to know just what will be the results of the near succeeding crops.

There is an opportunity here in Hawaii to give employment to great numbers of unskilled laborers, semiskilled, and skilled men, which will help a situation not of local but national importance.

Yours, very respectfully,

F. C. COWELL,
Pump Engineer, Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.).

WAIPAHU, OAHU, June 10, 1921.

BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
Honolulu Sugar Planters' Association, Honolulu, Hawaii.

GENTLEMEN: Oriental labor is essential for the agricultural pursuits of the Hawaiian Islands.

I have been a resident of the Hawaiian Islands for the past 15 years and have resided on the four principal islands of the group, and it is very visible—the scarcity of labor—as large tracts of land which were formerly productive are now lying fallow.

Apparently Europeans do not take kindly to the labor required of them in the rice, cane, and pineapple fields, and they gradually drift to Honolulu and the mainland.

Respectfully,

WM. LENNOX.

OAHU SUGAR CO. (LTD.),
Waipahu, June 10, 1921.

THE DIRECTOR BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: Having been connected with the sugar plantations for the last five years, and noting the growing shortage of labor from year to year, I realize that the only salvation for this industry in these islands is the importation of suitable labor in such numbers as will keep the production of sugar up to the high standing it has enjoyed in former years.

Respectfully, yours,

A. A. WHELAN,
Warehouseman, Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.).

WAIPAHU, OAHU, HAWAII, June 10, 1921.

HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Bureau of Labor, Honolulu, Hawaii.

GENTLEMEN: We have long ago suffered in Hawaii by the shortage of labor. During the last 10 months, however, the situation has grown worse—it is intolerable. Since the strike we have at no time been able to find a sufficient number of men to take care of the plantation's needs.

The Hawaiian main industry is unable to cope with the situation; cultures suffer greatly. We are unable to take off the sugar crop of the year, and we find it impossible to take care of the coming crops. There is work here, plenty. We could in Hawaii accommodate thousands and thousands of laborers. We are badly in need of these men. The prosperity of the country is at stake. Hawaii without its sugar industry is unable to subsist. It is up to the Federal Government to see that we get here the necessary number of men to accomplish the daily work. By amending a

law interdicting the importation of Chinese laborers we could easily remedy this intolerable situation. We are badly in need of men and the Chinese themselves are starving in their own land.

Not only in the fields have we been feeling the gravity of the shortage of labor.

In the mill and pump departments as well as in the hospital we have been constantly short of men. It is high time that a solution to this problem be found.

The American citizens of Hawaii, knowing that Hawaii's future depends upon the plantations, wish to see the Government of the United States, our country, solve this problem for the best of the land.

R. J. MERMOD,
Physician, Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.).

HONOLULU, T. H., June 13, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
*Chairman Labor Commission, Territory of Hawaii,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: May I be allowed to express to you some of my views upon the labor situation here, pertaining particularly to the resolution passed by the last legislature in which they petitioned Congress for permission to bring into this Territory from the Orient laborers for agricultural work and house servants?

I am an American citizen, born in the State of Washington in 1874. My father was born in the State of Maine and was an officer in the Federal Army during the Civil War, and my grandfather fought in the War of 1812. My mother was born in Glasgow, Scotland, her ancestor, being Scotch and English. Up to 1897, when I came to the Hawaiian Islands, I lived on the Pacific coast, was a member of the class of '91 of the Oakland High School and of the class of '96, Stanford University.

Since my arrival in the islands in March, 1897, I have been constantly engaged in the general contracting business, with the exception of about three and one-half years, from 1912 to 1916, during which time I was engineer for the city and county of Honolulu. During my first four years of contracting in the islands I was working with partners; subsequently, in business for myself. About 90 per cent of the contracts I have undertaken and carried out have been for the construction of railroads and public works. Up to and including 1904, available labor of any nationality could be used upon public works, but from that date only citizen labor or those eligible to become citizens could be employed on or about Territorial or municipal county work.

During the period from 1897 to 1902 I was engaged extensively in railroad and wagon road construction on Oahu and Hawaii, having constantly under my direct charge during that time in the neighborhood of 500 laborers. Speaking approximately, I should say that as to nationality these laborers were divided about as follows: 60 per cent Japanese, 30 per cent Chinese, 5 per cent Hawaiians, and the balance a constantly changing nondescript gang in which most any nationality could be found. During 1904, when the law regarding citizen labor went into effect, I tried gangs of various nationalities on road work, including Italians, Russians, Porto Ricans, Portuguese, and Americans, none of whom, however, took to pick and shovel work with any degree of enthusiasm, and would only do this class of work when there was absolutely nothing else in view.

From 1904 to date the trend in contracting work has been to use machinery as much as possible in order to eliminate common labor on account of its scarcity and unreliability, thus building an organization consisting of practically 100 per cent skilled labor.

The location of most of the contracting work on which I have been engaged during the past 20 years has been in the plantation districts, and I am as intimately acquainted with labor problems in the agricultural districts as I am with those on my own work.

By using modern machinery wherever possible, the management of sugar and pineapple plantations has effected a considerable economic saving by greatly reducing the number of men necessary to cultivate and take off their crops; but in conducting their operations there will always be required a large number of common laborers to do handwork that can not now be done by machinery, nor is it probable that this work ever will be done by machinery. The ideal laborer for this situation is one who is thoroughly imbued with the idea that his mission on this earth is to wield a hoe and a cane knife and cultivate the soil. Considering that his work is to be done in the direct rays of a Tropic sun, this ideal laborer probably does not exist, but his closest counterpart is to be found in the native of the agricultural districts of China. This

THE PROBLEMS IN HAWAII.

... of ... at other years of handling and observing the labor on ... Japan, Korea, Philippines, Straits Settlements, and ... it in the satisfactory manner of the Chinese. ... workers, but they are as reliable as a machine ... the same amount of work every day. ... have made a deplorable mistake in the past in trying to ... common agricultural labor. They have taken a man ... and cane knife and have taught him enough to make ... the detriment of the skilled labor and mechanics in the ... oriental mechanics now in the islands came here ... years ago. In the future, laborers who are ... be allowed to do nothing but labor or act as house- ... should they be allowed to act as even semiskilled ... the wealth of this community is derived from the soil, ... the Army and Navy Departments of the Federal Govern- ... the merchants, the professional men, the skilled and ... owe their incomes indirectly to the produce of the ... the most casual observer that should the soil fail to ... the community would shrink to near the ... would be forced to subsist upon what they would ... the Federal Government and the tourists. The only ... could befall this community would be by taking ... other words, should we be unable to fill our require- ... the majority of us would be unable to make a living ... have to move to pastures new. It is the height of ... from the northern climes to labor in the fields of the ... without number. It is not because they can ... such a life offers no attractions to them but is abso- ... follows that our common agricultural labor must ... the case, we should get the labor which will ... satisfaction. That labor, a large majority of us consider,

L. M. WHITEHOUSE.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921

Washington, D. C.

... have that you will succeed in impressing on Congress the ... for labor and that your request for 25,000 Chinese ... be granted. ... the principal—the only—product of our island. Without it ... the Territory would die. To raise it we must have labor, ... at the present time. White men can not cut and load cane ... has been tried and failed. And again—without any preju- ... can not and will not assimilate or become Americans ... commercial and agricultural business of an American Territory. ... have resided here for 39 years. I believe that in bring- ... help out every interest in the Territory.

JACINTHO COSTA.

Washington, D. C.

... a resident of the Territory of Hawaii for the past 50 years ... on a sugar plantation of which my father was part owner ... have a thorough knowledge of plantation life and work. ... and as such have mingled with all classes of skilled and ... the past 20 years have had a great many under my control. ... that Americans will not work under any circum-

stances in the cane fields. It is work that has always been done principally by Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, and some Portuguese who generally did the more skilled work in the fields. It is necessary, and I urgently request you to do all in your power that laborers be brought to these islands, as the work for skilled mechanics depends entirely on the prosperity of the sugar and pineapple industries of this country.

On the following condition I am in favor of the bill passed by the last session of our legislature asking Congress to allow the importation of laborers providing that they be restricted solely to agricultural field work and domestic servants, and should be deported when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

Wishing the commission success in their undertaking, believe me to be
Very respectfully, yours.

HENRY C. VIDA.

HONOLULU, June 15, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.:

I am a resident of Territory for 38 years. My occupation is plant superintendent for the Hawaiian Dredging Co. Portuguese descent, citizen of United States.

In agreement with bill passed by last legislature to allow the importation of oriental laborers. Experience has taught me that the oriental labor is one class of labor which can stand up under the work required in plantation fields. Believe these laborers should be employed only on plantation work and should not be allowed to own real estate. They should be deported to their mother country when they refuse to work in the field. General prosperity of the Territory depends upon the ability of the plantation to secure sufficient labor.

Yours, respectfully,

MANUEL COSTA,
1933 South King Street, Honolulu.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 19, 1921.

W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Being a citizen of the United States by birth, and constantly connected with the supervision and construction of buildings for more than 20 years, and as you know a resident of the Hawaiian Islands for the major portion of the time during the past two years, a portion of which was in supervising the construction of the largest pineapple cannery and plantation construction work in connection therewith, on the island of Maui; and knowing the deplorable labor condition existing in the Hawaiian Islands at this time, not alone on the sugar and pineapple plantations but in mechanical lines as well, I trust that my views and opinions may be of some assistance to the committee from Hawaii, now in Washington, D. C., conferring on this subject.

It is a well-known fact that the sugar and pineapple is the principal industry here, all others depending on the maintenance and advancement of these two industries. The present situation in the cane fields (without apparent relief) is such that a shortage of 30 per cent of labor to harvest the present sugar crop prevails, with every indication of conditions becoming worse.

This means a loss of 30 per cent or more of the sugar crop this year if the present condition is not reversed.

Since citizen or local oriental labor is not available in adequate numbers to meet the required demand, unless it be made compulsory upon any or all of the present population to work at a specific kind of work, and since the orientals having proved the most adaptable of any for sugar plantation work, I concur in the resolution passed by the Legislature of Hawaii, the senate concurring, relative to the importation of laborers to work at cultivating and harvesting sugar cane.

Trusting that relief may be forthcoming at a very early date to relieve the present condition and thereby preserve as large a percentage of the present sugar crop as possible.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN L. CLIFF.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, *June 10, 1921.*

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DILLINGHAM: The need for laborers for the cane fields is beginning to show in the slack work in the two iron works of this city and both shops have laid off a number of men because of lack of work.

This is because the plantations are not prosperous and are suffering because they do not have men to properly take care of the cane now growing and to plant more cane or to harvest that which is ready for cutting.

I hope that you can soon get permission to bring laborers to Hawaii. I have been a working man in the islands for 21 years and know that the plantations must have laborers that can work in the cane fields and that white men can not do this kind of work.

Yours, truly,

W. A. WELBOURN, *Carpenter.*

HONOLULU, OAHU, *June 10, 1921.*

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I was born in Honolulu, Oahu, July 17, 1886. I've lived there ever since. Never was away from the islands. I am a labor foreman and a hoisting engineer by trade.

My father was a descendant of Portugal and my mother a Hawaiian.

I am a citizen and a citizen since the annexation to the United States on July 7, 1898. In agreement with the bill passed by the last legislature to allow the importation of oriental laborers into Hawaii. I'm in favor of allowing such laborers to work only in the cane fields and as household servants. When they no longer want to work in the cane fields, I am in favor of deporting them to their mother country.

Experience has taught that only this class of labor can work efficiently in the plantation fields.

I believe that they should not be allowed to own any real estate. I am convinced that the prosperity of the Territory of Hawaii depends largely upon the success of the plantations securing plenty of laborers, because the failure of the plantations would undoubtedly result in hard times for all other business interests, as practically all shipping would be at a standstill.

The foregoing views are those of one who has spent his lifetime in the islands and who looks to the future prosperity of the Territory of Hawaii. I am,

Yours, faithfully,

RICHARD PHILLIPS.

HONOLULU, *June 7, 1921.*

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have been in the Hawaiian Islands for years, and am a boiler maker by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations.

As Americans will not work in the cane fields, and as the work for skilled mechanics and others depends on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations, it is necessary that field laborers be brought to the islands.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work only.

Yours, very truly,

M. LOUIS, Jr.

HONOLULU, T. H., *June 8, 1921.*

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DILLINGHAM: The need for laborers for the cane fields is beginning to show in the slack work in the two iron works of this city and both shops have laid off a number of men because of lack of work.

This is because the plantations are not prosperous and are suffering because they do not have men to properly take care of the cane now growing and to plant more cane or to harvest that which is ready for cutting.

stances in the cane fields. It is work that has always been done principally by Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, and some Portuguese who generally did the more skilled work in the fields. It is necessary, and I urgently request you to do all in your power that laborers be brought to these islands, as the work for skilled mechanics depends entirely on the prosperity of the sugar and pineapple industries of this country.

On the following condition I am in favor of the bill passed by the last session of our legislature asking Congress to allow the importation of laborers providing that they be restricted solely to agricultural field work and domestic servants, and should be deported when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

Wishing the commission success in their undertaking, believe me to be
Very respectfully, yours.

HENRY C. VIDA.

HONOLULU, June 13, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.:

I am a resident of Territory for 38 years. My occupation is plant superintendent for the Hawaiian Dredging Co. Portuguese descent, citizen of United States.

In agreement with bill passed by last legislature to allow the importation of oriental laborers. Experience has taught me that the oriental labor is one class of labor which can stand up under the work required in plantation fields. Believe these laborers should be employed only on plantation work and should not be allowed to own real estate. They should be deported to their mother country when they refuse to work in the field. General prosperity of the Territory depends upon the ability of the plantation to secure sufficient labor.

Yours, respectfully,

MANUEL COSTA,
1933 South King Street, Honolulu.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 10, 1921.

W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Being a citizen of the United States by birth, and constantly connected with the supervision and construction of buildings for more than 20 years, and as you know a resident of the Hawaiian Islands for the major portion of the time during the past two years, a portion of which was in supervising the construction of the largest pineapple cannery and plantation construction work in connection therewith, on the island of Maui; and knowing the deplorable labor condition existing in the Hawaiian Islands at this time, not alone on the sugar and pineapple plantations but in mechanical lines as well, I trust that my views and opinions may be of some assistance to the committee from Hawaii, now in Washington, D. C., concerning on this subject.

It is a well-known fact that the sugar and pineapple is the principal industry here, all others depending on the maintenance and advancement of these two industries. The present situation in the cane fields (without apparent relief) is such that a shortage of 30 per cent of labor to harvest the present sugar crop prevails, with every indication of conditions becoming worse.

This means a loss of 30 per cent or more of the sugar crop this year if the present condition is not reversed.

Since citizen or local oriental labor is not available in adequate numbers to meet the required demand, unless it be made compulsory upon any or all of the present population to work at a specific kind of work, and since the orientals having proved the most adaptable of any for sugar plantation work, I concur in the resolution passed by the Legislature of Hawaii, the senate concurring, relative to the importation of laborers to work at cultivating and harvesting sugar cane.

Trusting that relief may be forthcoming at a very early date to relieve the present condition and thereby preserve as large a percentage of the present sugar crop as possible.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN L. CLIFF.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, *June 13, 1921.*WALTER F. DILLINGHAM,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: As to the importation of Chinese laborers would say that in my opinion it would be all right were they restricted to work on the different plantations and for domestic purposes.

I am a resident of these islands for the last 28 years and in that time have been connected, more less, with the labor interests of the islands as engineer and mechanic for the last six years.

It is evident that it would work greatly to the advantage of skilled labor if there were more common laborers, for that would call for increased products of manufacturers. The lack of the general improvement of the islands is due to the lack of sufficient laborers, as on them, in a large measure, depends the prosperity of these islands and the continued employment of skilled artisans.

Should such contemplated action prove detrimental to the interests of the islands, after having had these Chinese employed for a certain length of time, legislation could be enacted wherewith they could be returned to their own country.

At the most, as I see it, it is but an untried experiment with no great loss attending, even should it prove a failure at the end; at the least it certainly would be an advantage at the present time, when there is such a dearth of unskilled labor to meet the requirements of the plantations, to import these Chinese laborers.

Respectfully, submitted.

OLANDO K. AULD.

KAWAIILOA, WAIALUA, OAHU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,
*June 9, 1921.*HAWAIIAN LABOR COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: With reference to the labor situation on the Kawaiiloa division of the plantation, I would say that the shortage of labor is the worst I have known during my stay of 20 years on this plantation.

In the production of sugar we are three months behind Nounde; no plowing has been done on this division (4,100 acres) for 14 months. Owing to shortage and inefficient class of labor we have at present, large areas will have to be abandoned during the next five months.

Yours, truly,

WM. HANJONAM.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, *June 27, 1921.*Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for over 30 years and are saddlers by trade. We have worked at our trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations. We are sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that labor be brought to the islands, for skilled mechanics in almost every line depend on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants. They should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

We are in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Very truly,

FRED PHILP.
MORLEY PHILPHONOLULU, HAWAII, *June 27, 1921.*Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am a native of these islands and a seamstress by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations. I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and some Portuguese who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that labor be brought to the islands, for skilled mechanics in almost every line depend on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants. They should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

MARY HANAN.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 27, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 27 years and am a druggist by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations. I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that labor be brought to the islands, for skilled mechanics in almost every line depend on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants. They should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

H. L. SHAW,
Leonard Hotel.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 27, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 35 years and am a sailmaker by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations. I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and some Portuguese who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that labor be brought to the islands, for skilled mechanics in almost every line depend on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants. They should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Very truly,

JAMES VIERIA, Sailmaker.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 27, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 11 years and am a seamstress by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations. I am sure that white Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that labor be brought to the islands, for skilled mechanics in almost every line depend on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house

servants. They should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Very truly,

MARY ABRUE

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 10, 1921

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 29 years and am a blacksmith by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations. I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and some Portuguese who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that labor be brought to the islands, for skilled mechanics in almost every line depend on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work, and as house servants. They should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

LOUIS KAMAKA.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 10, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 44 years, and am a machinist by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations. I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that labor be brought to the islands, for skilled mechanics in almost every line depend on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants. They should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

PAUL C. BREDE.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 6, 1921.

Mr. WALTER F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I sincerely hope that you will succeed in impressing on Congress the pressing need of our plantations for labor and that your request for 25,000 Chinese laborers for the islands be granted.

I might say sugar is the principal, the only product of our islands. Without it the commercial life of the Territory would die. To raise it we must have labor, which we have not got at the present time. White men can not cut and load cane under a tropical sun; it has been tried and failed.

And, again, without any prejudice, alien nationals that can not and will not assimilate or become Americans should not control the industrial and agricultural business of an American Territory.

I am a working mechanic; have resided here for 30 years. I believe that in bringing Chinese labor here it will help out every interest in the Territory.

Yours, truly,

HARRY J. AULD

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 10, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I have lived in the Hawaiian Islands for 22 years and am a boilermaker by trade. I have worked at my trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations. I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and some Portuguese, who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that labor be brought to the islands for skilled mechanics in almost every line depend on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants. They should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

I am in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

A. FIEGE,
Boilermakers Union.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 27, 1921.

Mr. W. F. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman Labor Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: We were born in the Hawaiian Islands and are hatters by trade. We have worked at our trade in the islands and know something of the work on the plantations. I am sure that Americans will not work in the cane fields and that it is work that has always been done by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and some Portuguese who generally did the more skilled work in the fields.

It is necessary that labor be brought to the islands, for skilled mechanics in almost every line depend on the prosperity of the pineapple and sugar plantations.

Laborers brought to the islands should not be allowed to work at any trade or to own or be employed in any business except agricultural field work and as house servants. They should be returned to their own country when they can no longer do the work for which they were brought here.

We are in favor of the bill passed by the legislature of the Territory asking Congress to allow laborers to be brought here for plantation work.

Yours, truly,

DANIEL JOSEPH,
124 Bertiana Street.
 M. ENOS MEDUSOS, Jr.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, June 27, 1921.

Mr. JOHN NOLAN,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR NOLAN: I am sure you will remember me as a machinist toolmaker who was in the employ of the Honolulu Iron Works when you were employed by the same firm. I remember you well and pleasantly.

I have been located here for 25 years.

I am writing you because I saw in the local newspaper that you were opposing an effort the people of Hawaii are making to import field labor.

I wish you were back here again to see conditions at first-hand and to see the necessity for this labor and to note that it is by the field work of this class of labor that we mechanics prosper.

It is a class of work that does not in any way conflict with the white man or mechanic and which in this climate no white man can do.

You are quoted as referring to Mr. Tyson as your authority. I know Mr. Tyson only by reputation and am disappointed to find that he can be so blind as to advise you against supporting the assistance these islands need and are asking of you.

I shall be pleased to have you ask me any questions or do you any service that will guide you, but do not oppose this measure on the grounds of its hurting skilled labor of any kind.

Very sincerely,

FRED B. WEST.

APPENDIX II.

STATEMENTS OF PLANTATION OWNERS, OPERATORS, AND MANAGERS, WITH REFERENCE TO THE LABOR CONDITION AND SHORTAGE EXISTING IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII AND WITH REFERENCE TO THE PROBABLE FINANCIAL LOSS AND OTHER RESULTS LIKELY TO BE OCCASIONED BY THAT SHORTAGE.

KEALAKEKUA, KONA, HAWAII, *April 28, 1921.*

MESSRS. HIND, ROLPH & Co.,
Honolulu.

DEAR SIR: We beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 23, advising us that a commission has been appointed by the present legislature to go to Washington and endeavor to interest Congress in securing permission to import into Hawaii laborers to relieve the present situation.

We thank you for the advice, and are certainly most heartily in accord with the action of the legislature in thus bringing the matter so strongly before Congress; and trust that this commission will be successful in so interesting Congress in this matter so vital to all interests in the islands, be they large or small, that the necessary permission will be secured.

We realize that in many of the other districts the numerical shortage of laborers is greater than here in Kona, ut even here one of the most crying needs is for more laborers, both to handle and save the present crops, which often sustain considerable loss owing to this shortage (crops of coffee and sugar), as well as to cultivate the acreage at present available but not under cultivation owing to lack of laborers. The cattle ranches in our districts are also handicapped in the same way, and the great cry throughout the industries is for more laborers.

We trust that you will take the matter up with the commission, and advise them that we here in these districts are so short of laborers that it has become an extremely serious matter to us. Kindly give them the data as shown in this letter, which figures are as nearly as we can approximate, for our districts of North and South Kona:

Acres under cultivation.....	4, 000
Acres wild coffee.....	1, 000
Acres uncultivated account lack of labor.....	2, 000

Class of labor used, 80 per cent Japanese; 20 per cent others.

Number of laborers employed (not including owners of farms or leases).....	500
Shortage of laborers on present cultivated areas.....	500
How many more laborers needed for proper carrying on of the industry.....	1, 000
Territorial taxes paid by industry in 1919 and 1920.....	\$35, 000-\$40, 000

Wages paid laborers prior to war (coffee picking), 75 cents per bag.

Wages paid laborers during war (coffee picking), \$1.50 and \$1.75 per bag.

The figures as above given only apply to the coffee industry and do not cover the sugar-cane growing or other industries.

During the greater part of the busy coffee harvesting season the growers or farmers found it necessary, in order to save crops, to pay an increased price for labor. This resulted in their getting a greater number of coffee pickers, drawing them away temporarily from other industries, in many instances greatly crippling these other industries, and still leaving a large number of laborers short to handle the crops, thus bringing about a partial crop loss as well as the financial loss occasioned both by loss of crop and exorbitant price for laborers to handle the part harvested.

The coffee-industry situation is at the present time at a very critical stage, owing largely to this shortage of laborers, and the resultant discouragement to the growers or farmers in being unable to handle their crops without exorbitant expenditure, this shortage also acting as a prohibition against the cultivation of new areas at present available.

Again thanking you for the notice of the appointment of the commission and trusting that they may be able to so place conditions before Congress that they may see how serious the matter is to all interested in the islands, we are,

Very truly, yours,

CAPT. COOK COFFEE Co. (LTD.)
Per WM. D. McKILLOP, *Bookkeeper.*

HUEHUE, KAILUA, HAWAII, April 29, 1921.

MR. JOHN K. CLARKE,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

MY DEAR JOHN: I received your letter of the 23d instant and the following are a few facts concerning the labor problem on the cattle ranches in this district.

During the coffee season, which lasts four or five months of the year, it is nearly impossible to have anything done on the ranches in the way of fencing, clearing land, or otherwise improving conditions whatever.

The ranchers are solely dependent on labor from men who own a few acres of coffee trees, and the consequences are that when the coffee is ripe they naturally leave the ranch to harvest their coffee.

If more labor was available bigger crops of coffee could be obtained, as a considerable amount of coffee falls to the ground and is lost, owing to the coffee growers being unable to obtain labor when the crop is ripe.

During the off season of the coffee a considerable amount of the labor would be used by the ranchers in clearing pasture land, which I regret to say is very much overgrown with lantana, guava, etc., for no other reason than the want of labor.

The foregoing you can either condense or lengthen as you think fit, as I believe you can gather from it the necessary data you desire.

With kind regards, believe me, yours, aye,

JOHN LIND.

INFORMATION WITH REGARD TO COFFEE INDUSTRY.

Acres under cultivation, approximately 4,000.

Acres wild coffee, approximately 1,000.

Acres uncultivated account lack of labor, approximately 2,000.

Class labor used, Japanese 80 per cent, all other nationalities. 20 per cent.

Number laborers employed, 500.

Shortage of laborers on present cultivated areas. 500.

How many more laborers needed for proper carrying on of industry, 1,000.

Federal taxes paid by industry, 1919-20, figures not available locally.

Territorial taxes paid by industry, 1919, \$35,000; 1920, \$40,000.

General conditions of the industry at the present time:

At the present time, the coffee industry throughout both Kona is not yielding the returns it rightfully should. Lack of labor to properly maintain the industry is the principal cause of this condition, and unless outside labor can be brought in, conditions will not improve, but will become even worse.

As above stated, no expected improvement can be looked for unless outside labor is supplied, and it may be said that areas now uncultivated, will, if not looked after in the very near future, go back to their virgin state, and thereby all the time, effort, and money expended in clearing, planting, and bringing the soil to a profitable state, will have been for naught.

To anyone acquainted with soil conditions in Kona, it is easily understood, that to bring the coffee industry from its inception up to its present state, cost much time, energy, and money, in the way of advances, both cash and the necessities of life, to carry the planter along until such time as he had brought his acreage under cultivation, up to a state of profit yielding return, and to allow the industry to lapse for want of sufficient help to properly look after the land seems unfair, both to the farmer as well as to those making the industry possible.

It might be of interest to mention that from time to time a coffee tree is planted; four years must elapse before the coffee produced will be sufficient to yield a profit to the farmer (under present price), and when this fact is understood the total amount of money and foodstuffs advanced, may be well imagined.

From figures heretofore submitted it will be noted that approximately 2,000 acres of coffee lands are at present uncultivated which, with a sufficient number of laborers to take up this area, would produce considerable quantities of coffee. Also additional acreage could be planted to coffee—1,500 acres would be no exaggeration.

Figures gathered by the writer indicate the following crops for the past three years, viz. 1918-19, 46,037 bags; 1919-20, 46,680 bags; 1920-21, 47,419 bags.

At first glance, it would appear that the coffee industry has enjoyed a steady growth for the past three years, and while it is true that the total number of bags harvested during the past year is slightly in excess of the year previous, yet this increase is very small in comparison to what the total production would have been had there been sufficient labor to properly pick, dry, and harvest the crop. Up to the time of harvest, weather conditions had been ideal, and all indications were that

the crop of coffee would be the largest in the history of the industry in Kona. Scarcity of help held prices up, and the price of coffee in mainland markets did not justify the farmer in paying the prices asked by farm hands, so that he picked what he could, allowing the surplussage to fall on the ground. As nearly as can be ascertained no less than 20 per cent of the coffee which had reached maturity, ripe and ready for picking, fell to the ground.

Like conditions with regard to the sugar industry, and tobacco interests in Kona are prevailing at the present time.

Respectfully submitted.

L. C. CHILD,
Manager, American Factors (Ltd.), Kailua.

EXPERIMENT STATION,
Honolulu, April 26, 1921.

Mr. J. K. BUTLER,
Secretary J. S. P. A., Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: I hand you herewith a brief memorandum showing efforts made to carry on the work of the plantations to the best advantage during the present acute labor shortage.

Improved varieties of cane.—Other things being equal, it is to be expected that the better the cane variety the cheaper will be the cost of production per acre and per ton of sugar produced. A cane well suited to a locality grows better and closes in sooner, thereby requiring less cultivation and less labor for weed control. At the present time we are attempting to improve our cane varieties in two ways:

1. By means of seedlings, thereby creating new varieties better than the present standard ones now in cultivation.

2. By improving the varieties now being grown by means of bud selection, by methods similar to those employed to improve corn, tobacco, and citrus fruits of the mainland.

Bud selection is a new venture here, having been started last year. The results so far obtained are promising. In this work we are endeavoring to obtain a cane which will germinate better, grow faster, and stool better than the present canes. Such a cane will require less labor to produce, as there will be less weeding and less replanting to do and the yields will be better.

We have been doing seedling work for some years. During the 1920 season we germinated from seed (commercially all cane are propagated from cuttings) and planted in the field 42,000 new varieties of cane.

Up to the present time our best seedling is H 109. This cane is rapidly replacing Lahaina. I quote as follows from "An Average Census of Cane Varieties for the Crops 1920, 1921, and 1922," by H. P. Agee:

"The area of H 109 has shown a definite increase during the year. This cane now covers, for the 1921 and 1922 crops, 30,049 acres. The area of Lahaina is only slightly greater, 31,396 acres. Considering the 1922 crop only, the H 109 variety covers 16,580 acres against but 13,975 acres in Lahaina. This fact is one of the great significance in the development of improved varieties of sugar cane in Hawaii. It seems, furthermore, to bear out early predictions as to the importance of seedling work, and serves to support the contention that there are greater possibilities yet to be developed along this line.

"A statement follows showing crop by crop how the Lahaina cane has given way to the seedling H 109."

	Acres of Lahaina.	Acres of H 109.		Acres of Lahaina.	Acres of H 109.
Crop of:			Crop of:		
1913.....	41,208	0	1918.....	33,910	2,847
1914.....	39,667	26	1919.....	28,624	5,414
1915.....	37,894	39	1920.....	25,078	7,147
1916.....	35,065	558	1921.....	17,421	13,469
1917.....	33,110	1,160	1922.....	13,975	16,580

Were it not for H 109 taking the place of Lahaina we could not keep up our present yields, and the man days per ton of sugar produced would be higher than it is at present.

Methods of fertilization.—The production of sugar in Hawaii is based on intensive fertilization. Hawaii uses more fertilizer per acre than any other sugar-producing country in the world, and produces more sugar per unit area. Our fertilizer require-

ments are greater than those of the island of Cuba, producing 4,000,000 tons of sugar to our 575,000 tons. This heavy fertilization not only reduces the labor costs per ton of sugar but also reduces the "per acre" expenses as cultivation expenses actually increase with a stunted crop, as the cane fails to close in and suppress the weeds.

Cane in Hawaii is a 2-year crop. Up to recent years it was customary to apply fertilizer in from four to six applications during the growing period of the crop. This has been largely discontinued, and the fertilizer is now being applied in from two to four applications only. That is, a crop of cane now receives its fertilizer in about two applications less than formerly.

We have approximately 250,000 acres in cane. A man fertilizes not over 3 acres a day. To fertilize 250,000 acres once, therefore, requires at least 83,333-man days of work. By reducing the number of fertilizations by two we therefore save 1,666,666-man days every two years.

We have experiments now under way to determine if it is possible to apply the bulk of the fertilizer before planting the cane. If this is possible the fertilizer could be applied by means of machinery at a great saving of labor.

One of the large plantations on this island has discontinued for the time being the use of complete fertilizer. Nitrate of soda only will be used and it will be applied in the irrigation water. This will require but little more labor than is used in normal irrigation practice. In this way this plantation plans to save several thousand man days of labor. This "saved" labor will be used in harvesting, which is far behind normal. Such a procedure as the above can not be recommended as a regular practice. Phosphoric acid and potash as well as nitrogen are needed, and unless the amounts taken up by the cane are replaced by means of complete fertilizer, it is only a question of time until the supply in the soil falls below the requirements of the plant, and the yields suffer accordingly. Nitrate of soda contains nitrogen only and no phosphoric acid or potash.

Cutting back.—It is customary on irrigated plantations and some of the others to cut back during July all cane harvested before that time. Cane harvested before July and allowed to grow will be fairly big by November and quite a large amount of this young cane will tassel at that time. After a stalk of cane tassels it, of course, makes no further growth. When cane is "cut back" in July it is too small to tassel in the following November, but grows instead until November of the next year before tasseling. This gives it 12 months' extra growth. On account of labor shortage less cutting back will be done this season. Should cane tassel heavily this year this may mean a rather serious loss.

Mr. R. S. Thurston has just returned from Hawaii, where he looked into present status of paper mulching as a means of weed control. I have therefore asked him to prepare a short memorandum on the subject. The memorandum is attached herewith.

Respectfully submitted.

AGRICULTURIST
J. A. VERRET,
Per R. S. T.

EXPERIMENT STATION,
Honolulu, April 26, 1921.

Mr. J. A. VERRET,
Agriculturist, H. S. P. A., Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: Regarding the labor-saving effect of paper mulch as applied at Olaa and the extent of its use, the following figures may be of value for your report.

The following comparison of labor expended for weeding on three fields for 1920 crop unmulched, and 1922 crop mulched, shows the economy of labor effected by the use of paper:

Field.	Men required per acre.				Total.	Gain ove unmulched.	
	1920 crop.		1922 crop, mulched.			Man, per acre.	Per cent.
	Area.	Un-mulched.	To Dec. 31, 1920.	Estimated to finish.			
4-5.....	254.75	49.70	26.45	5	31.45	18.25	36.72
G.....	254.20	39.48	23.10	5	28.10	11.38	28.83
59.....	40.00	69.96	18.07	5	23.07	46.79	66.98
Total.....	548.95	159.04	67.62	15	82.62	76.42	48.05

The plantation authorities made the statement that the labor expended on the 1922 crop to December 31, 1920, amounted to approximately 80,000 days less than was expended on the 1920 crop up to December 31, 1918. Approximately the same areas are involved in each crop. This saving in labor is due almost entirely to the use of paper on the 1922 crop.

The total area of the 1922 crop under cultivation by the plantation is 3,482.91 acres of which 3,093.81 acres have been mulched. The 1923 crop will comprise about the same acreage as the 1922, and practically the whole acreage will be mulched.

The Hilo Sugar Co. is buying enough paper to mulch 400 acres of the 1923 crop. The plantation figures that by mulching this area of the early plant and ratoon cane they will be able with the present labor supply to continue grinding to the end of the crop without having to shut down the mill in June or July to clean up their early harvested fields.

Another labor-saving practice in use at Oloa is the killing of weeds by spraying them with arsenite of soda. Just what the saving is in days' labor per acre is difficult to say, but there certainly is an economy over the practice of weeding with the hoe.

Yours, very truly,

R. S. THURSTON.

Estimated loss on 1921 sugar crop due to delayed harvesting and consequent deterioration of cane.

PLANTATIONS UNDER AMERICAN FACTORS' AGENCY.

Plantations.	Per cent delay in harvesting to Apr. 30.	Normal finishing date.	1921 estimated finishing date.	Estimated 1921 crop.	Estimated per cent loss account of deterioration of cane.	Tonnage loss.	Value at \$100 per ton.
Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.).....	29.7	Aug. 30	Nov. 30	43,000	5.58	2,400	\$240.00
Pioneer Mill Co. (Ltd.).....	16.0	July 15	Sept. 30	27,000	1.85	500	50.00
Lihue Plantation Co. (Ltd.).....	36.0	Aug. 30	Nov. 1	22,750	2.55	580	58.00
Kipu Plantation.....							
Grove Farm Plantation.....	15.0	Aug. 15	do. do. do.	9,900	3.84	380	38.00
Koloa Sugar Co.	23.0	Aug. 30	Oct. 15	16,000	2.63	420	42.00
Makee Sugar Co.	39.1	Aug. 15	Nov. 15	19,000	4.53	980	98.00
Kekaha Sugar Co. (Ltd.).....	4.1	Oct. 15	Dec. 7	27,500	1.82	500	50.00
Oloa Sugar Co. (Ltd.).....							
Total.....						5,640	564.00

Production losses for 1922 sugar crop due to abandoned acreages, restricted plowing and planting, and insufficient cultivation, are conservatively estimated at 10 per cent. Expressed in terms of tons of sugar these losses show as follows:

Crop of 1922.

Plantations.	Normal.		10 per cent estimated loss.	
	Acres.	Production, tons.	Tons.	Value at \$100 per ton.
Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.).....	6,032	48,256	4,826	\$482.56
Pioneer Mill Co. (Ltd.).....	4,414	29,265	2,927	292.70
Lihue Plantation Co. (Ltd.).....	2,766	13,138	1,314	131.38
Keloa Sugar Co.	2,040	8,160	816	81.60
Makee Sugar Co.	3,182	12,091	1,209	120.91
Kekaha Sugar Co. (Ltd.).....	2,624	18,368	1,837	183.68
Oloa Sugar Co. (Ltd.).....	6,270	26,647	2,665	266.50
	27,328	155,925	15,594	1,559.44

The 1928 sugar crop acreages will undoubtedly be reduced by at least 10 per cent, and unless additional labor is secured, production from the acreage cultivated will not exceed 90 per cent of normal, giving total losses on this crop.

Crop of 1923.

Plantations.	Normal.		Reduced area.		Loss from normal.	
	Acreage.	Production, tons.	Acreage.	90 per cent production, tons.	Tons.	Value at \$100 per ton.
Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.).....	8,240	49,920	5,616	40,435	9,485	\$948,500
Pioneer Mill Co. (Ltd.).....	4,444	22,463	4,090	23,868	5,596	559,600
Lihue Plantation Co. (Ltd.).....	3,557	16,866	3,202	13,688	3,208	320,800
Koloa Sugar Co.	2,166	8,664	1,960	7,020	1,644	164,400
Maui Sugar Co.	3,979	15,180	3,581	12,247	2,873	287,300
Kekaha Sugar Co. (Ltd.).....	2,600	18,200	2,340	14,742	3,458	345,800
Olaa Sugar Co. (Ltd.).....	6,572	27,931	5,915	22,625	5,306	530,600
Total.....	29,558	166,194	25,604	184,625	31,569	3,156,900

Recapitulation of estimated losses.

	Tons.	Value at \$100 per ton.
1921 crop.....	5,640	\$564,000
1922 crop.....	15,594	1,559,400
1923 crop.....	31,569	3,156,900
Total.....	52,803	5,280,300

GENERAL CONTRACTORS' ASSOCIATION OF HAWAII, REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO ANSWER LABOR QUESTIONNAIRE.

HONOLULU, May 2, 1921.

At a special meeting of the association held on April 29, 1921, it was resolved that the president of the association be authorized and directed to appoint a committee of three to prepare and submit to the association a report on the labor questionnaire of Mr. J. K. Butler, made on behalf of the labor commission now under appointment to submit the labor needs of the Territory to the Government at Washington.

Pursuant to this resolution, the president appointed H. P. Benson, R. E. Woolley, and J. Lucas as the committee.

The committee reports as follows:

Question No. 1: What is the present general wage scale in Honolulu for common laborers of all classes and nationalities?

Answer: Territorial, city, and county work and contracts, common labor, minimum wage \$3.60 per day of eight hours; half-day Saturdays; citizens labor only permitted. Other work and contracts, common labor; wage from \$3 to \$3.50 per day of eight hours.

Question No. 2: What is the effect of the present labor shortage on the building and construction trades and industries?

Answer: It has increased the cost and retarded the progress of all work at present under construction and rendered the completion of the construction program impossible both as to time and cost. It has prevented the inception of prospective necessary projects.

Question No. 3: How are the building and construction interests affected by the Japanese who leave plantations to enter competitive field against citizen labor, either skilled or unskilled?

Answer: The smaller frame construction is now entirely in the hands of the orientals. There is work enough under which employment is limited to citizen labor to take care of all citizen labor and still leave a shortage.

Question No. 4: What is the result of the present labor shortage on general business conditions throughout the Territory?

Answer: The curtailment of construction necessarily reduces the volume of business. The high cost and shortage of labor results in the postponement of the construction of many facilities which make for the economical handling of business.

Question No. 5: What is the estimated building program for next year and what is the outlook of labor supply from the contractor's standpoint?

Answer: The building program for next year we estimate as \$13,000,000. The outlook for labor to complete this program is hopeless. We estimate the shortage to be between 1,000 and 1,500 men.

Question No. 6: What effect has labor shortage had on work under construction for the past year or two?

Answer: The labor cost has practically doubled, and the time required to complete work has been increased by 50 per cent.

Question No. 7: What is the efficiency of present labor as compared with past labor?

Answer: Present labor as compared with past labor is about 75 per cent efficient.

Question No. 8: What condition as to labor obtains in beginning any new project?

Answer: All the citizen labor of this Territory that wishes employment has employment ready and waiting. When any new project is initiated, the labor has to be either recruited from drifters or stolen from going construction.

For the purposes of this report your committee has assumed that past conditions referred to in the questionnaire refer to conditions as obtaining in 1916.

Respectfully submitted.

H. P. BENSON, *Chairman.*

R. E. WOOLLEY.

J. LUCAS.

The foregoing is a true copy of the report of the committee appointed by the president of the association to report on the labor questionnaire.

Under date of May 2, 1921, in a special meeting of the association, the report was accepted and the president directed to forward a copy thereof to Mr. J. K. Butler.

A. S. CANTIN,

Secretary General Contractors' Association of Hawaii.

WAIALUA AGRICULTURAL CO. (LTD.),

April 30, 1921.

Mr. T. H. PETRIE,

Secretary Waialua Agricultural Co., Honolulu.

DEAR SIR: Referring to Mr. Budge's inquiries about the labor situation yesterday. The Waialua Agricultural Co.'s normal force is 2,200 the present force is 1,600, and the shortage is 600.

We are not losing men now. They seem to be not moving around so much in the last two months. We have been taking on men at the rate of five or six per month.

At the present rate of grinding we will not finish the crop until the last of December. In normal times the average grinding season would finish about the 15th of August. This would leave us with about 9,000 tons of sugar to make after the normal grinding season. The loss of this amount would be anywhere from 500 to 1,000 tons of sugar.

There is no planting being done this year and we have not planned to do any. The areas abandoned for the 1922 crop are: Kaumoko, Valley 4, Anahulu Gulch "A"—a total of 240.40 acres.

Mr. Goodale has planned to abandon the following fields after they have been harvested: Waimea 6, 7, 8; Kawailoa 16 and 17; Helemano 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17; Helemano Gulch, and Helemano 3-B. The total area of these fields is 1,276 acres.

The shortage of labor will result in a larger loss on the 1923 than on the 1921 or 1922 crops. The fields we are harvesting now are not being looked after. There is no replanting, no irrigating, no clearing being done on the ratoons, and the fields are becoming overgrown with weeds. If there is no relief from the labor shortage by the 1st of July, the time we start the 1923 crop, there will be an enormous loss in 1923 to the company.

For further information on this subject, I would refer to Mr. Goodale's letter to you of March 14, 1921.

Yours, truly,

GEO. CRUICKSHANK,

Assistant Manager.

HIND, ROLPH & Co.,
Honolulu, Hawaii, May 3, 1921.

BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, Honolulu.

DEAR SIR: Replying to your request for information for the labor commission from our plantation, we beg to advise as follows:

Territorial property tax paid for year 1920, \$43,840; territorial income tax paid for year 1920, \$13,346.

In an endeavor to keep up with the field and other work, the factory is operating at less than 50 per cent of its capacity, only grinding 20 tons per hour instead of 43. No planting is being done, as this would be possible only by still further reducing the output of sugar.

Yours, truly,

HIND, ROLPH & Co.,
J. K. CLARKE, *Manager*,
Agents for Hawaii Mill & Plantation Co. (Ltd.).

HONOLULU PLANTATION CO.,
Aiea, Oahu, Hawaii, May 2, 1921.

Messrs. C. BREWER & Co. (LTD.),
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: We are in receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo stating that you have received a request from the bureau of labor and statistics of the Honolulu Sugar Planters' Association to furnish them with the area of land being abandoned; also what restriction upon cultivation and operations are contemplated this year on account of the labor shortage.

It is our intention to abandon, due to the present shortage of labor, 446 acres of unirrigated land for the 1921 crop and 283 acres of unirrigated land for the 1922 crop. This unirrigated land in the past has yielded an average of from 2.75 to 3 tons of sugar per acre. It is our intention also to carry over approximately 250 acres of short ratoon for the 1921 crop until the year 1922.

For lack of labor, all of our crops now on the ground, namely, 1921, 1922, and 1923, are suffering very much. We estimate that on the 1921 crop we will lose 1,500 tons of sugar; on the 1922, 5,000 tons; and on the 1923, also 5,000 tons. Our average crop for the year as you know is approximately 20,000 tons refined sugar. Our estimated loss in sugar, therefore, is 7½ per cent for 1921 and 25 per cent each for the years 1922 and 1923.

It may seem incredible to you that we are likely to sustain such a loss for want of labor, but the writer believes he could convince you that such is the case if you will appoint a commission of experienced sugar men to ride over the plantation and see the conditions as they are to-day.

Yours, truly,

HONOLULU PLANTATION CO.,
JAS. GIBB, *Manager*.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, April 30, 1921.

THE DIRECTOR BUREAU OF LABOR AND STATISTICS,
HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 29th instant in re areas of cane land being abandoned, cultivation of future crops restricted, and delay in the usual operations of the plantation, I would state that at Waianae, owing to the present shortage of labor, an area of 163 acres of cane land out of a total area of 2,027 acres in cultivation has been already abandoned by the company, and unless improvement in present conditions takes place it is contemplated that a further area of 100 acres may have to be abandoned.

For the same reason and to insure the harvesting of the 1921 crop in good season, cultivation of the fields for future crops has had to be entirely neglected.

While the company has managed to harvest to date as much as usual of its 1921 crop, everything has been sacrificed to this end, including the postponement of all planting for the 1923 crop, thus entailing losses in the future now difficult to estimate or foretell.

No improvements are being made on the plantation, every man on the pay roll being required for harvesting the present crop.

Yours, very truly,

J. M. DOWSETT, *Agent*, Waianae Co.

KOHALA, May 2, 1921.

Mr. T. H. PETRIE,
Secretary Kohala Sugar Co., Honolulu.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 30th requesting a statement of our labor conditions received this morning.

For the 12 months bonus period ending October 31, 1920, our average number of employees on pay roll was 445; for the 5 months ending March 31, 1921, the average number on the pay roll was 347.

We are losing men every week; the Japanese returning to Japan and the Filipinos returning to the Philippine Islands.

We have manufactured to date 1,700 tons of sugar, whereas under normal labor conditions we should have made at this time 2,400 tons.

We hope to complete the harvesting of our 1921 crop by the middle of September, later than under a normal season.

We can not say at this time as to the probable loss in tonnage on this crop due to deterioration in cane in field on account of delay in harvesting.

The present shortage of labor reflects in all ways inefficiency.

On account of present labor conditions our planting has to be restricted and held back. We should have 150 acres planted by this time, but have not planted any.

We expect to plant 500 acres, but the work will be considerably delayed.

In view of present labor conditions, it has not yet been determined whether any areas will be entirely abandoned.

We are unable to keep our fields properly clear of weeds, the result of which will be that our sugar production from the coming crops will be curtailed, the actual loss however, we are unable to estimate at this time.

Very truly, yours,

GEO. C. WATT,
Manager Kohala Sugar Co.

APRIL 30, 1921.

Mr. JOHN WATERHOUSE,
Manager Alexander & Baldwin (Ltd.), Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: Information for territorial commission: Refers to your No. 212-P. Replying to your letter of April 29 on this subject, would say that we now have 2,594 laborers on the pay roll, while last year at the same time we had 2,912 laborers, which shows that we are 318 men short as compared with last year.

From the inclosed comparative statement of labor for the month of March, 1910, 1920, and 1921, you will note that we are particularly short as far as Japanese are concerned, which means that we have lost some of our most efficient labor. As a matter of fact, while we are only 318 men short compared with last year, we were very short of labor last year, which is readily seen when it is remembered that 10 years ago we had 3,426 on the pay roll.

Crop of 1921: In normal years we have finished our harvesting about the middle of June, but this year it does not look as though we could possibly finish this work until the end of September, and, as a matter of fact, under present conditions, it is impossible to make an accurate estimate as to when the grinding will be finished, for it is reported that the pineapple canneries on this island will require about 1,000 men more during the summer and fall months when the canning begins, which means that they will have to draw on the plantations for a great deal of this labor.

Up to date we have only manufactured 24,000 tons of sugar, due to cane ground, while last year at the same date we had manufactured 43,000 tons of sugar.

Crop of 1922: This crop is very much handicapped on account of lack of labor and especially as we have to use men who are cultivating this crop for other work, such as harvesting, which results in the neglecting of the 1922 fields.

Crop of 1923: It has always been our practice here to start planting early in March, but under present circumstances it will be out of the question to start planting until some time in June or July at the earliest, for the simple reason that we would have to take labor from our harvesting gangs to do this work. With the harvesting so much delayed it goes without saying that it would be out of the question now to take even a single man from this work for the 1923 crop, and it is a problem as to just how we are going to do any planting at all before the completion in September or October of the harvesting of the 1921 crop.

Our young ratoons for the 1923 crop need attention, but we have no labor for this work, and consequently some of the ratoons will die out and therefore, taking everything into consideration, it would look as though we would have to reduce the area for this crop by about 1,500 acres. For many years our normal acreage for each crop has been about 6,500 acres, but we will be very fortunate to be able to carry on 5,000 acres for

the 1923 crop, which means that the tonnage will be reduced from the average of 55,000 tons of sugar to, say, 40,000 tons or less, for with late planting we can not expect heavy yields.

As a matter of fact, labor conditions at this time of the year do not worry us generally, but when the planting season starts and the pineapple canneries start operating we, as a rule, feel the pinch. Under present conditions, therefore, it can readily be seen that the situation is going to become critical within the next few months.

Yours, very truly,

F. F. BALDWIN,
Manager Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co.

Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., comparative labor statement for March.

PAUUNENE, MAUI, HAWAII, April 30, 1921.

Nationality.	Number of men.		
	Year 1910.	Year 1920.	Year 1921.
American.....	51	47	47
Portuguese.....	214	158	163
Russian.....	13	1	3
Spanish.....	10	13	5
Hawaiian.....	98	54	53
Japanese.....	2,279	1,312	1,046
Korean.....	184	106	93
Porto Rican.....	17	28	29
Filipino.....	3	503	642
Chinese.....	314	154	121
Women.....	178	440	333
Minors.....	65	96	65
Reserve.....			4
Total.....	3,426	2,912	2,594

KAHUKU PLANTATION CO.,
Kahuku, Hawaii, May 2, 1921.

JOHN WATERHOUSE, Esq.,
Manager Alexander & Baldwin (Ltd.), Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: You and I have discussed at several different times the effect of shortage of labor on the growing crops and plantation activities. We have also had considerable correspondence on the subject.

We are extremely short of labor. Our irrigation forces are 25 per cent less than normal. We are just managing to get water into the fields but are not irrigating in nearly as good form as we should. The men are now obliged to take more water than usual and in fields of young cane we are practicing a sort of semiflooding the fields, all of which is bad agricultural practice and a waste of water; but I see no other way of getting water to the cane.

We should be weeding and hoeing more thoroughly and scientifically than we are now doing. It is impossible to keep down the weeds that we should with the present number of laborers. This is having a bad effect on the young growing cane, inasmuch as the young stubble can not develop as it should.

We are almost exactly 33 per cent behind our normal production of sugar on April 30, having manufactured only 2,546 tons; whereas we should have manufactured 3,700 tons. This will prolong our harvesting season and will have a very disastrous effect on cane and sugar ratio, since the latter part of the year the juices fall rapidly in purity. This will also have a bad effect upon the 1923 crop, since the young ratoons harvested late will not get as good start as they should have under normal conditions.

Of the area harvested this year we shall plow and plant 162 acres. There are fields harvested this year which should be planted, in area amounting to 222.5 acres, which we shall be unable to plant on account of our shortage of labor. This will have a very disastrous effect upon our 1923 crop, as this area (222.5 acres) is now in pressing need of planting and plowing.

I can not emphasize too strongly the imperative need we have of additional laborers to carry on our ordinary cultivating operations.

Very truly, yours,

ANDREW ADAMS,
Manager Kahuku Plantation Co.

WAIALUA AGRICULTURAL CO. (LTD.),
April 29, 1921.

ANSWERS TO MR. BUDGE'S QUESTIONS.

What is the Waialua Agricultural Co.'s normal force in normal times? Two thousand two hundred.

What is the Waialua Agricultural Co.'s force at present? One thousand six hundred.

On the basis of the above figures, what is the shortage? Six hundred.

Are you continuing to lose men? No.

Are you taking on new men, not including the new Filipinos arriving from the Philippines? About five men per month.

On account of the shortage, to what extent is the crop short in tons of sugar? Seven thousand seven hundred and forty tons behind schedule.

When will you finish at the present rate of grinding and, in connection with that, what is the estimated loss due to delayed grinding? Expect to finish in December loss estimated at approximately 500 tons.

Is planting being restricted? Yes.

How much? No planting has been done this year; none to be done.

What area is being abandoned? One thousand five hundred and sixteen and seventy-four-hundredths acres.

EWA, HAWAII, April 30, 1921.

Mr. T. H. PETRIE,

Secretary Ewa Plantation Co., Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your official communication of the 29th instant, with which was inclosed a memorandum to guide me in furnishing you with a full statement of labor conditions as it exists at Ewa plantation at the present time, beg to repeat as follows:

Normal force would constitute a total pay roll of 2,066. Present force as shown on payroll is 1,597, representing a shortage at the present time of 469. These figures were arrived at as follows: Normal force equals average number of men on payroll from 1914 to 1919, inclusive, 1920 being an abnormal year, due to striking laborers.

In reply to the question, Are you continuing to lose men, and are new any men being taken on, outside of new Filipinos assigned to you by the Bureau of Labor? I present the following table:

Number of men on pay roll, including all Filipinos received from Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association.

July, 1920 (labor strike ended).....	2,047
August, 1920.....	2,036
September, 1920.....	2,068
October, 1920.....	2,072
November, 1920.....	1,988
December, 1920.....	1,600
January, 1921.....	1,600
February, 1921.....	1,600
March, 1921.....	1,700

For the month of April, 72 new men have been taken on, including 15 Filipinos from Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, and 72 men have departed.

"On account of present shortage," I will answer the questions in the order in which they are asked:

1. To what extent, in tons of sugar, is harvesting of present crop delayed, compared with normal labor conditions?

Tons of sugar manufactured up to and including ninety-third day of grinding in following years:

	Tons
1914.....	16,000
1915.....	12,000
1916.....	11,000
1917.....	13,000
1918.....	12,000
1919.....	16,000
1920 (abnormal, strike).....	9,000
1921.....	9,000

(2) When do you expect to finish crop at present rate of harvesting?

If harvesting continues at the rate it has been during the past 10 days, the present crop will be finished on December 7, 1921.

3. In view of delay and consequent deterioration of crop in field, how much loss in tons of sugar do you estimate will result from the present crop?

Three thousand four hundred tons. Losses claimed by Ewa Plantation Co. and allowed by the strike claims committee for crop of 1920, due to the crop being prolonged by strike conditions to November 13, 1920, was 8.08 per cent of the crop. By prolonging the present crop one month longer, that is to December 13, 1921, I estimate the loss on the present crop at 10 per cent on 34,000 tons.

4. Does the present labor shortage reflect inefficiency in present force to any degree? Yes. History is repeating itself. Whenever there is a scarcity of labor, pay increases and inefficiency prevails. Inefficiency illustrated by the following table:

Average tons of cane cut (by contract) per man per day.

Month.	1918	1919	1920	1921
December.....	4.2	6.7	7.6	.....
January.....	5.6	7.4	7.0	4.6
February.....	6.3	7.5	6.0	5.5
March.....	6.9	8.1	7.3	6.1

5. Is planting being restricted and to what extent?

We would normally plant 900 acres and only expect to plant under present conditions 153 acres.

Area planted from 1914 to date.

Planted during—	Acres.
1914, crop 1916.....	789.55
1915, crop 1917.....	645.81
1916, crop 1918.....	1,373.76
1917, crop 1919.....	1,228.51
1918, crop 1920.....	739.57
1919, crop 1921.....	952.96
1921, crop 1923.....	153.05

(Crop 1920 omitted on account of strike conditions.)

6. Are any areas heretofore cultivated being actually abandoned altogether?

Not at the present time; but if our labor supply is not increased by July, 1921, the Ewa Plantation Co. will be compelled to abandon some of its poorer fields.

7. To what extent are future crops suffering through the lack of labor to irrigate and cultivate?

Loss to crop 1922 suffering through lack of labor to irrigate and cultivate, 3,650 tons.

	Tons.
Normal crop.....	35,000
Strike loss allowed.....	1,350
	33,650
Present estimate, crop 1922.....	30,000
Loss (estimated).....	3,650

Loss of crop 1923: Impossible to estimate at this time, but, unless shortage is relieved, the loss will be enormous.

Present force is needed to harvest the 1921 crop, which will be completed on December 7, 1921, so that none of these men can be used for the 1923 crop. The factory will be manufacturing sugar for the same period, so these men are not available, and during the months of June, July, August, September, and October, the crop of 1922 will be attaining its maximum growth, and as these months are very dry, it will be necessary to irrigate this crop well or the cane will be stunted. This crop is not receiving the attention it should at this time, and a small loss will result (see loss crop 1922 above), so men can not be taken from cultivating crop 1922 and transferred to crop 1923. The only thing that can save the 1923 crop will be more laborers.

Below are a few other things which may be mentioned concerning the present labor shortage.

(a) The Ewa Plantation Co. has enough growing firewood on its lands to supply its needs, but scarcity of men compels us to purchase firewood in the open market.

(b) Adjoining the present lands under cane cultivation are arable lands which could and should be cleared and planted to sugar cane, thereby increasing the crops, of this plantation at very little additional expense, but same can not be accomplished.

(c) No work is now being done in the upkeep of the roads and bridges and the railroad track is being properly kept up only on that portion between the factory and harvesting fields.

Yours, truly,

GEO. F. RENTON, Jr.,
Manager, Ewa Plantation Co.

APRIL 30, 1921.

MR. T. H. PETRIE,
Secretary Ewa Plantation Co., Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: Supplementing my letter of even date, I desire to have the following information embodied in said letter:

Inasmuch as the average crop of this plantation during normal times is completed by the 31st of August of each year, and as the present indications show that the crop of 1921 will not be finished until December 7 of this year, it can readily be seen that the harvesting of every field later than August 31, 1921, will result in low yields for these fields and a late start of the 1923 crop.

Yours, truly,

GEO. F. RENTON, Jr.,
Manager Ewa Plantation Co.

APRIL 29, 1921.

MESSRS. F. A. SCHAEFER & CO. (LTD.),
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: We beg to submit herewith a report on the effects of the present labor shortage.

As pointed out time and time again, the labor shortage is our greatest problem and we are working under a tremendous disadvantage. Curtailment of production and heavy losses to the plantation are bound to result unless the labor situation is speedily relieved.

We submit herewith a comparison of the figures of labor turnout for this year as against last year, and when you consider that we have to harvest approximately 60,000 tons cane this year, as against 51,000 tons cane last year, you will readily see how seriously we are handicapped.

Total labor turnout average per month:

	January.	February.	March.
1920.....	544.31	577.10	565.29
1921.....	433.00	443.77	479.77
Shortage.....	111.31	133.77	105.52
Percentage.....	20.45	23.10	18.03

The above figures include skilled and unskilled men. The figures for unskilled labor only are as follows:

	January.	February.	March.
1920.....	482.31	514.10	526.29
1921.....	370.00	382.77	448.77
Shortage.....	112.31	131.33	107.52
Percentage.....	23.23	25.55	20.43

The above figures show that we have to take off an approximately 12 per cent larger crop with an average of 23 per cent less unskilled labor, as against last year.

On account of the labor shortage the starting of the harvesting was delayed by more than a month. A start was made finally on January 6, 1921, but the amount of cane

coming into the mill is not sufficient to keep the mill going steadily; therefore practically every day we have had to record delays of several hours. During part of March and the largest part of April we have had to run the mill on day shift only, in order to use part of our labor for the most urgent field operations, other than harvesting, and this will have to be done again later on in the season.

With a sufficient labor supply and an earlier start we should have harvested to date 38,000 tons of cane, as against 25,500 tons actually milled.

These delays not only mean a large increase in the mill expenses but also a loss of from 200 to 300 tons sugar, on account of the constant decrease of sugar contents in the cane after the middle of the year.

As the harvesting of our present crop is the first consideration, we are obliged to slow down on all other field operations.

The cultivation of a large percentage of the fields of the 1922 crop will have to be neglected, as we have only sufficient labor to take care of the best fields. This we estimate will result in a loss of from 8,000 to 10,000 tons cane for this crop.

Plowing and planting for the 1923 crop has to be reduced to a minimum, and a total area of about 375 acres has to be abandoned, which with a normal labor supply would have been plowed and planted for the 1923 crop. Losses arising from delayed planting, late start of ratoons—neglected replanting, cultivation, and fertilization—will probably cause a loss of from 10,000 to 12,000 tons cane for this crop.

From the foregoing you will see how seriously not only this year's but also future crops are affected by the labor shortage.

Respectfully submitted.

P. BARTELS,
Assistant Manager Pacific Sugar Mill.

MAY 2, 1921.

J. WATERHOUSE, Esq.,

Manager Alexander & Baldwin (Ltd.), Honolulu, Hawaii.

Labor—Information for territorial commission:

The number of laborers employed by this plantation in 1919 was 2,296; in 1920, 2,079; in 1921, 1,753; a reduction in the three years of 543.

For our 1920 crop we harvested 4,681 acres, and this was the customary acreage put into each year's crop previous to that time, with the exception of the 1919 crop which was harvested from 4,264 acres. On account of the shortage of labor during the latter part of 1919 and during 1920 we were able only to cultivate for the 1921 crop 4,132 acres. For the 1922 crop we have been able to cultivate 3,847 acres only, a reduction of 621 acres from the amount planned for when this crop was started. It is impossible at this writing to say what acreage we will be able to carry for the 1923 crop. Unless labor conditions improve we certainly can not put more than 3,000 acres into this crop, which is from 1,500 to 2,000 acres less than what we would like to have if labor conditions were normal.

To date this year we have bagged 5,838 tons of sugar as compared to 17,647 tons in 1920 and 16,621 tons in 1919. The very large reduction in the amount of sugar produced this year as compared to last year is due to shortage of labor during the latter half of last year, which delayed our planting and resulted in much extra labor for replanting, due to the poor germination on account of the late planting. This meant delay in harvesting operations. At the present time we are harvesting just 50 per cent as much cane as we should if we had a sufficient supply of labor. If conditions continue as they are it will take us until the end of the year to finish the crop and it will be impossible for us to do but a very little planting for the 1923 crop, and in consequence we will have to carry over a larger percentage of ratoons, which will give us a much lower yield than would plant cane if we were able to plant.

Very truly, yours,

H. A. BALDWIN,
Manager Maui Agricultural Co.

P. S.—Permit me to add to the above that on account of labor shortage we have been obliged to give up practically all of our general farming activities in the ranch department. This formerly supplied us with stock feed, which we now are obliged to import; and considerable quantities of sweet potatoes formerly consumed by our employees.

Two neighboring large ranches, viz: Haleakala Ranch and Mr. H. W. Rice's ranch, formerly cultivated considerable areas in corn, which was consumed locally, but on account of lack of labor they have been obliged to give this up entirely.

H. A. B.

APRIL 29, 1921.

Messrs. F. A. SCHAEFER & Co. (LTD.),
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIRs: We beg to submit herewith a report on the effects of the present labor shortage.

As pointed out time and time again, the labor shortage is our greatest problem, and we are working under a tremendous disadvantage. Curtailment of production and heavy losses to the plantation are bound to result unless the labor situation is speedily relieved.

We submit herewith a comparison of the figures of labor turn-over for this year against last year, and when you consider that we have to harvest approximately 70,000 tons of cane this year as against 47,000 tons cane last year, you will readily see how seriously we are handicapped.

Total labor turn-out average per month:

	January.	February.	March
1920.....	747.73	794.87	810.00
1921.....	548.57	603.95	620.00
Shortage.....	199.16	190.92	200.00
Percentage.....	26.63	23.93	24.50

The above figures include skilled and unskilled men. The figures for unskilled labor only are as follows:

	January.	February.	March
1920.....	646.73	695.87	710.00
1921.....	448.57	501.95	520.00
Shortage.....	198.16	193.92	200.00
Percentage.....	30.64	27.87	28.17

The above figures show that we have to take off an approximately 50 per cent larger crop with an average of 29 per cent less unskilled labor, as against last year.

On account of the labor shortage the starting of the harvesting was delayed by more than a month. A start was made finally on January 6, 1921, but the amount of cane coming into the mill is not sufficient to keep the mill going steadily; therefore practically every day we have had to record delays of several hours. During part of March and the largest part of April we have had to run the mill on day shift only in order to use part of our labor for the most urgent field operations other than harvesting and this will have to be done again later on in the season.

With a sufficient labor supply and an earlier start we should have harvested to date about 45,000 tons of cane as against 25,000 tons actually milled.

These delays not only mean a large increase in the mill expenses but also a loss of from 300 to 400 tons sugar, on account of the constant decrease of sugar contents in the cane after the middle of the year.

As the harvesting of our present crop is the first consideration, we are obliged to slow down on all other field operations.

The cultivation of a large percentage of the fields of the 1922 crop will have to be neglected as we have only sufficient labor to take care of the best fields. This estimate will result in a loss of from 10,000 to 12,000 tons cane for this crop.

Plowing and planting for the 1923 crop has to be reduced to a minimum and a total area of about 450 acres has to be abandoned, which with a normal labor supply would have been plowed and planted for the 1923 crop. Losses arising from delayed planting, late start of ratoons—neglected replanting, cultivation, and fertilization—will probably cause a loss of from 12,000 to 14,000 tons cane for this crop.

From the foregoing you will see how seriously not only this year's but also future crops are affected by the labor shortage.

Respectfully submitted.

P. BARTELS,
Assistant Manager, Honokaa Plantation, Honokaa Sugar Co.

KAUAI FRUIT & LAND CO.,
Kalaheo, Kauai, April 30, 1921.

Mr. A. H. TARLETON,
Executive Secretary Hawaiian Pineapple Packers' Association,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: I inclose herewith memorandum of answers to the various questions asked of the pineapple planters and trust that they will be found to be about what is required for the purposes mentioned.

Very respectfully,

W. D. MCBRYDE, *Manager.*

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS TO PINEAPPLE PACKERS AND GROWERS KAUAI FRUIT & LAND CO.

(1) 1919. Income, Federal.....	\$17,365.25
1920. Income, Federal.....	10,972.07
(2) 1919. Income, Territorial.....	1,167.20
Real and personal.....	2,724.00
Capital stock.....	359.00
	4,250.20
1920. Income, Territorial.....	2,290.90
Real and personal.....	4,850.00
Capital stock.....	245.00
	7,385.90

Questions 3, 4, 5, and 6 not answered.

(7) Work in the pineapple fields was performed by all nationalities irrespective of nationality; however, would say that driving of mule teams and caterpillars or tractors was done principally by Hawaiians and Portuguese, the Japanese specializing more on contract work, road building, etc., while the Chinese, being old and weak, were kept at hoe work principally. The Filipinos worked mostly at the lighter jobs, such as fertilizing, spraying, etc. In the cannery the Japanese were found to be all around machinery; in fact, good at almost any position, and the same could be practically said of the Filipinos. No Hawaiians worked in the cannery. Few Chinese at light work.

(8) All labor irrespective of nationality is not as efficient as formerly—that is, this applies to the large majority, there always being exceptions. Labor will quit at the slightest provocations and has to be handled most carefully “with gloved hands,” and does not seem to care much as to improved living conditions that have been made for his benefit. There seems to be an unsettled disposition and disinclination to settle and stick to a job permanently.

(9) Our experience is that the Japanese are the steadiest of the different nationalities and with us do not quit their jobs. The Filipinos will work a few days and then pass on to the next plantation. We wish, however, to say that we have some few Filipinos who have been with us for years, are steady, and there are no better workers than they. Portuguese have become unsteady and resent the slightest speaking to as to quality of their work. They have gotten the “coast” microbe badly and disbelieve reports of the lack of work to be had there.

(10) There is sure to be a shortage of labor during the packing season. We were most woefully short last year and lost fruit by such shortage, not having sufficient labor to put it into tins, and we expect the same conditions will prevail this year. As shown under question 6, our average of employees in the rush months in 1920 were as follows: Males, 186; females, 105; children, 96; total, 387. We believe that a 20 per cent shortage would be a conservative estimate.

(11) Decidedly so. We had figures on planting some 200 acres this year to pines and will consider ourselves fortunate if we get in a full 100 acres. As stated to question No. 10, we anticipate a 20 per cent shortage over last year and we will be indeed fortunate if we get through the season without loss of fruit.

(12) Labor shortage with us shows its effect more in the ratoon fields than others, for the reason that labor is kept at the new fields and the older or fields which are likely to produce smaller fruit are allowed to go until work can be caught up with and with consequent loss of plants and fruit through the growth of weeds and vines. Shortage of labor in one year has a most disastrous effect on the crops of the following year and the crop of the next year. In other words, a ratoon crop allowed to go to weeds

affects the crop of the following year in that probably there will be no ratoon crop at all, hence a total loss, and when a field is not planted, due to shortage of labor, that field, which, had it been planted, would have fruited in two years, is thrown over to the third year, and so on.

(13) We estimate that, due to the extreme shortage of field labor in 1920, we have lost somewhere in the neighborhood of 1,000 tons of fresh pines this year, or approximately a shortage in pack of 25,000 cases.

(14) We believe that our salvation lies in the getting in of Chinese labor, they to be brought in under strict rules and regulations, such, for instance, as their being not allowed to go to the mainland, and perhaps compulsory return to China after a certain period of time.

KAUAI FRUIT & LAND CO
W. D. MCBRYDE, *Manager*

HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE PACKERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, Hawaii, May 7, 1921.

DEAR SIR: We acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 22 asking for certain information bearing on the labor situation. We reply to your paragraphs in sequence:

1. We understand that this information is being supplied to you by the Federal tax collector.
2. We understand that this information is being supplied to you by the Territorial tax assessor.
3. Answer:

Year.	Male.	Female.
1918 (maximum).....	300	200
1919 (maximum).....	400	300
1920 (maximum).....	500	400
1921 (April).....	100	75

4. In 1918, 14 cents per hour for men; 1919, 15 cents per hour for men; 1920, 27½ cents per hour for men; 1921 (April), 22 cents per hour for men.

Free dwellings, transportation, fuel, water, and medical attention are supplied to all employees on our land. In 1920 a bonus of 10 cents per day was paid to male employees for 20 or more days' work; to female employees 10 cents per day for over 15 days.

5. Roughly, we would say that food is the chief item registering an increase in the cost of living of our plantation people. The increase may be estimated at from 75 per cent to 100 per cent as between 1914 and 1920.

6. About 100 laborers in the field and 500 in the canneries during July. Nationalities not segregated.

7. As nearly as possible, the work is apportioned to fit individuals who can best do the respective jobs.

8. This question is broadly answered by the affirmative, that without any open sabotage or passive strike our labor was (in 1920) nevertheless markedly inferior in its gross output of effort.

9. During the noncanning months our pay rolls show little turnover. During June, July, August, and September we employ several hundred temporary field and cannery laborers.

10. In place of mature and capable laborers we shall probably have to rely during our summer packing season upon help that is much less efficient than that available several years ago. The low individual output of the average worker available to us in the summer under present conditions is a most serious factor in our manufacturing costs. We could probably use at least 100 responsible men this coming packing season in addition to those we now expect.

11. We are curtailing expansion on account of the labor situation and our labor problem causes us serious worry over the approaching canning season.

12. Improper fertilization, cultivating, and spraying necessarily decrease our field yield per acre.

Hoping this information, combined with other data, may assist in the relief of a very pressing problem, we are,

Yours, faithfully,

THEO. H. DAVIES & Co. (Ltd.).
By J. P. MORGAN.

CALIFORNIA PACKING CORPORATION,
Honolulu, Hawaii, May 2, 1921.

MR. A. H. TARLETON,
Executive Secretary Hawaiian Pineapple Packers' Association,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: Please be referred to Mr. Butler's letter of April 21 to Mr. Horner relative to the data desired by the special labor commission. The following is the information required from the California Packing Corporation:

1. Taxes paid to the Federal Government, 1919 and 1920.
2. The figures on Territorial taxes we understand you will obtain from the tax assessor.

3. We are unable to give you the information as to the numbers of the different nationalities employed. The total figures are as follows: 1918, 506; 1919, 516; 1920, 491; and 1921, 625.

The number of women employed is approximately 10 per cent of the figures given above in each case. The figures given are the average for the year, excluding months which were especially low on account of weather conditions. The maximum number used during the heavy season will be about 20 per cent more than this average figure.

4. The wages paid are as follows per 10-hour day: 1918, \$1.54; 1919, \$1.63; 1920, \$2.33; and 1921, \$2.07.

In addition to the above, we furnish houses, fuel, water, and medical attendance for our labor. The figures given are the average wage for daywork and piecework combined and include semiskilled help as well as common labor.

5. It is our estimate, based upon inquiry among the better class of oriental employees, that living is approximately 15 per cent higher for them at the present time than during the prewar period.

6. We employ approximately 3,000 people over and above the figures given in previous paragraphs in work in our factories during the active months of the season. We are in this case also unable to give the percentages of the different nationalities, except that probably 75 per cent are Japanese.

7. I believe we need give you no data on this paragraph, as you are thoroughly familiar with the conditions of work.

8. We will state that we have had no indications of sabotage on the part of our labor. We do find among all labor, however, that in some indefinite way the same number of workers do not obtain the same quantity of work we obtained prior to 1920. In so far as our old employees are concerned, there is no change. During the past year, however, quite a few new men have come into our organization, and they have created a spirit which is dissimilar to that of our old employees and which has affected a considerable portion of the common labor. The situation is one which is not causing us difficulty at the present time but its development is one which we view with alarm.

9. Our laborers live on our plantations, and the turnover is not particularly heavy. In the past we have had rather a large percentage of our periodical summer employees return from year to year. The Filipino labor is the class which is more roving than any other.

10. It is impossible to answer this question. We do not estimate any particular shortage during the packing season, because it is seasonal work and is very attractive to labor on account of the large amount of overtime during this short period. It must be remembered, however, that this will be a drain on the labor of other industries, which are already short-handed.

11. During 1920 our labor shortage was such that it materially reduced our area planted in that year. We need a surplus of labor to overcome this handicap and catch up with our regular program. We can not do this with the quantity of labor now available. From all indications we will be forced to somewhat restrict our area again this year. We, however, anticipate packing our entire 1921 crop.

12. A labor shortage naturally restricts planting, which in turn restricts future crops. What this restriction will be is indeterminable at present.

I hope the above gives you sufficient information to combine with that furnished by other pineapple companies to give the labor commission the data they need.

Yours, truly,

CALIFORNIA PACKING CORPORATION.
H. A. WHITE,
Manager Hawaiian Interests.

HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE CO. (LTD.),
Honolulu, Hawaii, May 2, 1921.

Mr. A. H. TARLETON,
Executive Secretary Hawaiian Pineapple Packers' Association,
Honolulu Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: We refer to Mr. Horner's letter of April 22 and Mr. Butler's letter of April 21, asking general information in regard to the pineapple industry.

We refer to questions as numbered in Mr. Butler's letter:

1 and 2. We understand that this information is going to be secured by your office from the tax offices.

3. We show on the attached sheet the number of persons, nationality, and sex of laborers employed on our plantation at Wahiawa and at our cannery in Honolulu during the years specified.

4. The wages paid common, unskilled laborers during the years 1918, 1919, 1920, and 1921 at our plantation were, for men 13 cents, 14 cents, 18 cents, and 18 cents per hour for the respective years; for women during the same respective years 9 cents, 10 cents, 11½ cents, and 11 cents. During the years 1918 and 1919 no bonus was paid, but during the year 1920 we paid a bonus of 30 per cent on these wages. At the present time this bonus has been reduced to 12 per cent. In addition, these laborers have been furnished with quarters, firewood, and medical attention, including hospital expenses.

At the cannery in Honolulu wages for the common, unskilled laborers have, during the respective years, been as follows: Men, 12 cents, 12½ cents, 17½ cents, and 20 cents per hour; women, 8 cents, 9 cents, 11½ cents, and 12 cents per hour.

During the year 1918 no bonus was paid. During the years 1919 and 1920 a service bonus of 15 per cent of wages was paid during the busy season for those remaining in the continuous employ of the company during the period.

We have no particular comments to make on the other questions in Mr. Butler's letter and presume that Mr. Horner will supply the commission with the necessary general information which may be desired in these respects.

Very truly, yours,

HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE CO. (LTD.).
K. B. BARNES, Secretary.

PAUWELA PINEAPPLE CO.,
Haiku, Maui, April 27, 1921.

HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE PACKERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

GENTLEMEN: We have for acknowledgment your circular No. 125, together with copy of letter from the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, asking certain data about labor and conditions, and the same has our attention.

As we have not had a full season's run yet, being now in the game, we can not furnish you with complete answers to all the questions asked but will do our best.

1. Our Federal taxes were paid by our office in San Francisco and we can not answer this question.

2. Territorial taxes paid for 1920, \$1,724.40. We would further estimate that taxes paid by independent growers allied with us would amount to a further figure of about \$2,000.

3. As we only began operations last summer, we can only furnish you with the figures for 1920 and also for March of this year, and they would be as follows:

	Boys.	Men.	Women.	Girls.
Year 1920:				
Japanese.....	8	52	20	7
Hawaiians.....	4	13	15	10
Chinese.....		14	2	2
Portuguese.....	1	7	1	
Filipinos.....		10		
Koreans.....		1		
Others.....	5		1	
	18	97	39	19
March, 1921:				
Japanese.....	6	28	15	3
Hawaiians.....	1	3	4	2
Chinese.....		2	1	
Portuguese.....	5	3	2	2
Filipinos.....		6		
Koreans.....		3		
	12	45	22	7

4. Wages paid common laborers during last year were about as follows: Men, \$2 to \$5 per day; women, \$1.75 per day; boys, average \$1.50 per day; girls, \$1.25 per day.

These wages being straight wages with no bonus, the average paid the men as common laborers was about \$3 per day. In addition to these wages they were furnished with houses, wood, water, and medical attendance free.

5. We would estimate that the average cost of living of laborers in the pineapple industry in this section to-day is at least double that which it was before the war.

6. During the active months of our canning season, which would be July, August, and September, we will need for this year at least 250 employees, the nationalities of which would be in about the same proportion as we have enumerated under question 3.

Next year, or 1922, without expected increase of pack, we will need during our active season about 700 laborers and would need these for a period of about four months during the summer and about half that many for two months during winter.

7. As we purchase all our fruit from outside growers, the only kind of work done by our laborers is that in connection with the cannery. Quite a number are employed as engineers, mechanics, carpenters, and clerks, but the larger number are used for handling the fresh fruit, which includes hauling and trucking, feeding the machines, trimming the fruit, washing same, packing the fruit in cans, and stacking and piling the filled tins as they come from the cookers. We require quite a force also for trucking and hauling our goods and freight both to and from the railroad; this requires experienced auto drivers.

8. We have found that the attitude and willingness of the laborers in general at the present time is less ready and anxious to accomplish results than they were in former years. It would appear that the high wages paid the common laborers throughout this Territory the past several years has had an opposite effect upon them in the matter of accomplishing results. It is very easy to show that in general they do very much less than they were wont to do in former years when wages and living expenses were much lower. Our experience shows that the Japanese make the best pineapple growers of any of the nationalities amongst us, and they are also efficient help in the cannery work. Chinese have also proved most efficient cannery workers and are very well adapted to this work in general.

9. The great majority of pineapple growers throughout this section are Japanese and they stay quite steadily by their farms year by year. The high prices of pineapple last year caused a good deal of speculating amongst this community, but transfers of farms were made in general amongst the Japanese community alone. What Chinese we have here are also very steady and reliable.

10. It is almost impossible for us to estimate at present what the probable shortage might be during this next packing season, but we anticipate that we will have to operate on not more than two-thirds of the force we should have, and in this connection we would say that what labor we get will most likely be drawn largely from the sugar plantations for the summer period, thus causing amongst them a greater shortage of labor for the summer than usual.

11. There is no doubt but what a great deal more land in this district would be cultivated to pineapples were it possible to secure the labor necessary for the purpose; so far we do not anticipate any fruit contracted to us spoiling before we can get it packed. Should, however, many of our farmers become discouraged by the low price of fruit this year and abandon their farms, it would mean that we would have to assume charge of them to protect ourselves and the banks that have made advances to them. Should such a condition arise, we can not see where the labor could be secured to carry on the necessary work, and we believe in any such case we would be very seriously embarrassed.

12. If the present shortage of labor shall continue during next year, we are very greatly concerned over the prospects of taking care of our next year's pack. If some remedy is not found, we feel that it must surely follow that the pineapple reproduction in this district must decline considerably within the next few years, while with an adequate supply of labor it can be made to yield a material increase.

Submitting the foregoing for your consideration, we are,

Yours, very truly,

PAUWELA PINEAPPLE CO.

S. O. AIKEN,

Vice President and Manager.

MAY 2, 1921.

ALEXANDER & BALDWIN (LTD.),
Honolulu, Hawaii.

GENTLEMEN: Replying to the various questions asked of the Hawaiian Pineapple Packers' Association by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association in connection with the compilation of data to be used by the labor commission before Congress, would give answers to the questions as enumerated in the letter addressed to Mr. Alter Horner, president, under date of April 21, by J. K. Butler, secretary:

1. Figures unavailable, as all Federal taxes are paid direct by the several owners of the estate of H. P. Baldwin.
2. Territorial taxes paid 1919, \$15,436; 1920, \$20,153.45.
3. See statement attached hereto.
4. Wages about as follows:
1918: Men, \$1.20; women, 60 cents; children, 50 cents per day. Bonus, 12½ per cent for 22 days worked in month; 25 per cent for 24 days worked in month.
1919: Men, \$1.40; women, 65 cents; children, 50 cents per day. Bonus, 12½ per cent for 22 days worked in month; 25 per cent for 24 days worked in month.
1920: Men, \$2; women, 80 cents; children, 65 cents per day. Bonus, 25 per cent for 22 days worked in month; 50 per cent for 24 days worked in month.
1921: Men, \$1.75 per day; women, 75 cents per day; children, 60 cents per day. Bonus, 12½ per cent for 22 days worked in month; 25 per cent for 24 days worked in month.

To above good housing, fuel, water, and medical attendance is given free.

5. Others have more accurate data on this than we do.
6. Cannery employees in 1918, 1919, and 1920, as follows:
1918: Men, 30; women, 30; children, 18; total, 73.
1919: Men, 85; women, 40; children, 56; total, 179.
1920: Men, 145; women, 65; children, 145; total, 354.
7. Practically the same as done by every other pineapple concern.
8. Effectiveness and willingness of labor appears to vary indirectly with the price of sugar, and a glance at the record of sugar prices in the last few years would answer the question exactly. At present things are going very well with us.
9. Only Japanese and Chinese are to be depended upon, the latter being the more dependable but harder to get. Koreans, Filipinos, and Porto Ricans are impossible and serve only in an emergency.
10. We may get through all right but only by working overtime (at rate and a half per hour) and using school children.
11. There is a decided restriction of area in cultivation because of the labor shortage. Last year we planted 75 per cent of what we should have planted, and at that allowed the growing fields to get into bad shape. We hope that we will not lose any fruit this coming summer through shortage of labor.
12. If we are able to plant more than 75 per cent of what we should before November 1, 1921, we will be doing very well.

We would ask you to kindly pass on the above information to the Hawaiian Pineapple Packers' Association and oblige,

Yours, very truly,

BALDWIN PACKERS,
By D. T. FLEMING, Manager

HONOLULU, HAWAII, May 3, 1921

Re labor situation.

HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE PACKERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

Attention Mr. Tarleton.

GENTLEMEN: Referring to yours of the 28th ultimo, we beg to reply to inquiries Circular No. 125 as follows:

Items 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 are covered by the three statements herewith inclosed (except No. 1).

Item 5: According to information we have, the cost of living of laborers was increased during the war by approximately 64 per cent; however, recent reduction in prices of food products will reduce this figure materially. For instance, rice—one of the staple foods—has decreased over 50 per cent during the past year.

Item 7: Practically all the laborers of various nationalities in both the cannery and the plantations can be classed as unskilled labor, as a very few hold such positions as foremen, engineers, or mechanics of any kind.

Item 8: It would be conservative to say that at the present time we have been getting only 75 per cent efficiency from our labor, as compared with past years.

Item 9: Our records since the first of the year show there has been a marked tendency on the part of the Japanese laborer to work only part time; it is also the tendency of this nationality to be continually changing employment.

Item 10: Twenty-five per cent.

Item 11: At the present time we have a very small per cent of the labor which will be necessary for us to employ during the harvesting and canning season; therefore, to take of this season's pack it will be necessary to draw labor from outside places where they are now employed.

Item 12: As to shortage of labor materially affecting our future crops, would say it would be difficult to estimate the decrease in our crops—if the fields were not properly taken care of, cultivating, etc. Past records we have of fields which were not properly cultivated and cared for showed a decrease in the crop of from 50 per cent to 60 per cent.

Respectfully,

LIBBY, MCNEILL & LIBBY OF HONOLULU (LTD.),
By L. E. ARNOLD.

HAIKU, MAUI, HAWAII, April 27, 1921.

The HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE PACKERS' ASSOCIATION,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

GENTLEMEN: In compliance with your request of the 22d, circular letter No. 125, we submit the following:

1. Federal taxes 1919, \$37,267.31; 1920, \$171,185.82.
2. Territorial taxes, 1919, \$17,573.90; 1920, \$56,030.98.
3. January 15, 1918, 215; males, 75 per cent; females, 25 per cent. July 15, 1918, 548; males, 75 per cent; females, 25 per cent. January 15, 1919, 207; males, 87 per cent; females, 13 per cent. July 15, 1919, 722; males, 87 per cent; females, 13 per cent. January 15, 1920, 319; males, 84 per cent; females, 16 per cent. July 15, 1920, 820; males, 70 per cent; females, 30 per cent.

N. B.—The 1919 pack consisted of 398,603 cases, while 1920, 633,392 cases.

4. Men, 1918, 11 cents to 40 cents per hour, bonus 26 workdays, \$7.

Women, 1918, 7½ cents to 10 cents per hour, bonus 25 workdays, \$6.

Boys, 14 to 16, 6½ cents to 11 cents per hour, bonus 24 workdays, \$5.

Girls, 14 to 16, 6½ cents to 7½ cents per hour, bonus 23 workdays, \$4.25.

Men, 1919, 12½ cents to 35 cents per hour, bonus 21 workdays, \$3.

Women, 8½ cents to 12½ cents per hour, bonus 20 workdays, \$2.50.

Boys, 14 to 16, 6½ cents to 12½ cents per hour, bonus 19 workdays, \$1.50.

Girls, 14 to 16, 6½ cents to 8½ cents per hour, 1919 bonus same as above.

Men, 1920, 22½ cents to 45 cents per hour, 10 per cent bonus on 20 days or over.

Women, 12½ cents to 15 cents per hour.

Boys, 14 to 16, 15 cents to 22½ cents per hour.

Girls, 14 to 16, 10½ cents to 15 cents per hour and perquisites.

Men, 1921, 18 cents to 40 cents per hour.

Women, 12½ cents to 15 cents per hour.

N. B.—Bonus applies to cannery labor only for the rush season, June to September, inclusive.

Time and a half for all overtime, Sundays, and holidays.

5. The estimated cost of living of laborers to-day is approximately 35 per cent more than before the war.

6. 1918 average, 400; 1919, 700; and 1920, 864. Nationalities employed: Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, Americans, Hawaiians, Koreans, and Portuguese.

7. Field work is principally performed by Japanese and Filipinos, while the cannery work is performed by all the various nationalities represented in Hawaii.

8. The willingness and aptitude of the laborers for the work compare favorably with former years.

9. Quarters, with the regular plantation perquisites—water, fuel, and medical attention—are furnished our employees, with fairly steady employment the year round. The Filipinos exhibit a tendency more than any other nationality to shift.

10. From 20 per cent to 25 per cent.

11. Yes, every possible effort is made to enlist labor for our packing season, but prospects are that we shall be shorthanded and there may be spoilage of food.

12. Field employees will have to be transferred to cannery, and fields will consequently suffer, and crops likely to be short.

HAIKU FRUIT & PACKING CO. (LTD.)
N. OMSTED, Cashier.

HAWAII FRUIT PACKERS (LTD.),
Honolulu, Hawaii, May 2, 1921.

Reply to questionnaire, circular No. 125.

1. None.
2. One-hundred and eighteen dollars and forty cents. Company organized in 1920.
3. In 1921; 42 Japanese and 10 Chinese laborers employed in our fields growing pineapples under contract; in cannery 4 Japanese, all males.
4. All field laborers growing pineapples under contract; men employed by them \$3.25 per diem.
5. Do not know.
6. Hawaiians: Male, 4; female, 6; total, 10. Japanese: Male, 18; female, 9; total, 27. Portuguese: Male, 3; female, 6; total 9. Chinese: Male, none; female, 4; total, 4. Total male, 25; total female, 25; grand total, 50.
7. In fields: Ordinary labor for cultivating and harvesting pines. In cannery: Women at trimming and packing tables; men on all other operations.
8. All the different nationalities are less willing and less efficient as compared with former years.
9. Field labor living on plantations; employment roll fairly steady.
10. Our harvest being small and all fields under contract, we do not anticipate any shortage of labor during the packing season.
11. None.
12. If any shortage now, future crops will undoubtedly be materially affected.

HAWAIIAN CANNERIES CO., (LTD.),
KAPAA, KAUAI, April 30, 1921.

Mr. A. H. TARLETON,
Executive Secretary Hawaiian Pineapple Packers' Association,
Honolulu, T. H.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed please find information desired by Mr. J. K. Butler as per your circular file 215. The questions are answered by their number and in the order they are asked.

1. Total Federal taxes, 1919, \$1,153.22. Total Federal taxes, 1920, \$98.
2. Total Territorial taxes, 1919, \$3,604.50. Total Territorial taxes, 1920, \$4,264.70.
3. Inclosed sheet has figures covering this question.
4. Common labor 1919 paid \$1.50 per day and 50 cents per day monthly bonus for 20 days or more work. Same rate in 1920 until May 31. After May 31, \$3.25 per day and no bonus. In 1921 \$2 per day for 20 days or more work, and \$1.25 per day for under 20 days.
5. As a gauge of the comparative cost of living of laborers before the United States entered the war and at the present time, we give cost per month for the board of a single laborer in one of our camp boarding houses operated by a Japanese. In 1917 it was \$9, in 1921 it is \$17.50.
6. Figures answering this question are on inclosed sheet. These figures are very deceptive however. To illustrate this, we give data for the month of July, in the rush part of the season when we are busiest and need a good turnout. On pay roll 307: Average number working per day, 200. Average laying off, 107, or over one-third. Out of these 307 people on the pay roll, only 23 worked steadily, i. e., every day the cannery put through fruit. From this an idea can be gained of the independence and irresponsibility of the present type of labor where there is a scarcity and the finding of highly paid employment is easy.
7. Animal work, Japanese-Filipinos; tractors and trucks, Japanese-Filipinos; hoeing and hand work, Japanese-Filipinos; mechanics, Japanese-Filipinos; carpenters, Japanese-Filipinos; operators of machines, Japanese; warehouse, Japanese and Koreans; unskilled labor, Japanese and Hawaiians; canning, trucking, Portuguese, Filipinos; piling cans, trimming, Koreans, Chinese.
8. At the present time the Japanese are doing the best work, with the Filipinos a distant second. The older Japanese and married Japanese are the most reliable, the younger generation being less reliable. The Filipinos are irresponsible and do not work steadily, moving from place to place freely, and always sure of reemployment. None of the labor is putting the will and energy into the work that was done in prewar times. A man with a good sweat up is uncommon enough to be quickly noticeable.
9. The employment roll from month to month does not vary very much as to numbers. The names on the roll do show a considerable change in this district, particularly with the Filipinos. Our field laborers live for the most part in our camps. The cannery labor comes from Kapaa village.
10. We will probably be short 100 people during the canning season. This will mean that we will have to bring field labor into the cannery for this period and field

work will have to go undone. This is a source of much expense through field work improperly done, done too late, and neglected.

11. There are no restrictions of area at present with this company. Our neighbors have had to restrict considerably.

12. It appears to the writer that future plantings will be restricted unless a supply of labor is found. At present we have planted only what we can take care of. Should the number of our laborers decrease, a corresponding area must be uncared for. Future plantings will be entirely controlled by the labor supply. As we wish to increase our acreage by planting for future crops, a greater labor shortage will effectively curtail this and cut down our output.

Very truly, yours,

HAWAIIAN CANNERIES CO. (LTD.).
A. HORNER, Jr., *Superintendent.*

INFORMATION FOR TERRITORIAL COMMISSION.

ELEELE, KAUAI, May 3, 1921.

JOHN WATERHOUSE, Esq.,

Manager Alexander & Baldwin (Ltd.), Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: Crop of 1921: We usually finish grinding the middle of July, but this year we will not finish until the end of October. Many of our big cane fields will suffer, and we will probably lose almost 1,000 tons of sugar.

Crop of 1922: We previously estimated this crop at 16,000 tons. We have now cut it to 14,000 tons. We are throwing out fully 200 acres of ratoons in East Lawai, which were hilled up and given the first application of fertilizer. The cane is now up to your waist in height, but we have no men to cultivate these fields. In the rest of the sections we are struggling along irrigating the growing cane. Many of the fields we are only getting around once a month. Whereas we should irrigate them twice a month. This will also cut down our crop for 1922.

Crop of 1923: We are at the present time harvesting Wahiawa gulch. This should be started in the fall for the 1923 crop. Unless we get more labor we will throw out Wahiawa gulch, which represents 40 acres of land. Undoubtedly we will have to throw out a good deal of land in Koloa. Planting this year should be 700 acres, but we are planning to plant only 300. These may be points that you can use in making out your report.

Yours, very truly,

F. A. ALEXANDER,
Manager McBryde Sugar Co. (Ltd.).

INFORMATION FOR TERRITORIAL COMMISSION.

MAY 5, 1921.

Mr. J. WATERHOUSE,

Manager Alexander & Baldwin, Honolulu, Oahu.

DEAR SIR: As per your request I herewith submit a statement regarding the situation at Makaweli, due to a shortage of labor at the present time:

We are short 300 men at the present time of our requirements. We have had to abandon 60 acres of ratoons, as we did not have men enough to carry it along for the 1922 crop. There is another field of 200 acres (1922 crop) of ratoons which is not being properly cultivated, due to a shortage of men, and the yield of the last-mentioned area will be very small due to improper cultivation.

We have been forced to reduce the area to be planted for the 1923 crop from 900 acres to 550 acres, and there is still a question whether we will be able to plant the last-mentioned figure or not. It is possible that we will still have to reduce the area to be planted for the 1923 crop to 300 acres.

The harvesting of the 1921 crop has now been delayed to such an extent that we are short over 2,000 tons of sugar to date, which is due to a shortage of labor, and at the rate we are grinding at the present time it will take us until the end of October to finish the 1921 crop, instead of August 1, as we should under normal conditions.

Yours, very truly,

B. D. BALDWIN,
Manager Hawaiian Sugar Co.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, May 9, 1921.

Mr. J. K. BUTLER,

Secretary Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEAR SIR: Further to our letter of May 3 in connection with date concerning labor and crops under present conditions, we now beg to inform you as follows:

Waialea Mill Co.: The manager states that in order to keep the crop of the Waialea Mill Co. at normal, 500 acres of land should be planted each year, and 2,500 acres of ratoons cultivated. It is hoped this year to plant from 30 to 40 acres and to cultivate 1,800 acres of ratoons. Under the present shortage of labor every employee available is engaged in harvesting and milling, and the best they can do is 25 per cent short in daily output, with no labor to carry on future crops.

The total force on the plantation to date, including men, women, boys and girls, to do any work is 357, being the best turnout of labor during the month of April. In former years when working to the best advantage a daily turnout of 900 laborers was the average.

Laupahoehoe Sugar Co.: The manager states, "We abandoned 300 acres of cane land and will only be able to plant 500 or 600 acres this year, which is about 50 per cent of our normal planting. We also estimate we are losing about a half ton of sugar per acre on account of lack of labor when this crop was under cultivation."

Kaiwika Sugar Co. (Ltd.): The manager states: "We intended to plant about 700 acres of land, but do not expect to be able to plant more than 400 acres. The growing crop for 1922 is suffering from the lack of proper cultivation, as it is not possible to give it as much attention as we desire owing to the scarcity of labor."

Hamakua Mill Co.: The manager states that as the planting depends on the labor they are able to command, they anticipate they will have to abandon 357 acres this year, which will be neither planted nor cultivated for ratoons. The normal crop on this plantation is taken off some 3,300 acres per annum.

Niuli Mill & Plantation: The manager writes as follows: "We are six weeks behind with our general work, but just what acreage we will have to abandon on account of labor shortage is hard to say at this time, but probably 120 acres of second ratoons. We are 25 per cent short of our normal labor at present."

Halawa Plantation (Ltd.): The manager states that owing to shortage of labor he has been unable to plant 125 acres of land for the 1923 crop, which he would have done if the labor had been available. He also states that comparing March, 1921, with March, 1919, he is 35 men short on a normal turnout of 275 men. On this plantation the manager has been compelled to stop grinding for a short time in order to use his labor on preparing and planting and cultivating the following crops.

Union Mill Co.: The manager writes as follows: Owing to the existing shortage of labor 10 acres of plant cane have been abandoned for the 1922 crop because it is impossible to grind the 1921 crop and cultivate cane for the following crops simultaneously.

Referring to crop of 1923, the manager states: "We will probably be unable to plant at least 100 acres of cane for this crop because the same could not be properly cared for with the labor supply on the plantation."

Kaeleku Sugar Co. (Ltd.): The manager writes as follows:

"Crop of 1921: As a result of shortage of 250 men the harvesting will be delayed about two months for this crop.

"Crop of 1922: At present 1,400 acres, 250 acres of which we are not able to cultivate on account of the labor shortage, and this will result in the yield being decreased by about one ton of sugar per acre for this crop.

"Crop of 1923: We contemplate planting 40 acres of cane for this crop, including which we shall have approximately 1,380 acres, which should have been 1,680 acres, as 300 acres of cane have been abandoned on account of the shortage of labor."

We trust that the foregoing information will be of service, and remain,

Yours, faithfully,

THEO. H. DAVIES & Co. (LTD.).
J. N. WILLIAMS.

APPENDIX III.

STATEMENTS SHOWING EFFORTS MADE BY INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS AND BY OFFICIALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HAWAII FOR THE IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGN LABORERS WITH A VIEW TO FURNISHING AN ADEQUATE LABOR SUPPLY FOR THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES OF THE COUNTRY.

[Compiled from official records and other sources, by Mr. R. C. Lydecker, Librarian of the Public Archives, Territory of Hawaii.]

Previous to 1850 the few foreign residents in the Kingdom, especially those who had plantations or were employers of labor began to ask themselves, with much concern, in view of the steady decline of the native race, which had hitherto supplied the necessary labor, where they should procure the needed help.

CHINESE.

The subject of cheap labor had for several years engaged the attention of the planters, but nothing had been done to promote immigration up to the beginning of 1851, when an attempt was made to procure some coolies, but for some reason was a failure. The Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, which was founded August 12, 1850, then took matters into its own hands. No labor could be procured from California or Japan; the South Sea Islands were undesirable on account of the expense, and Europe was out of the question. Under these circumstances the only choice was China. In August, 1851, the society engaged Capt. Cass, of the bark *Thetis*, to bring to the islands some 180 coolies, or thereabouts, under special contract for their passage and advanced wages. In fulfillment of this engagement Capt. Cass, on January 3, 1852, landed at Honolulu 195 coolies, the first ever introduced into the country as laborers. These coolies were engaged for five years at \$3 per month, in addition to their passage, food, clothing, and house. An advance of \$6 each had been made to them in China, to be refunded in small installments out of their wages. In addition to the contract laborers, the *Thetis* brought 20 boys, who were readily engaged as house or other servants for five years at \$2 a month, their passage and advance being paid by their employers. The cost of importing this lot was \$50 per man, and it was estimated by those who employed them that their wages and support would amount to a trifle under \$7 per month. Until this time the few Chinese in the Kingdom were of the better class, mostly merchants. There was considerable satisfaction at the arrival of these coolies, and the Hon. William L. Lee, president of the agricultural society, in his annual address said: "On the subject of labor, I am happy to say, there is less fear than formerly. The enterprise set on foot by our society for procuring laborers from China has at last met with success. The Chinese brought here in the *Thetis* have proved themselves quiet, able, and willing men, and I have little doubt, judging from our short experience, we shall find coolie labor to be far more certain, systematic, and economical than that of the natives."

These first coolies meeting with such favor, Capt. Cass was sent back to China for a further supply, and returned here July 31, 1852, with 98 laborers. The Polynesian of August 7 of that year says: "From the short experience of those who have had to do with this sort of laborers, they have proved themselves a class highly desirable at the present time in these islands."

PITCAIRN ISLANDERS.

But the importation of laborers was not the only important question. The native race was gradually declining and anxiety for the future of the kingdom was felt. Laborers imported for plantations could not be relied upon as persons likely to settle and make the country their home; immigrants of a different stamp—settlers—should by some means be induced to come here. The King, therefore, authorized Minister of Foreign Affairs Wyllie to negotiate with the British consul general to obtain from his Government its consent to remove to Hawaii all the inhabitants of Pitcairn Island—they to settle on the King's own land as proprietors, or tenants, and under his own care. This project failed, the British consul general alleging that his Government would never consent unless the King should bind himself to admit them as subjects of the British Crown. For obvious reasons, Mr. Wyllie could not consent to this.

The introduction of coolies did not altogether cease with the second cargo brought here, but they came in very much smaller numbers either on their own account or as they might be wanted by individuals who required their services. The demand for labor had been so great that, on their first arrival the Chinese had received nothing

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bodied in ordinances of the King in council, and shall be published in a newspaper published in Honolulu.

"SEC. 7. This act shall take effect and become a law from and after the date of its passage.

"Approved this 30th day of December, A. D. 1864.

"KAMEHAMEHA, R."

There was also inserted in the appropriation bill of this session the following item: "Encouragement of agriculture and immigration, \$5,000."

Agreeably to section 2 of the act, the King appointed the following named gentlemen as a board of immigration: C. G. Hopkins, minister of the interior, president; minister of finance, C. De Varigny; attorney general, C. C. Harris; G. M. Robertson, and Dr. William Hillebrand. The board held its first meeting February 13, 1865, and its first action was the appointment of the Hon. David Kalakaua as secretary.

SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS.

At the second meeting of the board, February 14, a conference took place with Capt. James, of the *Morning Star*, the result of which was that the board advised him to encourage a voluntary emigration from the South Pacific islands, and agreed to pay him \$30 passage money for each adult, \$15 for each child and \$5 a head premium to himself, it being well understood that these immigrants would not be bound by any contract, and that their coming here would be a voluntary act on their part. It was also suggested and agreed to bring here, if possible, one or two chiefs of said islands, and return them to their country whenever they should so desire, as well as any families coming with them that might so wish.

PORTUGUESE.

A committee was also appointed to negotiate with Hackfeld & Co. relative to chartering the bark *R. W. Wood* and send it to China with an agent to secure a cargo of coolies, male and female. A resolution was also adopted to take measures to encourage free immigration from the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands. Mr. Spencer, chief clerk of the interior department, who was going to make a visit to his home, notifying the board that he would willingly make a trip to the Cape de Verde Islands for the purpose of obtaining an importation of laborers from these islands, asking only that the expenses of such a trip be refunded him. Such was the initial action of the board to procure immigrants, but the results amounted to little or nothing. There is no record of the *R. W. Wood* being sent to China at this time; she is first reported as arriving from there August 11, 1870, with 61 coolies. Mr. Spencer does not seem to have made the trip to the Cape de Verde Islands, and there is a discrepancy between the statistical table and the report of the president of the board of immigration as to the date and the number of Marquesans brought here by the *Morning Star*. The former gives that vessel as arriving here April 19, 1865, with 14 immigrants, three children being included in the number whereas the latter states: "In June, 1865, a small number of Marquesans were brought here. Eight of them were under the auspices of the board of immigration and seven under the Hawaiian Board of Foreign Missions."

The board at this same meeting (Feb. 14, 1865) appointed a committee consisting of Messrs. Harris and Robertson to draw up a set of ordinances to be submitted to the privy council. Ordinance No. 1 prohibited all persons from introducing bound laborers into the Kingdom without express license of the board, under a penalty of \$100 for each laborer. Ordinance No. 2 authorized the board to adopt and pursue such measures as may seem expedient to promote the introduction of free immigrants into the islands, male and female, from the Azores, Canary and Cape de Verde Islands, also from any of the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Ordinance No. 2 empowered the board to charter the bark *R. W. Wood*, or any other suitable vessel, to proceed to China, with an agent of the Hawaiian Government, for the purpose of procuring as many Chinese laborers, male and female, as the vessel could conveniently carry, to be hired upon such terms and conditions as the board should provide, and authorized the board to expend such moneys as may be necessary to carry out the object of the ordinance.

These ordinances were submitted to the privy council and approved February 17, 1865, after a lengthy discussion. Ordinance No. 1 gave great offense to some persons, and at a meeting of the planters' society, April 1, 1865, was discussed by that body in a not altogether friendly spirit. Minister of Finance de Varigny, in a lengthy address defending the ordinance, stated that the principle asserted in it was nothing new; nobody could deny the right of every Government to control and superintend

gration from the Azores. Dr. Hillebrand, being at that time in Maderia, was written to on the subject by J. Mott-Smith, then minister of the interior, and on February 24 a royal commission was sent him appointing him commissioner of immigration, a position he had filled in China in 1865. Mr. Mott-Smith informed him that the Hawaiian minister at Washington, the Hon. E. H. Allen, has had authority conferred upon him to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with Portugal by which it is hoped that any hindrance which might be interposed to the emigration of the Portuguese subjects to this country, by reason of nontreaty relations between the respective countries may be removed, also the appointment of Mr. J. Perry as Portuguese consul, an appointment that had been made a short time previous placing all Portuguese subjects in direct communication with their own country. Dr. Hillebrand is further informed that the board of immigration will undertake to provide the immigrants with employment for the first year after arrival of at least \$15 a month for the men. Mr. Mott-Smith also points out that since the ratification of the reciprocity treaty with the United States, in July of the previous year, the demand for labor by the planters already in operation is greatly in excess of the supply, and immigrants, therefore, may count pretty certainly upon immediate employment. Dr. Hillebrand's reply to the letter was favorable as far as the possibilities of immigration was concerned, but he was rather unwilling to take upon himself the duties of commissioner, giving as a pretext the anxieties, labor, and annoyance of the position.

Mr. Mott-Smith, however, was determined not to give in and wrote once more to the doctor. "It appears to me," he said, "that you are in a position to help us sufficiently, and can do so by spreading information concerning our brilliant agricultural prospects and by setting on foot at least one shipment of immigrants." According to this letter, written July 15, 1877, there were then residents on these islands, some 500 Portuguese that had drifted here from time to time, and he held out the hope that unmarried women arriving here would at once find husbands. Dr. Hillebrand was authorized to pay toward the passage of any immigrants he might secure, \$45 for men and \$50 for women and half those sums for children, but, says the minister of the interior, "It is not the intention of the Government to continue these high premiums or to guarantee \$15 per month for the first year, the board being willing to assist persons coming here, but not to guarantee the rate of wages, as men will find employment at higher or lower wages according to their ability." The outcome of this and subsequent correspondence was that Dr. Hillebrand's first consignment from Madeira consisted of 80 men, 40 women, and 60 children, who arrived here on the *Priscilla*, September 30, 1878.

MICRONESIANS.

Meantime the South Sea Islands had not been lost sight of, and at a meeting of the board, July 13, 1877, it was decided to send Capt. Mist to the Southern Islands to facilitate and promote emigration from there. The result of this venture was, that the *Storm Bird* reached here May 29, 1878, with 86 Micronesians. The cost of bringing these people was \$52 per head, and their wages fixed at \$5 per month for the men and \$4 per month for the women, for the first year of their service, and \$6.50 for the men and \$5 for the women for the remainder of their term, with board and lodging.

EAST INDIANS.

When the Hon. H. A. P. Carter was sent to Europe in 1877, on a diplomatic mission, he was instructed to use his best endeavors to facilitate the bringing of coolies from India as laborers with the ultimate view of their remaining in the islands. Mr. Carter while in England neglected no means to carry out the wishes of the board, but his way was so beset with difficulties that his efforts were of no avail. In view of what is known as Indian coolies, Mr. Carter's failure to obtain them at this time was doubtless a blessing in disguise.

In June, 1880, Messrs. Castle and Cooke, as agents for several plantations, asked the approval of the board to the sending of Mr. A. L'Orange to Norway for the purpose of procuring emigrants from that country, which the board agreed to, and on February 18, 1881, the Norwegian bark *Beta*, anchored in Maalaea Bay, Maui, having on board 327 adults and 65 children; of the adults 84 were women and each full passage cost \$82.50. On May 14 the *Musca* arrived at Honolulu with 223 more; how many of this lot were women and children, if any, is not reported.

These immigrants had been here but a short time when they began to find fault and forwarded to their consul a complaint relating to their food and lodging and he in turn sent it to the board of immigration. The board appointed Messrs. Fornander and Widemann to investigate. The report of these gentlemen showed that all the

permission that had been given allowing emigrants to depart was withdrawn. Mr Van Reed, however, finally succeeded in dispatching the vessel with 148 persons, 6 of whom were women, instead of the 350 who had been first engaged. The *Scioto* arrived here on the following terms: Three years service at monthly wages of \$4 per man, the 36 months to be counted from the day they arrived in Honolulu; the laborers were to be divided into companies of 25 men each; each company to have two head men, who were to receive \$1 each month in addition to their pay. There was one head man for all the laborers, who received \$150 per year, including board. From the time of their leaving Yokohama, they were to be supplied by the contractors with food, lodging, and passage, as well as medical attendance. The wages were to be paid in the following manner: On the first day of every month, counting from the day they left Yokohama, one-half their wages was to be paid to them and the remaining half paid by note; but if the laborer should desire to receive this remainder, he was to make known his wish to his employers, through the head man, and the money should be paid over to him in exchange for the note. Whatever was due them at the end of their term was to be paid on their arrival at Yokohama, by the Hawaiian consul general, who was to receive and care for them until they were returned to their homes. The cost of bringing these laborers here was \$70 a head, payable by the employers.

After some time it was found that the laborers did not understand the method of monthly payments, of one-half cash and one-half notes and a change was made whereby they received the whole of their wages monthly in coin. A year or so after the arrival of these immigrants evil reports were circulated in Yokohama, which had their untruthful origin in Honolulu, in regard to the treatment they were receiving here. These reports gave rise in Japan to all sorts of rumors and alarms, and the Government sent a commission to Honolulu to investigate them. This commission made a rigid inspection of the conditions of their countrymen and reported to the Japanese Government that all the reports that had been circulated were outrageously false.

SWEDEN.

At a meeting of the board held June 8, 1868, a letter was read from a Swedish gentleman addressed to the Swedish consul in these islands, making inquiries about the feasibility of introducing here some 500 peasants from the north of Sweden. After a lengthy discussion of the board, they decided they were not exactly the immigrants wanted here just then. At this same meeting the subject of the introduction of Portuguese laborers from the Azores and the Cape de Verde Islands was again brought up, but notwithstanding their undoubted value as immigrants, it was considered that the bringing of them here was so costly as to make them altogether out of the question.

On October 2, 1872, Mr. Walter M. Gibson, addressed a letter to the King, inclosing an outline of a plan of an immigration company, to be called the Hawaiian Immigration Co., the object of which was to induce free immigration from China and Japan, and from other countries, especially those of South Eastern Asia. Towards the end of this same month of October, Mr. Gibson, at the invitation of the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu, appeared before that body to explain his project of immigration, going into the subject at great length, and a week later was again invited by the chamber of commerce to give further information. As a result of these addresses, a meeting was called for the purpose of forming an immigration society and Mr. W. L. Green, and Mr. W. M. Gibson were respectively named chairman and secretary. After some debate these gentlemen, with Mr. Charles R. Bishop, were appointed a committee to invite membership. Thus began the Hawaiian Immigration Society, founded November 6, 1872, the officers being S. N. Castle, president; W. L. Green, vice president; and W. M. Gibson, secretary. Mr. C. R. Bishop and J. C. Glade with the above-named officers forming the executive committee. As far as bringing immigrants into the country is concerned the society does not seem to have accomplished anything. A report issued by the secretary in July, 1874, shows a membership of 60 individuals and firms, in which number appear the names of the most prominent and influential men in the Kingdom. It contains very valuable statistics as to population, labor, produce, and general possibilities. A table is appended showing a list of plantations, the number, sex, and nationality of those employed, the acreage in sugar cane, acreage of cane land in the neighborhood of each and the race preferred as laborers by the different owners.

PORTUGUESE.

In the early part of 1876 opinions seem to have undergone a change regarding the feasibility of bringing Portuguese laborers here, but no decided steps were taken until a year later, when it was decided that serious steps should be taken regarding immi-

act was approved April 24, 1905, the Territory was not a factor in immigration matters and during this interval there are no Territorial records in connection therewith. Under the immigration laws of the United States it was unlawful for any person, company, partnership, or corporation, to in any way assist and encourage the importation or migration of any alien into the United States in pursuance of any offer made to such alien to perform labor in the United States. It was, however, permissible for States or Territories to advertise the inducements they offer for immigration thereto.

The primary purpose for which the board of immigration was created by the aforementioned act was to promote a settlement of laboring classes in Hawaii, especially from the Azores, Mederia Islands, and from southern Europe. The act creating the board provided that "The board of immigration shall open books and solicit subscriptions of money and other material aid from persons or corporations to be used by the board in promoting immigration to this Territory."

In accordance with this act the board, consisting at the time of E. D. Tenney, J. P. Cooke, A. L. C. Atkinson, John Carden, and J. C. Craig, met and organized, April 2, 1905. The board immediately undertook to ascertain from the sugar-planting interests their requirements for European labor, particularly Portuguese, and the inducements they were prepared to hold for this class of immigrants. The responses to the board's requests were prompt and the inducements offered generous in their terms. Much preliminary work was necessary before active steps could be taken. Superintendent of Immigration A. L. C. Atkinson went to Washington to ascertain definitely of the Federal authorities the status and powers of the board. It had been the board's intention that if its plans met with the approval of the Federal authorities for Mr. Atkinson to proceed to Europe and ascertain the possibilities of immigration from the Azores and Maderia Islands, from Italy, and Spain. Unfortunately, the illness of Gov. Carter necessitated Mr. Atkinson's recall and delay in starting the work in Europe.

In April, 1906, the board secured the services of Mr. E. R. Stackable, collector of customs for the Territory, and Mr. E. A. Fraser was also employed to assist him. Mr. Stackable obtained leave of absence from the treasury department, and in May left Honolulu on his mission and was joined in San Francisco by Mr. Fraser. After visiting Washington, where letters and credentials were obtained, they proceeded direct to the Azores. So successful was this work there that by October a large shipment of emigrants were ready to embark.

FURTHER PORTUGUESE.

The steamer *Superic* was chartered and she arrived at Honolulu December 1, 1906, with 459 men, 283 women, and 472 children, being between the ages of 1 and 15 years, and 110 children under 1 year of age. It was the opinion of the board of immigration that the Portuguese of this shipment were the best appearing lot of immigrants that ever arrived in Hawaii. The board had solicited and received from the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association from July 11, 1905, to January 31, 1907, \$83,088.26, and all but \$795.80 was expended in connection with the shipment in one way or another, the item for transportation was \$50,196.02.

SPANISH.

Favorable reports having been received concerning the success in Cuba of Spanish laborers as cane planters impelled the board to instruct its agents to investigate the possibilities in the district of Malaga, South Spain, where sugar-cane planting is conducted, the result of which was that 608 men, 554 women, and 1,084 children, a total of 2,246, arrived on the steamship *Heleopolis* April 26, 1907, the total expense for all purposes being \$143,038.48, and the average cost of each male immigrant \$233.21. Later the steamship *Kumeric* arrived with 333 men, 306 women, and 475 children, 1,114 in all, the total expense of which was \$77,628.41, the average cost per male being \$233.08.

In the meantime there had been brought here other than under the supervision of the board during the year of 1905, 6,609 Japanese, 2,573 Koreans (the first of the nationality, as far as the Archives have any record) and during the year 1906 there arrived 18,187 Japanese and under the heading "porto Ricans and others," 510 men, 276 women, and 556 children.

In the early part of 1908 the Department of Commerce and Labor suggested to the board that it might be possible to recruit at the eastern ports of entry of the United States, admitted aliens for agricultural purposes. Acting on this, the board appointed Mr. John J. D. Trenor to represent it in New York. The superintendent of the board

in his report for the period ending February 28, 1909, states: "Mr. Trenor opened his office in New York on October 1, 1908, and has since made monthly reports to the board as to the progress of his work."

Mr. Trenor seems to have started out with a grand flourish of trumpets and wound up by handling the Territory a lemon, no particular benefit having been derived from his labors. All further importations of labor under which the board had heretofore been acting were prohibited by the general immigration act of 1907, which prohibited the further introduction of European immigrants by means of private contributions made to State or Territorial boards of immigration by corporations. This does not, however, prohibit immigration conducted by States or Territories with funds derived from the general revenue; accordingly the legislature of 1909 passed an act (33) "To promote the conservation and development of the natural resources of the Territory, through immigration and other natural means, by imposing a tax on incomes and appropriating the proceeds for such purposes." This act provided that in addition to the regular income tax there should be levied annually on incomes over \$4,000 an additional tax of 2 per cent. Section 2 of this same act provided that all corporations other than those of a charitable, religious, educational or scientific nature, fraternal societies, or insurance companies taxed on premium, under another law, should pay annually an additional tax of 2 per cent upon the net profits or incomes above actual operating and business expenses derived during the taxation period defined by the act. The balance of the act provides for the method of payments and expenditures, and the provisions contained therein to expire December 31, 1911. Under this act the board of immigration now derives its funds. Immediately after the passage of this act, which became a law March 22 of the same year, the board of immigration which had been investigating the desirability and adaptability of various European sources of supply proceeded to engage actively in the actual work of introduction. Investigation and experience had proved that Portuguese from Madeira and the Azores were best adapted to the climatic conditions of the Territory and eventually developed into most desirable citizens. A very large number of the Portuguese were already citizens of Hawaii, and upon representations by them that many of their relatives and friends were willing to emigrate to the Territory under the auspices of the board. Accordingly, at a meeting held in May of that year, Mr. A. J. Campbell was selected as special agent of the board to proceed to the Azores and Madeira and arrange at those places for the emigration of such families of desirable agricultural laborers who might wish to come here.

Mr. Campbell left Honolulu June 1, and the result of his mission was the arrival here on December 12, 1909, per steamship *Swanley*, of 337 men, 221 women, and 310 children, a total of 868, costing \$80,000. This was only about half the carrying capacity of the vessel, but no more of the class desired could be obtained owing to the attractions offered at that time in Brazil and to the prosperity in the Azores and Madeira, and rather than accept those who were undesirable the vessel departed with this comparative small number, thus greatly increasing the per capita cost.

Such is a brief history of the introduction of foreign laborers into Hawaii. A full history would make very interesting reading, but it would be a work requiring much more time than can be given to it at present. Attached hereto is a table showing the number of immigrants arriving in the country from the first lot of coolies in 1852 to 1900. From the latter year the archives contains but very incomplete records; none at all from the period of annexation in 1900 to the organization of the present board of immigration in April, 1905; therefore the statistical table ends with the year 1899. The amounts of the legislative appropriations from time to time as shown in the table does not include salaries and office expenses but only that for the encouragement of immigration.

R. C. L.

MARCH 8, 1910.

Year.	Chi- nese.	Japa- nese.	Portu- guese.	Ger- mans.	South Sea Island- ers.	Gall- cians.	Ameri- cans.	Norwe- gians.	Legislative appropri- ations for the en- couragement of im- migration.	
									Year.	Amount.
1852	293									
1853	64									
1854	12									
1855	61									
1856	23									
1857	14									
1858	13									
1859	171									
1860	21									
1861	2									
1862	13									
1863	8									
1864	9								1864-1866	\$5,000
1865	613				39				1866-1868	5,000
1866	117									
1867	210				4				1868-1870	3,000
1868	51	148								
1869	78				126				1870-1872	1,000
1870	305				22					
1871	223				25				1872-1874	
1872	61									
1873	48								1874-1876	5,000
1874	62				7					
1875	151								1876-1878	5,000
1876	1,283									
1877	557								1878-1880	5,000
1878	2,464		180		214					
1879	3,652		419		478				1880-1882	100,000
1880	2,422		332		793					
1881	3,898		840	124	245			615	1882-1884	500,000
1882	1,367		2,356	183	21					
1883	4,925		3,812	826	329				1884-1886	30,000
1884	2,693		1,532	18	120					
1885	2,924	1,946	278	25	21				1886-1888	150,000
1886	338	979	467							
1887		1,429							1888-1890	30,000
1888		4,211	343							
1889		2,035							1890-1892	60,000
1890		3,764								
1891	478	5,793							1892-1894	10,000
1892		3,129								
1893	95	4,063								
1894	1,414	3,647	367							
1895	1,067	2,203								
1896	4,140	4,518								
1897	2,137	758		227						
1898		9,888				372	14		1898-1900	5,000
1899	24	19,908								

APPENDIX, 1909 to 1913.

RUSSIANS.

The efforts to obtain Russian immigration were in the final results rather disastrous, both in the object sought and financially. During the year 1908 the attention of the board of immigration was called to Manchuria as a possible source of a future labor supply. The Russian Government, in its efforts to colonize Manchuria, had offered such inducements that people had flocked there in large numbers and the Government found itself embarrassed in fulfilling its promises. Under those circumstances the board of immigration was given to understand that the Russian Government would not look with disfavor upon an attempt to recruit from that quarter. At this time the board did not seriously consider the idea of obtaining labor from this quarter but later a number of applications were filed with it for the introduction of a number of families of Russian agricultural laborers, and at a meeting held in August, 1909, to consider the proposition, it was decided to introduce approximately 50 families as a trial lot, and Mr. A. L. C. Atkinson was chosen to proceed to Harbin, accompanied by Mr. A. W. Perelstrons, who some time previous had represented himself to the board as a Russian contractor, familiar with conditions in Manchuria. Mr. Atkinson departed August 30, 1909, accompanied by Mr. Perelstrons, and returned Oct. 1st.

22, 1909, with 108 men, 67 women, and 79 children, a total of 255. These people were to all appearances, both physically and otherwise (so far as could be determined by the board), the most desirable lot of immigrants ever introduced. They accepted such employment as was offered them and so highly were they spoken of by their employers that in November of the same year the board decided to introduce some three or four hundred additional families of the same class. Mr. Atkinson was again chosen by the board as its special agent and, again accompanied by Mr. Perelstrons, he departed for Harbin and its vicinity November 15, 1909.

As a result of this second mission 815 men, 333 women, and 387 children, a total of 1,535 persons, were introduced into the Territory, 17 of whom were later returned because of reasons which debarred their admission under the immigration act. While no difficulties were experienced with the first lot, it was far different with the second, the first of which arrived here on the steamship *Mongolia* February 17, 1910, and consisted of 315 Russians. This lot, after having been passed by the Federal immigration inspectors, refused to accept such employment as was offered them, claiming that conditions had been misrepresented and that the cost of living was higher within the Territory and wages were less than they had been given to understand at Harbin. Unquestionably, in the light of subsequent events, these charges were made solely upon the advice of two agitators who seemed to have great influence with these people.

In the meantime, diphtheria broke out amongst them, and they were removed, at the expense of the board, to quarantine and there cared for. The steamship *Tenyo Maru*, arriving February 25, brought a further consignment of 70, composed of men, women, and children, and the steamship *Korea*, arriving March 7, brought a still further lot of 249 men, women, and children. The *Tenyo Maru* and *Korea* lots adopted precisely the same attitude as that displayed by the people arriving on the *Mongolia*, and sickness developed among them, and they were removed to Quarantine Island at the expense of the board; so that from a period extending from February 22 to March 25 there were maintained upon that island all the way from 300 to 600 of these people, while upon Quarantine Island not only was every necessity in the way of medical attendance, professional nursing, food, etc., furnished them, but in many instances actual luxuries, especially to the women and children. The total cost of this quarantine to the board amounted to \$17,735.79.

While upon Quarantine Island there was absolutely no change in the attitude of these immigrants: they still maintained that they would not accept plantation employment because of the misrepresentations which had been made them. In this dilemma, the board made a canvass of the city in an endeavor to secure for them as many positions as possible outside of plantation work which could be offered them upon their release from quarantine.

In the meantime they had employed an attorney to represent them. A great many were under the impression that if they refused to accept employment the Government would have to maintain them, and further would be compelled to pay each adult the sum of \$500 and to repatriate them. It is unquestionably a fact that none wished to be repatriated, but they were undoubtedly extremely anxious to obtain the \$500 if possible. Had it been possible for the board to repatriate a dozen or so of the orators of this group, unquestionably no further claims would have been advanced by them regarding misrepresentation, nor would they longer have refused to accept such employment as offered.

In addition to the employment of counsel, they telegraphed their embassy at Washington to the effect that they were in need of assistance, and Dr. Marques, acting French consul, was requested by cable to investigate the charges made by them in behalf of the Russian Government. A systematic investigation was conducted by Dr. Marques which resulted in a vindication of the board and the establishment of the fact that no misrepresentation had been made and that every consideration had been shown them.

After their release from quarantine an investigation was conducted by Gov. Frear, the result of which conclusively proved that no misrepresentation had been made. In the interests of harmony, however, the governor induced the plantation interests to make some special concessions. These concessions were submitted to the immigrants, and their refusing to consider them or accept employment they were thrown upon their own resources, even their attorney refused longer to deal with them, so unreasonable was their attitude.

Subsequently, upon the conviction of two or three ring leaders for rioting, the rest of the members who were encamped upon the outskirts of the city gradually accepted employment; many on the plantations and a large number throughout the city. Subsequent lots of these laborers who arrived after the *Korea*, on March 7, amounting to a total of about 900 people, accepted upon arrival such employment as offered,

making no claims that any misrepresentations had been made to them by the representations of the board in Manchuria.

The total number of Russians introduced into the Territory amounted to 1,799, at a total cost of \$139,021.59, exclusive of the quarantine expenses here of \$17,735.79. Of the number introduced, only a little more than 60 per cent accepted plantation employment.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE.

In August, 1910, the necessity of continued activity looking toward the introduction and settlement of agricultural laborers being still imminent, and reports appearing to warrant it, the board again decided to send Mr. A. J. Campbell to the Azores with a view of arranging for further shipments of desirable immigrants. Mr. Campbell proceeded direct to Madeira, accompanied by Mr. A. Silva, and there commenced an active campaign. He met with a great measure of success at first, but in the month of October the unsettled condition of the political situation came to a crisis in the shape of a revolution, which completely undid all plans and arrangements, and cholera becoming epidemic in November he turned his attention to other available sources of Portuguese and Spanish labor, and on January 12, 1911, advised the board that he had chartered the steamship *Orteric*, which vessel arrived at Honolulu on April 13, 1911, with 457 men, 373 women, and 531 children, a total of 1,451 persons. These people appeared of good class and were mostly distributed among the various plantations.

The prospects for being able to obtain another shipment at an early date not being considered favorable, Mr. Campbell returned to Honolulu early in June. There being, however, a steady demand for agricultural laborers, and a general sentiment being in favor of the continued introduction of persons eligible and likely to become citizens, the board continued negotiations in London, through reliable agents for the chartering of another vessel to bring a further supply of people to the Territory, and on the 18th of July the *S. S. Willesden* was obtained for this purpose. Mr. Campbell left Honolulu to resume his work in Europe on July 19th, and as a result of his activities the vessel arrived here on December 3 with 639 men, 480 women, 1,797 persons in all.

A third shipment of Spanish and Portuguese arrived in Honolulu by the *S. S. Harpalion*, also a specially chartered vessel, in the month of April, 1912, with 1,450 persons, 496 men, 328 women, and 626 children.

The cost of immigrants brought by the *Orteric* was \$112,341.59, an average cost per male of \$205.37 and per capita of \$77.42. The cost of those by the *Willessden* was \$109,307.97, an average cost of \$171.06 per male and a per capita of \$60.82, and those by the *Harpalion*, \$117,926.13, an average cost per male of \$237.75 and a per capita of \$81.32. The total cost of the immigrants brought by the three vessels was \$339,575.69, an average expense of \$72.28 per individual, or \$201.88 per adult male. The three vessels brought 1,682 men, 1,101 women, and 1,915 children, 4,698 in all, from which number, however, 20 must be deducted who were returned to their homes by the board for various reasons.

FURTHER RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION.

After some preliminary correspondence touching upon Russian immigration to Hawaii generally, the board of immigration during the month of July, 1911, entered into an agreement with the International Immigration and Colonization Association for the introduction of small parties of Russian immigrants. This agreement was in existence up to April 19, 1912, when the board notified the association of its unwillingness to further continue its work in Manchuria. During the period in which the agreement existed, 266 Russians were brought into the Territory at a cost to the Government of \$16,055.10, an average cost per male of \$140.83 and a per capita of \$60.35. The total number of Russians introduced since the commencement of this work in 1909 was 2,056, comprised of 1,038 men, 457 women, and 561 children, at a cost of \$177,963.16, an average cost per male of \$171.44 and a per capita of \$86.55. It was estimated that of the total number introduced there were remaining in the Territory, June 30, 1912, some 1,085, most of whom, however, engaged upon general work throughout the country other than that supplied or offered by the plantations, and a considerable number of these have since left. For the year ending June 30, 1917, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association reported but 49 Russians as being employed on the plantations.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE.

It was earnestly desired by the board to continue its policy of steadily increasing in Hawaii the number of persons of the Caucasian race accustomed to agricultural pursuits. Accordingly Mr. Raymond C. Brown, who had succeeded Mr. Campbell as the board's agent in Europe, was instructed in the latter part of 1912 to make arrangement for the chartering of one or more vessels to bring Spanish and Portuguese immigrants to the Territory. As a result of his efforts the steamships *Wilkesden* and *Ascot* were obtained for the service. The *Wilkesden* arrived at Honolulu on March 30, 1913, and the *Ascot* on June 4, 1913, the former vessel landing 1,377 persons—491 men, 377 women, and 509 children—and the latter landing 1,283 persons—424 men, 327 women, and 532 children, those arriving by the *Ascot* being entirely of Spanish descent. The cost of the immigrants brought by the *Wilkesden* was \$177,061.81, an average cost per male of \$360.61 and a per capita of \$130.38. The cost of those brought by the *Ascot* was \$140,695.80, an average cost of \$331.83 per male and a per capita of \$109.66. Of the total number of persons landed, amounting to 2,660, 24 children died and 57 immigrants were returned. With the exception of a party of 17 Poles, who arrived at Honolulu in November, 1913, nothing further has been done by the board to bring immigrants into the Territory, lack of funds and the war in Europe being the main factors in bringing about this result.

APPENDIX IV.

Statistics showing—

1. The population of the Territory of Hawaii by races, sex, and citizenship. (Compiled from records of the Bureau of the Census.)

2. The aliens admitted to and departing from the Territory of Hawaii between the years of 1910 and 1921, inclusive, by races. (Compiled from records of the Bureau of Immigration.)

3. Distribution, by age and race, of children in the Territory of Hawaii of or below the age of 21 years on January 1, 1920. (Compiled from records of the Bureau of the Census.)

The population of the Territory of Hawaii.

Race.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Citizen.	Alien.
Hawaiian.....	11,990	11,733	23,723	23,723	.....
Caucasian-Hawaiian.....	5,528	5,544	11,072	11,072	.....
Asiatic-Hawaiian.....	3,524	3,431	6,955	6,955	.....
Portuguese.....	13,737	13,265	27,002	22,346	4,656
Porto Rican.....	3,133	2,469	5,602	5,602	.....
Spanish.....	1,326	1,104	2,430	1,145	1,285
Other Caucasian.....	12,309	7,399	19,708	17,542	2,166
Chinese.....	16,197	7,310	23,507	12,728	10,779
Japanese.....	62,644	46,630	109,274	49,016	60,258
Korean.....	3,496	1,452	4,950	1,518	3,432
Filipino.....	16,851	4,180	21,031	21,031	.....
Negro and all other.....	409	249	658	559	99
Total.....	151,146	104,766	255,912	173,237	82,675

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LABOR PROBLEMS IN HAWAII

HEARINGS

BEFORE

THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. J. RES. 158

A JOINT RESOLUTION PROVIDING AN EMERGENCY
REMEDY FOR THE ACUTE LABOR
SHORTAGE IN HAWAII

AND ON

H. J. RES. 171

A JOINT RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR IMMIGRATION TO MEET THE
EMERGENCY CAUSED BY AN ACUTE LABOR SHORTAGE
IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII

Serial 7—Part 2

JULY 22, 27, AND 29; AUGUST 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, AND 12, 1921

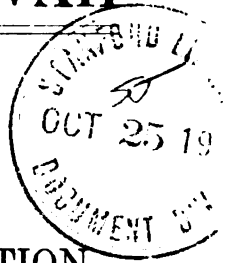
STATEMENTS OF

V. S. McCLATCHY,
J. V. A. MacMURRAY,
HENRY T. OXNARD,
JOHN M. ROGERS,
GEORGE W. WRIGHT,
C. C. HAMLIN,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,

WALTER F. DILLINGHAM,
J. K. KALANIANA'OLE,
ROYAL D. MEAD,
WILMOT R. CHILTON,
HARRY IRWIN,
CHARLES F. CHILLINGWORTH.



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE



COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

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LABOR PROBLEMS IN HAWAII.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, July 22, 1921.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. I am informed by the Public Printer, Mr. Carter, that a misprint, in the omission of the word "not" after the word "shall," in line 1, page 2, in House joint resolution 171 has been corrected and that a star print has been made, which permits the resolution to retain the same number. It is before us in corrected form, and without objection this statement will be sufficient notice. The clerk will so note in the minutes.

The Chair took the liberty of wiring Mr. V. S. McClatchy, of Sacramento, who has appeared before this committee several times with information concerning the Japanese question not only in the United States but in Hawaii, asking him for a statement. This morning I have received from him a telegraphic statement of about 600 words, which I will read to the committee [reading]:

In response to your request for telegraphic statement on Hawaiian situation, this statement represents personal views only. I do not speak in this case for Japanese Exclusion League of California, whose executive committee has uniformly declined to take part in any controversy not clearly within its declared purpose. Comprehensive advices and data from Hawaii and personal intercourse with prominent people from there assure me that best informed intelligence in the Territory among Americans and white and native Hawaiians is now practically a unit in recognizing the impending certainty of economic and political and racial control of the Territory by Japanese unless Congress acts promptly and effectively. That sentiment is remarkable because it is exactly contrary to that held by the same people up to, say, one year ago. They then criticized and derided my statement of facts and warnings; they now indorse them, though not all will do so publicly. I assume facts are before you in statements of two commissions sent by territorial legislators.

The change in sentiment was brought about partly by the determined fight of the Japanese to maintain separate Japanese schools, which a survey by commissions of the United States Department of Education, after investigation, declared should be abolished as un-American if not anti-American, but principally through facts brought to light in the sugar-plantation strike of last year. Whites and native Hawaiians were dismayed by the almost perfect solidarity shown by Japanese, even Hawaiian-born Japanese, in carrying out a strike which evidently had for its ultimate object dispossession of whites on the sugar plantations and securing control and ownership of all valuable lands by the Japanese.

Their objective was precisely the same as that exposed in California, where they have already secured one-eighth of all the State's rich irrigated lands and are determined by holding through American-born children and by the presentation of diplomatic demands at Washington to secure control of unlimited acreage. With a few solitary and notable exceptions, all Hawaiian-born Japanese enjoying American citizenship and generally claimed to have been assimilated through contact with American institutions aided actively or

tacitly, and either willingly or under duress, this monster conspiracy to establish Japanese supremacy in Hawaii.

We have known for the past two years Hawaii could not receive statehood because of conditions clearly pointed out in my several statements before your committee. Recently it has been conceded the Territorial form of government must be replaced in time by a Federal commission. Now it appears radical action must be taken immediately by Congress if Hawaii is to be anything but a Japanese colony.

What makes the situation more serious is that Hawaii is our protective outpost in the Pacific. Hawaii, which has at last awakened to the danger, claims that legislation asked by her from Congress in the special rehabilitation and immigration acts furnishes the best practical remedy.

I do not pretend to say and do not appear as proponent of either measure. I deem it a duty to say that facts which I assume are also before your committee justify the conclusion herein expressed, to wit, that if Hawaii is to be saved, prompt action by Congress is necessary; that if the plan suggested by Hawaii is defective or objectionable, Congress should substitute another which will accomplish the result; that the American public, when it learns the facts, will not be satisfied with side-stepping or negative action; that conditions being radically different in Hawaii and the situation critical, it may be not only proper but necessary to adopt policies there which are neither desirable nor necessary in continental United States; and that neither class prejudice or class interest should be permitted to block the adoption of policies or measures if it be demonstrated beyond reasonable question they are necessary to maintain American white control permanently in Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McClatchy sends another telegram, which carries a statement with reference to the riots and the driving out of Japanese from the town of Turlok, Calif., signed by the Japanese Exclusion League of California, by J. M. Inman, president, and J. S. Chambers, chairman executive committee.

Mr. McClatchy calls attention to the fact that in his statement of July, 1920, page 206 of hearings, he told the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization that continuance of existing conditions must change present economic problem due to presence of Japanese into racial conflict, since whites would not quietly submit to displacement by an alien unassimilable race under lower wage scale and with lower living standards. This committee was at Turlock last year and is familiar with the situation. Mr. McClatchy says the present incident illustrates the absolute necessity for prompt Federal action in the matter of exclusion.

He sent the following statement, issued by the Japanese Exclusion League of California, yesterday:

STATEMENT OF JAPANESE EXCLUSION LEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 21, 1921.

The Japanese Exclusion League of California deprecates and condemns the violation of law and treaty right by mob at Turlock in expelling, without violence, however, Japanese who were working in cantaloupe fields of that district. The exclusion league is obligated publicly to a preservation of the treaty and other rights of Japanese who are legally in this State. In this policy it represents a practically unanimous sentiment of the State up to this time. It has been the boast of California, and the facts are conceded by Japanese authorities, that notwithstanding most trying conditions in the determined efforts of the Japanese to evade the intent of State laws there has been neither by organization nor by individuals any overt act or invasion of the personal or legal rights of any Japanese in this State. The Turlock incident, offering an instance of violation of rights of this kind, is deeply deprecated, not only as injustice to the Japanese but because it is an injury to the cause of exclusion. A campaign of education is being conducted throughout the East by the exclusion league, and any acts of violence against the persons or property of Japanese in this State will inevitably prejudice our cause.

and destroy some effect of that educational work. The exclusion league pledges itself to exert its power and influence to prevent any recurrence of the Turlock incident and calls upon its members and all friends of the cause to act accordingly.

It is to be remembered, however, that in California a very serious economic problem is developing into a racial conflict, which may involve international complications through the determined and concerted action of the Japanese, and that the Turlock incident is an indication of that development. One year ago in Turlock, when the House Committee on Immigration personally investigated conditions there, while laborers' organizations established to handle transient labor and move it from point to point in the State as the crop matured was receiving 35 cents a crate for handling cantaloupe the Japanese came in something less than 1,000 strong and through their organization offered to and did do the work for 26 cents per crate. The whites in consequence were driven out. This year the whites were crating cantaloupe at the lowered price of 26 cents per crate when the Japanese again stepped in and took contracts to move the crop at 16 cents per crate. Last year the whites did nothing; this year they acted, and, as pointed out to the Immigration Committee in its hearings in California, constant occurrences of this kind, in which an alien unassimilable race is determinedly supplanting white people by underbidding and organized effort, will inevitably lead to racial conflict. In Japan similar conditions would have undoubtedly provoked action on the part of Japanese very much more drastic than taken at Turlock. This statement of facts is in no way intended as an excuse for mob action, but it points out the inevitable results unless through congressional action the necessary remedy is provided and protection given to white citizens against the steadily increasing encroachments of the Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. I have asked Mr. MacMurray, of the State Department, to be present to-day, and with the permission of the committee we will hear him now. I will say to the committee that we asked him to come here in order that we might ask him a few questions about the gentlemen's agreement, or Japan's agreement with the United States, in regard to the admission of common laborers.

Let us first refresh our memories as to what has been printed as the gentlemen's agreement. As has been stated in hearings before this committee from time to time, and which have been printed, a printed statement was made in the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for the year 1908. Then, in the hearings of this committee from June 12 to June 20, 1919, is carried the Japanese statement concerning that agreement and a declaration as follows—

Mr. Box (interposing). Did Senator Phelan introduce that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. This appears in his statement at the hearings upon the percentage plans for the restriction of immigration:

FEBRUARY 24, 1911.

In proceeding this day to the signature to the treaty of commerce and navigation between Japan and the United States the undersigned, Japanese ambassador in Washington, duly authorized by his Government, has the honor to declare that the Imperial Japanese Government are fully prepared to maintain with equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have for the past three years exercised in regulation of the emigration of laborers to the United States.

Y. UCHIDA.

Now, reverting to the statement given out by the Labor Department, we find that they invariably speak of continental United States, and clearly Hawaii is left out of it. I want to ask Mr. MacMurray what the understanding of the State Department is with regard to Hawaii and the gentlemen's agreement.

**STATEMENT OF MR. J. V. A. MacMURRAY, CHIEF, DIVISION OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS, STATE DEPARTMENT.**

Mr. MACMURRAY. I will read from the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, that has been referred to by the chairman, for 1908, page 125:

To section 1 of the immigration act, approved February 20, 1907, a provision was attached reading as follows:

"That whenever the President shall be satisfied that passports issued by any foreign Government to its citizens to go to any other country than the United States or to any insular possession of the United States or to the Canal Zone are being used for the purpose of enabling the holders to come to the continental territory of the United States to the detriment of labor conditions therein, the President may refuse to permit certain citizens of the country issuing such passports to enter the continental territory of the United States from such other country or from such insular possessions, or from the Canal Zone."

This legislation was the result of a growing alarm, particularly on the Pacific coast and in States adjacent to Canada and Mexico, that labor conditions would be seriously affected by a continuation of the then existing rate of increase in admissions to this country of Japanese of the laboring classes. The Japanese Government had always maintained a policy opposed to the emigration to continental United States of its subjects belonging to such classes, but it has been found that passports granted by said Government to such subjects entitling them to proceed to Hawaii or to Canada or to Mexico were being used to evade the said policy and gain entry to continental United States. On the basis of the above quoted provision, the President, on March 14, 1907, issued a proclamation excluding from continental United States "Japanese or Korean laborers skilled or unskilled, who had received passports to go to Mexico, Canada, or Hawaii, and come therefrom."

Department circular No. 147, dated March 26, 1907, which has been continued in force as rule 21 of the immigration regulations of July 1, 1907, outlined the policy and procedure to be followed by the immigration officials in giving effect to the law and proclamation.

Mr. RAKER. Can you insert a copy of that circular in the record?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I am afraid I can not, as that is an order of the Department of Labor. This statement continues:

In order that the best results might follow from an enforcement of the regulations, an understanding was reached with Japan that the existing policy of discouraging emigration of its subjects of the laboring classes to continental United States should be continued, and should, by cooperation of the Governments, be made as effective as possible. This understanding contemplates that the Japanese Government shall issue passports to continental United States only to such of its subjects as are nonlaborers, or are laborers who, in coming to the continent, seek to resume a formerly acquired domicile, to join a parent, wife, or children residing there, or to assume active control of an already possessed interest in a farming enterprise in this country; so that the three classes of laborers entitled to receive passports have come to be designated "former residents," "parents, wives, or children of residents," and "settled agriculturalists."

With respect to Hawaii, the Japanese Government of its own volition stated that, experimentally at least, the issuance of passports to members of the laboring classes proceeding thence would be limited to "former residents" and "parents, wives, or children of residents." The said Government has also been exercising a careful supervision over the subject of emigration of its laboring class to foreign contiguous territory.

The CHAIRMAN. That purports to be a paraphrase of the gentleman's agreement. That is in accordance with the view of the Commissioner General of Immigration, and it states that, experimentally at least, the agreement will be observed as to Hawaii. Is that the meaning of it?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No, sir; it is stated that the same rule, or practically the same rule, will be voluntarily applied to Hawaii. The agreement does not apply to Hawaii, but the agreement concerns continental United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the State Department let it go by as if Hawaii were not a part of the United States?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No, sir; it was a part of the United States, but it was an insular rather than a continental possession, and the conditions in the two were admittedly different.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Japan make a stand upon the proposition of having Hawaii left out of the gentleman's agreement?

Mr. MACMURRAY. In answering that question, I should confess my own ignorance as to whether it was a suggestion that came from our own side or a suggestion from the Japanese side, that a distinction be made in that respect, or a distinction that was obviously necessary in view of the labor conditions at that time in Hawaii, which was very anxious to get Asiatic labor at that time, whereas continental United States was not.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, was not this gentleman's agreement built up as the result of exchanges of correspondence between diplomatic officials of the United States and diplomatic officials of Japan?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes, sir; it is not embodied in a single text, but it appears in the course of some long and argumentative correspondence between our embassy at Tokyo and the Japanese foreign office.

The CHAIRMAN. It was the result of a series of diplomatic exchanges?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether Japan in those letters, which, to all intents and purposes constitute a part of the gentleman's agreement, reserved the right, whenever it thought there was a labor shortage in Hawaii, to send coolies over there?

Mr. MACMURRAY. It reserved freedom of action, and it made only a voluntary undertaking in regard to Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. So that at any time that Japan has information that there is a shortage of common labor in Hawaii, she can, without violating the gentleman's agreement, supply that demand? Is that your understanding?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes, sir; it is my understanding that they are not excluded by the terms of the agreement.

Mr. WILSON. At whose request was Hawaii not included?

Mr. MACMURRAY. There again I must confess my ignorance. I do not know whether it was at our own request or Japan's.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the records and correspondence of the State Department in regard to the matter will disclose that Japan insisted on leaving Hawaii out of it, and that the United States insisted that it would have to be included in the agreement, because Hawaii was a part of the United States. My understanding is that Japan then undertook to reserve the right to send common labor into Hawaii whenever it learned in an official way from the United States that Hawaii was short of such labor.

Mr. WILSON. Did we consent or acquiesce in that?

gation to determine from the evidence whether there is such a shortage, having passed such a resolution, we would be in a very poor position then to claim that there was not such a shortage.

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. We would, in fact, proclaim a shortage of labor in the Hawaiian Islands, and under Mr. MacMurray's construction of the correspondence which practically constitutes the gentleman's agreement, we would be estopped from complaining if Japan insisted upon supply that shortage.

Mr. RAKER. Yes. In other words, we would be building up a case for them to say that there was a shortage.

Mr. WILSON. If that is true, then what becomes of the declared purpose of the resolution, as stated by its proponents, to bring in Chinese labor?

The CHAIRMAN. As I read the resolution, it seeks to regulate immigration of various kinds to Hawaii on a percentage basis, and it would supersede anything that might be in the gentleman's agreement, so that additional Japanese laborers could not come in after the enactment of the resolution because of the percentage limitation. But if Congress starts with the resolution, Congress has got to pass it; otherwise the door is open.

Mr. WILSON. I see. You would be in the position of opening up a situation whereby Japan would have the right under the gentleman's agreement to send the men, and then of saying by the same resolution that they could not bring them in.

The CHAIRMAN. Japan might take advantage of her reservations to the gentleman's agreement before such a resolution could be finally enacted into law—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). In other words, we have been striving for 10 or 12 years to have a restrictive law placed upon the statute books excluding Asiatic coolie labor, which includes Chinese and Japanese. We have been trying to do that by direct legislative act. Now, if you take the view that is presented by the gentleman, that this resolution would restrict Japanese immigration, notwithstanding the gentleman's agreement to the effect that they can bring them in under a certain state of facts, or when they believe that there is a shortage of common labor in the Hawaiian Islands, we will be doing indirectly what we have been attempting to do directly in excluding the Japanese. Is that about the situation?

Mr. MACMURRAY. It seems to me that that interpretation of it would constitute an exclusion act against the Japanese in Hawaii. Does that answer your question?

Mr. RAKER. Yes. At the same time, by the resolution we declare that there is a shortage of labor, which, under the gentleman's agreement, if it does exist, authorizes the Japanese Government to permit their nationals to come in, and it would permit other nationals that we have excluded from other lands to come in because of that shortage.

Mr. MACMURRAY. By that you mean Chinese?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; Chinese; and, in addition to that, we would permit to come in under this resolution other classes, namely, the diseased, the criminal, the bolsheviki, the prostitutes, and other undesirable classes to do hotel work, including pimps and all others.

That would be done by virtue of this resolution, because it permits the otherwise ineligible to come in.

Mr. MACMURRAY. I do not know as to that; that is a phase of the matter that does not seem to come within the competence of the State Department.

Mr. RAKER. In regard to the gentleman's agreement, how could the Department of Commerce and Labor, as it was called at that time, obtain this agreement if it was not in writing? How could the Secretary of Commerce and Labor get that document or write that language that you have read in here?

Mr. MACMURRAY. It was in writing—

Mr. RAKER. There is a letter on file in these hearings, introduced by myself, from the Secretary of Labor, and one from the Secretary of State, both stating there is nothing in writing upon this matter.

Mr. FREE. Does that mean—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). I want his explanation of that.

Mr. MACMURRAY. Does it not state rather that there is no agreed form of statement in writing?

Mr. RAKER. Perhaps it is stated that way.

Mr. MACMURRAY. I suggest that, because that is the fact. It might properly be designated as simply what appears from a rather long course of correspondence, in which various matters were debated and discussed, and in the course of that correspondence, from time to time, there would appear to be a meeting of minds on questions a, b, and c, we will say.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, instead of putting that considerable correspondence, and possibly interviews, discussions, and conferences, covering a long period of time, into the form of an agreement drawn up and signed by the ambassadors of the two countries and approved by the Senate, they took their correspondence and finally drew up a document, or, rather, not a document, but a letter, which expressed and brought together all of their understandings upon those subjects?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No, sir; there was no letter gathering the subject up. There was nothing in the form either of an agreed statement or of a final letter from one side to the other. There was nothing which could be said to be a summing up of the matter in a single document or agreement. As for what I quoted here from the statement of the Commissioner General of Immigration, it is what we might call a summary of the points of agreement in an extended correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. The presumption is that he had access to the correspondence?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was supplied to him by the State Department, and he made that paraphrase of it?

Mr. MACMURRAY. So far as I know; yes, sir. Mr. Strauss was the Secretary of Commerce and Labor at that time, and I think this was his own statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be able to get for this committee a copy of the exchanges that took place with regard to the gentleman's agreement and Hawaii?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I should have to consult the department.

The CHAIRMAN. They might write off a copy of what was said regarding that subject in the various letters, so that we could see whether the United States really undertook to protect Hawaii or whether Japan undertook to make sure that she could fill Hawaii whenever she wanted to.

Mr. MACMURRAY. I could not promise you that.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be better, perhaps, for the committee to make a formal request of the Secretary in writing.

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. In arriving at what we call the gentleman's agreement, the Japanese Government contended that there should be no restrictions upon the admission of Japanese laborers into Hawaii when there was a shortage of labor, and our Government contended that the same rule should apply there as applied to continental United States. Then, as I understand it, our Government finally yielded to the Japanese Government, permitting them to issue passports for their nationals to go to Hawaii when the labor situation was somewhat short there.

Mr. MACMURRAY. I think the situation was more properly this, that we made our original proposal without distinction as between the two kinds of American territory, continental and insular, whereupon Japan pointed out the existence of a different set of facts, as was known to us as well as to them; that is, that the Hawaiian Islands were actually seeking Asiatic labor; that there was an arrangement in effect at that time—of course, it was an entirely informal arrangement out there in the islands—by which the planters' association would actually notify the Japanese consul each year of the number of laborers that they thought could be profitably employed, whereupon the Japanese consul would advise his Government, and the Japanese Government would issue passports for the laborers, or a portion of the laborers, indicated as necessary to go to the islands. That being the fact, the distinction was not one as between American territory and something that was a little bit less than American territory, but as between American territory where we were endeavoring to protect white labor and American territory in which white labor was not demanding protection, and in which there was, in fact, no opportunity for white labor, with the result that the industries of the islands were actively seeking to get Asiatic labor.

Mr. RAKER. Would it be impertinent, or beyond the scope in seeking for information, if there should be conveyed to the committee information as to through what source the Hawaiian government, or the Hawaiian people, at that time were seeking and requesting the admission of Japanese laborers into Hawaii?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I do not think there was anything official about it, but it was simply the result of a condition that existed there in their industries which required labor, and in order to ascertain the extent to which labor was required the Japanese consul would ask the planters' association, that being probably the largest employer of labor, what the requirements were.

Mr. RAKER. Is there anything in the records, letters, or correspondence that would indicate the desire of the planters' association and of the various industries of Hawaii to permit Japanese laborers to come into Hawaii?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Frankly, I do not know of anything on record in regard to that, except the statement, which does appear in the course of the correspondence, that this arrangement was already in effect and had been for a number of years.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe the correspondence on the Japanese side indicates that the Japanese consul would usually supply a fewer number of laborers than were requested.

Mr. MACMURRAY. That is the fact.

The CHAIRMAN. There is another question I want to ask you: Does the State Department have any information about the existence of the organization known as the Japanese Laborers' Federation in Hawaii and its activities this last year?

Mr. MACMURRAY. So far as my knowledge goes, we have nothing of record. Of course, we have letters from individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. The United States does not have diplomatic agents in her Territorial possessions?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No, sir; of course not, in our own territory.

The CHAIRMAN. So such information would come to the United States Government through reports to the Department of the Interior, or to Congress through the Committee on Territories, or the Foreign Affairs Committee, or this committee, or perhaps to the Military Intelligence Office of the War Department.

Mr. MACMURRAY. Or possibly it might come to the State Department through the governor. I think I am correct in saying, although I say it not altogether positively, that we have nothing official on the subject from the governor or from any branch of the Territorial government.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you would not know anything regarding article 6, section 14, of the by-laws of the Japanese Laborers' Federation of the Island of Hawaii. Paragraph 3 of that section and article reads as follows:

Should a member be found guilty of any act contravening the interests of this federation he shall be expelled from its membership and his certificate of membership canceled: *Provided further*, That the matter shall be reported to the several affiliated branches, the Federated Union of the Japanese Labor Organizations of Hawaii, and the burgomaster (mayor) of the offending member's permanent domicile in Japan.

In other words, one of the punishments for nonconformity with the rules of the Japanese Laborers' Federation in the Territory of Hawaii, which is a portion of the United States, is that of publicity and scorn in Japan. That is likely to be a matter that the State Department would look into, is it not?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I am frank to tell you that I do not know what the attitude of our Government would be on that.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the department should know about it, and Congress, too, for that matter.

Now, I will insert in the record some of these advertisements appearing in Japanese papers in Hawaii, with the photographs of certain Japanese. They are entitled "Expulsion advertisements." Here is one containing the photographs of four Japanese, who are named, followed by this statement:

The above persons have broken the pledge of this federation and have taken independent action. Therefore, the federation hereby expels them and will not recognize them hereafter as members of any social organization, and prohibits any member to have any relationship whatever with them.

That is signed "Kahuku Japanese Association. Approved: Oahu Labor Federation, Labor Federation of Hawaii."

The second one promulgates the same information concerning six Japanese, expelling them and carrying this statement:

The above persons have disgraced the name of this federation, have violated the rules, have broken the strike, and have independently returned to work. We have granted them a period of days to come back to themselves, but they have positively refused to confess. Therefore they are hereby expelled from the federation. The federation prohibits its members to have any relationship with them and will not recognize them as qualified members of any public organization.

This advertisement will be printed in all Hawaiian-Japanese papers as well as papers in the home towns in Japan.

That advertisement is signed, "Waiphu Japanese Federation of Labor. Approved the action of Waiphu Federation, Oahu Federation of Labor; approved the action of Oahu Federation, Japanese Federation of Hawaii."

Another advertisement relating to two Japanese reads as follows:

The above persons, after having taken a pledge to abide with us until the objective of our wage increase movement has been attained, and received the means of livelihood from this association, have treacherously broken the pledge and returned to work. The association can not see any reason for mercy and hereby it declares they are expelled.

KAHUKU JAPANESE ASSOCIATION.

This association approves the action of Kahuku Japanese Association.

OAHU FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Hawaiian Federation of Japanese Labor Headquarters.

I take it that these labor associations in the islands of Hawaii are similar to the associations in the States of California and Washington, where the associations are coextensive with the Japanese consuls as regards territory.

Mr. RAKER. I am interested in trying to get at this gentleman's agreement as it relates to Hawaii. Referring to the evidence that has been presented to the committee and discussed generally, that even when the Hawaiian Government was a monarchy and before it became a Territory, they had excluded the Japanese, and the fact that we have been intent on excluding them all the time, I want to ask you just how that appears in the gentleman's agreement? You referred to the fact that passports could be issued by the Japanese Government to laborers to go to Hawaii if there was a shortage of common labor. Could you amplify that statement a little bit more? It may be that the rest of the committee fully understand it, but I must confess that I do not.

Mr. MACMURRAY. The substance of it is this, that in accepting the suggestion that the gentleman's agreement should be made applicable, or that there should be adopted a gentleman's agreement under which the Japanese Government would itself impose upon its laboring classes restrictions preventing them from emigrating from Japan, or, in other words that Japan should control the emigration rather than that we should control the immigration—they asked in view of the wholly different situation with regard to labor in Hawaii, that Hawaii should not be included, but that the agreement should in its terms refer to continental United States; but at the same time, they announced that as a matter of policy, but independent of the

arrangement regarding continental United States, they would themselves voluntarily restrict emigration of Japanese labor to the Hawaiian Islands, though reserving the right to withdraw from that voluntarily assumed position in case it should appear that there was no longer a need for it, and that there was, in fact a need for oriental labor. Does that make it clear?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask you another question: When the Japanese Government agreed to suspend sending picture brides to continental United States did they make a similar agreement with regard to Hawaii? First, did they notify the State Department that they would suspend sending picture brides to the United States?

Mr. MACMURRAY. They did notify the State Department. That was in January, 1919; they notified us that before the end of February they would discontinue the issuance of passports to what are commonly called picture brides. I think February 28, 1920, was the date. At the same time, they notified us that each of those passports was available for six months, and that it would be the end of August before they would cease to come.

Mr. RAKER. It was in December, 1919, that they issued that notice?

Mr. MACMURRAY. They notified us December 15, 1919, that beginning, as I recall, on February 28, they would discontinue issuing passports.

The CHAIRMAN. They notified you that the last Japanese picture brides would come along in August or September.

Mr. MACMURRAY. In August.

The CHAIRMAN. I find that they are still sending picture brides to Hawaii this year. I cabled to the commissioner of immigration at Honolulu, Hawaii, asking him to wire me the number of picture brides admitted by months since January 1, and he wired me as follows:

Picture brides admitted Honolulu: January, 39; February, 20; March, 26; April, 52; May, 23; and June, 51.

That makes 211 for the six months. That number, this distance from Hawaii, would not seem very many, but by adding that number of women or young brides to the Japanese population of the Hawaiian Islands, in addition to the facts which were pointed out in the telegram from Mr. McClatchy that was read this morning and the conditions pointed out in the hearings held last year by Chester H. Rowell, the Fresno editor, and stated time and time again with reference to Hawaii particularly, it would indicate the possibility that peaceful penetration is proceeding nicely in Hawaii.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. MacMurray was interrupted in his statement, and possibly it does not appear clearly in the record. There was a little conversation between Judge Raker and Mr. MacMurray, and I would like to have him restate what he then said, so that it will appear definitely in the record. I refer to his statement in regard to picture brides.

Mr. MACMURRAY. I stated that beginning February 28, 1920, they would cease issuing passports for so-called picture brides of the laboring class to emigrate from Japan to the United States. Those

passports, however, as pointed out, being good for six months, they notified us that the last picture brides might be expected to leave Japan in August, 1920. There was an omission there, and I should have stated that that was applicable to continental United States. It was an application of the gentleman's agreement, which refers to continental United States.

Mr. FREE. Is there any understanding with Japan with regard to the admission of picture brides into Hawaii?

Mr. MACMURRAY. There is none.

Mr. Box. Under the interpretation that Japan makes of the gentlemen's agreement, they have the right to send those women as wives of those Japanese coming to their husbands here?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. Box. And that application of it still continues as to Hawaii?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREE. Can you answer this question: Under the gentlemen's agreement they have contended that they have the right in this country to adopt children in Japan and even to adopt grown men; now, after such a man is adopted, permitting him to come to the United States proper, after he gets here, he can bring in his parents and children, can he not?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No, sir; not his parents. It is to be understood, of course, on this whole question of Japanese adoption, that it is an immemorial custom among the Japanese which is very severely regulated. After a person is adopted, he foregoes his own family completely. Therefore, he could not be brought in as the adopted son of a Japanese in this country and be permitted to bring in his natural parents.

Mr. FREE. But he could bring in his wife and children?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREE. That is a matter applying to continental United States?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes. I believe that there are not enough to make any considerable number.

Mr. FREE. I know that an investigation was made by the State board of control of California, and out of a certain number investigated they found 171 in one lot of a few hundred. Now, has that been practiced in Hawaii, too?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I assume that the practice would be identical in Hawaii. With regard to Hawaii, it is still possible for the parents and wives and children of residents to come in.

Mr. FREE. I have been requested to ask you a couple of questions: Did the State Department ever take any steps to ascertain from the Hawaiian Planters' Association, or from government officials in Hawaii, whether any arrangement between the association and the Japanese consul, by which they requested him to furnish labor, which you testified about, really did exist?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I will have to answer that from inference. I have never seen any correspondence about it. That was long before I was in the State Department myself, and I have never seen anything about it in any of the records that I have examined. I should perhaps add, however, that the situation with regard to Hawaii was pretty well known to our Government at that time, because Mr. Strauss, who, I think, at the moment of the agreement,

That would be done by virtue of this resolution, because it permits the otherwise ineligible to come in.

Mr. MACMURRAY. I do not know as to that; that is a phase of the matter that does not seem to come within the competence of the State Department.

Mr. RAKER. In regard to the gentleman's agreement, how could the Department of Commerce and Labor, as it was called at that time, obtain this agreement if it was not in writing? How could the Secretary of Commerce and Labor get that document or write that language that you have read in here?

Mr. MACMURRAY. It was in writing——

Mr. RAKER. There is a letter on file in these hearings, introduced by myself, from the Secretary of Labor, and one from the Secretary of State, both stating there is nothing in writing upon this matter.

Mr. FREE. Does that mean——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). I want his explanation of that.

Mr. MACMURRAY. Does it not state rather that there is no agreed form of statement in writing?

Mr. RAKER. Perhaps it is stated that way.

Mr. MACMURRAY. I suggest that, because that is the fact. It might properly be designated as simply what appears from a rather long course of correspondence, in which various matters were debated and discussed, and in the course of that correspondence, from time to time, there would appear to be a meeting of minds on questions a, b. and c, we will say.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, instead of putting that considerable correspondence, and possibly interviews, discussions, and conferences, covering a long period of time, into the form of an agreement drawn up and signed by the ambassadors of the two countries and approved by the Senate, they took their correspondence and finally drew up a document, or, rather, not a document, but a letter, which expressed and brought together all of their understandings upon those subjects?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No, sir; there was no letter gathering the subject up. There was nothing in the form either of an agreed statement or of a final letter from one side to the other. There was nothing which could be said to be a summing up of the matter in a single document or agreement. As for what I quoted here from the statement of the Commissioner General of Immigration, it is what we might call a summary of the points of agreement in an extended correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. The presumption is that he had access to the correspondence?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was supplied to him by the State Department, and he made that paraphrase of it?

Mr. MACMURRAY. So far as I know; yes, sir. Mr. Strauss was the Secretary of Commerce and Labor at that time, and I think this was his own statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be able to get for this committee a copy of the exchanges that took place with regard to the gentleman's agreement and Hawaii?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I should have to consult the department.

Mr. MACMURRAY. That was the situation with which they were confronted when they made the gentlemen's agreement.

Mr. WILSON. Now, since the gentlemen's agreement, what steps are taken in order to bring Japanese labor to Hawaii?

Mr. MACMURRAY. The Japanese Government has voluntarily waived any right to issue passports for this labor.

Mr. WILSON. Well, is that understood by the gentlemen's agreement, that they are no longer in a position to claim that right?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No. The Hawaiian arrangement is separate from the gentlemen's agreement, but simultaneously with it they said, "Experimentally, and in effect at our own will, and so long as we deem the conditions justify it, we will altogether stop passports for Hawaii."

Mr. WILSON. Now, if that is at the will of the Japanese Government, is it left open for them to resume that practice and say under the gentlemen's agreement that they have the right to supply labor for Hawaii?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes; I think that under the treaty of 1911 they have that right; and under earlier treaties, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Then does it not say in so many words that when the Japanese Government receives notice—straight, official notice—that the Hawaiian Islands are short of labor, the Japanese Government reserves the right to send labor there?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I did not quite understand the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any of the correspondence that led up to this gentlemen's agreement carry any phraseology to the effect that Japan, upon learning officially from the United States that there is a shortage of labor in Hawaii, shall have the right to send labor into Hawaii?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No; there is no positive grant like that.

The CHAIRMAN. What does it say?

Mr. MACMURRAY. The correspondence contemplates that the Japanese Government, upon ascertaining in consultation with the American authorities that there is a shortage, would be at liberty to resume its freedom of action. That is not the precise wording, but that is the sense of it, as I recall it.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. MacMurray, has the United States an agreement or arrangement with any other country, except the one that you have designated with the Japanese Government known as the "gentlemen's agreement," relative to the entry into the United States of their nationals?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No. In the case of the Chinese, of course, the matter is governed by our own legislation.

Mr. RAKER. By treaty and by law?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No; not by treaty—according to the Chinese claim, at least—but by law.

Mr. RAKER. Well, it is the law, and then we have a treaty as to commerce; but the law as to exclusion is known as the Chinese exclusion act?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes; and that is a domestic act. In the case of other Asiatics of the barred zone, there is also, of course, exclusion by domestic act of our own. But with the Japanese the matter is regulated wholly by this understanding that we will leave it to the Japanese to stop it at the source, instead of our building a dam against it here.

Mr. RAKER. Then to make it as clear as we can, there are two gentlemen's agreements: One relating to continental United States, and one to the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Frankly, I think the Japanese would object to calling the other one a "gentlemen's agreement" That was a voluntary undertaking in its entirety.

Mr. RAKER. I do not get your distinction.

The CHAIRMAN. They object to calling which one a "gentlemen's agreement?"

Mr. MACMURRAY. The Hawaiian one.

The CHAIRMAN. The Japanese originated the name "gentlemen's agreement," did they not?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. That was their fancy name for their end of the bargain?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I am not sure.

Mr. SABATH. That was the first agreement; and this Hawaiian situation came up later, did it not?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No; it was simultaneous.

Mr. SABATH. Was it?

Mr. MACMURRAY. It appears in the same correspondence; but in that correspondence they asked that this question be treated on a wholly different basis, in view of the ascertained difference of labor conditions.

Mr. RAKER. Then, as I was asking, irrespective of what they would call it, there is a gentlemen's agreement as to continental United States?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And then there is this other agreement or understanding as to the Hawaiian Islands. We made there two separate and distinct gentlemen's agreements relative to immigration of the Japanese, and both at the will of the Japanese Government and not at the will of the American Government?

Mr. MACMURRAY. May I put it this way, with regard to the statement that both of these agreements are entirely at the will of the Japanese Government, that in a note accompanying the treaty of 1911 with Japan—the new commercial treaty—reference was made to that arrangement in terms which perhaps I had better read.

Mr. RAKER. Is that signed at the bottom?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes; this was a note attached to the treaty and ratified with the treaty. The Japanese ambassador who signed that treaty with Mr. Knox recorded that—

In proceeding this day to the signature of the treaty of commerce and navigation between Japan and the United States, the undersigned Japanese ambassador in Washington, duly authorized by his Government, has the honor to declare that the Imperial Japanese Government are fully prepared to maintain with equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have for the past three years exercised in regulation of the emigration of laborers to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. That is signed by whom?

Mr. MACMURRAY. By Uchida, the Japanese ambassador.

Mr. RAKER. Just state where is that found.

Mr. MACMURRAY. On page 245 of your hearings, Sixty-sixth Congress.

Mr. RAKER. That is in the treaty of commerce between Japan and the United States of 1911?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And it is not part of the treaty signed by our ambassador, but is a note at the end of the treaty, simply signed by the ambassador of Japan?

The CHAIRMAN. In which he "has the honor to declare that the Imperial Japanese Government are fully prepared to maintain with equal effectiveness the limitation and control which they have for the past three years exercised with respect to the immigration of laborers to the United States."

Now, if they had any separate and detailed agreement in regard to Hawaii that was not covered by that signed note. It is now about time to declare that the Territory of Hawaii is part of the United States.

Mr. RAKER. Very well. Now, what I was asking Mr. MacMurray—and I have read it over and called attention to it a number of times—was that that provision as to Hawaii was simply a statement made by the ambassador of Japan, attached to the treaty of commerce and navigation of 1911, and not signed by our ambassador. Nor does it include the kind or character of gentlemen's agreement that was made as to continental United States and apply it to the Territory. Of course, it speaks for itself; but there is nothing else in writing on the subject except the notes that you have been describing this morning.

Mr. WILSON. This protocol was supposed to have been written by the Japanese ambassador before he signed this treaty. Do you understand that to be just a reaffirmation of their position in relation to what had already been agreed on three years before?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. In other words, it was his intention to indicate that that was undisturbed?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. Well, Mr. Chairman, do you infer that that applies to Hawaii?

The CHAIRMAN. Uchida writes the words "United States" in his note of 1911. Now, I know the State Department will not sit by and consider that the Territory of Hawaii is outside of the United States, and I hope that this committee will not.

Mr. WILSON. But his position was that everything in respect to that immigration of laborers was to remain in its former position; it was not to be disturbed by the treaty. That is what he is intending to declare in there.

Mr. RAKER. Namely, that the gentlemen's agreement as to the United States would stand and that the gentlemen's agreement as to Hawaii would stand?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes; but the agreement with respect to Hawaii is in terms designated as a separate agreement, which they are under no obligations to maintain.

Mr. KLECZKA. Who is under no obligations to maintain it?

Mr. MACMURRAY. The Japanese.

Mr. SABATH. They reserve to themselves the right to act when they feel inclined.

Mr. WILSON. Well, so far as Hawaii is concerned, the whole question of determination is left to Japan.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I was trying to bring out.

Mr. KLECZKA. You said that in some correspondence subsequent to the agreement Japan waived the right to send her nationals to this country. Is that true?

Mr. Box. No.

Mr. MACMURRAY. No. Perhaps you came in when we were speaking of the picture brides?

Mr. KLECZKA. No; I came in subsequently to that, but I understood you to say that she waived some right to send her nationals here?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Of the laboring classes? That is the original gentlemen's agreement of 1908, by which she agreed not to issue passports to Japanese laborers enabling them to come to the United States.

Mr. KLECZKA. Then this agreement of 1911 abrogates her willingness or waiver of 1908, does it not?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No; it confirms it.

Mr. KLECZKA. It confirms it?

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. CABLE. I would like to ask this: Has the State Department approved this joint resolution 171?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Has it approved it?

Mr. CABLE. Yes; that is, the one under consideration.

Mr. MACMURRAY. I am afraid that I am not in a position to speak for the State Department as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say this, that it has not been sent to the State Department with a request for an opinion in writing.

Mr. RAKER. Under what administration was this supplemental protocol of 1911 signed?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Under President Taft's administration.

Mr. RAKER. And the original gentlemen's agreement was under Roosevelt's administration?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Now, let me ask you this question: Has the United States, through its duly constituted officials, agreed to the gentlemen's agreement as it relates to the continental United States?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I wonder if I understand you. We are, of course, a party to the correspondence which resulted in that understanding.

Mr. RAKER. Well, then, is it your view, and do you convey to the committee the idea or the fact, that through that correspondence the United States, through its duly constituted official having jurisdiction over that matter, entered into and became a party to that gentlemen's agreement?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Well, now, second, did the duly constituted authorities of the United States agree with the Japanese Government through this gentlemen's agreement and the correspondence to the experimental gentlemen's agreement as to the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes; I think that follows from the correspondence.

Mr. RAKER. Then we stand bound to-day by this experimental gentlemen's agreement as to the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes.

Mr. KLECZKA. Well, now, that is a very important legal proposition. How were we bound to this Hawaiian agreement? Was it through correspondence between the Japanese Government and our State Department or was it through correspondence between our State Department and the authorities in Hawaii?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Through correspondence between the Japanese foreign office and the American Embassy at Tokyo.

Mr. KLECZKA. Well, then, there was no delegation of authority by our State Department to Hawaii in any form to enter separately into this experimental agreement of 1908?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I am not quite sure I catch the drift of your question.

Mr. KLECZKA. Our State Department did not waive its authority to control or approve the experimental agreement between Japan and Hawaii?

Mr. MACMURRAY. But that was not the result of negotiations between Japan and Hawaii as a separate territory or entity.

Mr. KLECZKA. It was not?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No. Both of what we may loosely call the two agreements—the original gentlemen's agreement relating to continental United States and then the experimental understanding with respect to Japanese with regard to Hawaii—were embodied in the same correspondence.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, so that we may have the matter fully before the committee for legislation when this matter is disposed of, I move that the chairman of this committee request of the State Department all the correspondence on the gentlemen's agreement if not incompatible with the public interest.

(The motion was unanimously adopted.)

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I am obliged to leave the city to-day and go home; and I would like to know what, if anything, is to be done in this matter. The committee has reported out the resolution; and I wish to know if the committee is going to take any further action in the matter, whether there will be any action taken before further hearings are held?

The CHAIRMAN. Let me state what is here. I am sure the members of the committee are all anxious to get at the bottom of this thing. Resolution No. 171 was authorized to be reported out. The chairman, in the course of the hearings, offered to secure and furnish certain evidence, and it has taken more time than was expected. Now, we are proceeding to add those statements to the record of the hearings, including statements with regard to Chinese working on plantations in Cuba, and protests from various labor organizations. Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, desired to be heard, and we thought he would be here to-day; but he is not. Various information has been called for. I have in front of me in a bulletin just issued the census figures of those employed in Hawaii in these various capacities—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Mr. Chairman, before we proceed any further, Judge Sabath has raised a very important question. I do not propose to make any objection. Of course, we have nothing before the committee now upon which we are hearing this testimony—nothing on earth. The committee has disposed of this joint resolu-

tion 171 and ordered it reported out. It was introduced on the 7th of July, and on the morning of July 8, at half past 10 o'clock, the committee met, and in 20 minutes it was reported out.

And upon that resolution the following members were present—I want to insert this in the record at this time; I do not propose to make any objection; but we ought to be in a position, since Judge Sabath has raised the question—

Mr. SABATH (interposing). Well, I was not present at that meeting.

Mr. CABLE. And Judge Raker was absent.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; I was in the hospital that morning. And this resolution was introduced on the afternoon of July 7. The committee was called for 10.30, July 8. I called up the committee at 10 minutes before 11, and the committee had ajourned.

The CHAIRMAN. On the morning of the 8th?

Mr. RAKER. On the morning of July 8.

The CHAIRMAN. You are misinformed.

Mr. RAKER. No; I am not.

Mr. FREE. We had hearings for weeks on it.

Mr. RAKER. No. And at that meeting there were present Albert Johnson, chairman; J. Will Taylor; John C. Kleczka, Hays B. White; Guy L. Shaw; Riley J. Wilson, and John C. Box. Absent at that meeting were, Isaac Siegel; William N. Vaile; Robert S. Maloney; Arthur M. Free—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I think you are violating the rules in attempting to read a vote of the committee; I do not care a thing about it, however. Your list is incorrect. The minutes of the committee are available. H. J. Res. 171 was by vote substituted for the earlier resolution, which was H. J. Res. 158. All that was done in open hearings.

Mr. SABATH. Well, the only thing I am interested in is, whether we will have further hearings and further action in the matter.

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Chairman, is it necessary to make a motion to reconsider in order to have further evidence here?

The CHAIRMAN. No; not at all.

Mr. RAKER. Let me finish my statement—and I think I am entitled to it. At that meeting there were also absent Adolph J. Sabath, John E. Raker, and L. B. Rainey.

The CHAIRMAN. The minutes of this committee, which are open to the members of the committee, and which are the property of the House of Representatives, disclose the matters which you are now reading into the record, which have nothing to do with the matter.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to be on record as having voted for that resolution, and I want to be on record showing that I was not present. I would have voted against it if I had been present.

The CHAIRMAN. You may make that statement if you desire.

Mr. RAKER. Now, I am perfectly willing to have the committee take all the testimony necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that you have made that statement, we will proceed.

Does Mr. Mead desire to ask questions of Mr. MacMurray?

Mr. R. D. MEAD. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SABATH. Well, in view of the fact that further hearings will be had, may I be excused?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; all members will be notified in plenty of time if further action is taken.

Mr. SABATH. Can you give two days' notice, as I will be in Chicago?

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, just a moment; let us be orderly, if nothing else. Will there be a motion made to reconsider this matter?

The CHAIRMAN. We will see what the testimony develops. That depends on those who voted for the resolution.

Mr. RAKER. All right; that is perfectly satisfactory.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Mead.

Mr. MEAD. You made a statement, Mr. MacMurray, that at the time of the gentlemen's agreement it was found that an informal arrangement existed between the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association and the Japanese Government, through its consul at Honolulu, that if we were short of labor we would notify the Japanese Government, through its consul, of our requirements. That is the first I ever heard of any such arrangement, and I have been with the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association since 1901. Such an arrangement, to my knowledge, has never existed. As it is rather an important matter, I would like to inquire further about it. You said that Mr. Strauss had been to Hawaii and had reported upon conditions. What did Mr. Strauss say when he came back from Hawaii, about those conditions?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I do not know that he ever made a report on the subject of the conditions; but he was a participant in all the discussions, as Secretary of Commerce and Labor; he was in conference with the Secretary of State at that time.

Mr. MEAD. Did he say he had been in conference with the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association on this matter, or anything like that?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I do not know what he said.

Mr. MEAD. Because he never had been. I do not understand where the information comes from that there was such an arrangement between the Japanese Government and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. Did you get it from Japanese sources?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No. I explained that the correspondence showed that the Japanese said that their consul would advise the planters' association how many Japanese laborers there was room for.

Mr. MEAD. The Japanese said that?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes.

Mr. MEAD. There was nothing said from our side that such an arrangement existed?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I have already answered that, that so far as appears in the records that I have had occasion to examine, there was no report—there was no statement of it at all, but the statement of the Japanese, unchallenged and acquiesced in, in spite of the fact that Mr. Straus had been out there and presumably had seen the same thing.

Mr. MEAD. Acquiesced in by the State Department, without consulting the Hawaiian officials or the Hawaiian planters?

Mr. MACMURRAY. Yes; so far as I know there was no such consultation.

Mr. MEAD. That is what I wanted to get into the record—that the Hawaiian government or the Hawaiian planters had not been consulted in regard to such an arrangement; and I wish to deny that any such arrangement ever existed.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if we can secure this correspondence that lies under the gentlemen's agreement I think we will find out all about these matters.

Mr. C. F. CHILLINGSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, may I ask Mr. MacMurray a few questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CHILLINGSWORTH. You stated, Mr. MacMurray, that it was your impression that Hawaii joined in the arrangement, to a certain extent, for the admission of Japanese laborers into Hawaii under the second so-called gentlemen's agreement. That is your impression?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I am afraid that that method of putting it reveals, perhaps, some negligence of statement on my part. Hawaii as a Territorial entity was not, so far as I know, a party to the negotiations. Is that what your question is directed toward?

Mr. CHILLINGSWORTH. Yes.

Mr. MACMURRAY. What I meant to convey was that reports were made when the conditions in Hawaii were such that there was a need for labor, and a general desire for labor there.

Mr. CHILLINGSWORTH. Is it not a fact, Mr. MacMurray, that the evidence in the possession of the United States Government was just to the contrary, as far as Hawaii's position is concerned?

Mr. MACMURRAY. What evidence?

Mr. CHILLINGSWORTH. For instance, in 1896-97, 1,100 Japanese were deported from Hawaii, for which the Republic of Hawaii, at the time of annexation had to pay \$75,000 to Japan, in order that there might be no hindrance to its annexation to the United States. Were you aware of that?

Mr. MACMURRAY. I knew that in a general sense.

Mr. CHILLINGSWORTH. Did you know of an investigation that was made in 1898 by a committee headed by Congressman Hitt, in which he makes this very significant statement:

The issue is whether, in that inevitable struggle, Asia or America shall have the vantage ground of the control of the naval key of the Pacific, the commercial crossroads of the Pacific. All that has held and is now holding Hawaii for the United States is a handful of resolute and determined men, who, against tremendous odds, are doing all within the bounds of possibility to prevent Hawaii from becoming an Asiatic outpost, and to hold this country to its true destiny, which statesmen for 50 years have regarded as imperative. And there is still hope; but if there is help to come from this great Republic, it must come now.

Were you aware of that report, Mr. MacMurray?

Mr. MACMURRAY. No. What did you say that was?

Mr. CHILLINGSWORTH. A report by Congressman Hitt in 1898—House report 1856.

Mr. MACMURRAY. I never heard of it.

Mr. CHILLINGSWORTH. And later on, were you aware of the protest of the governor of Hawaii, in 1917?

Mr. MACMURRAY. In 1917?

Mr. CHILLINGSWORTH. Yes.

Mr. MACMURRAY. To whom was that protest made?

Mr. CHILLINGSWORTH. Made to the Interior Department, and to the President, by the governor of Hawaii.

Mr. MACMURRAY. I am personally ignorant of that. I do not know whether it is on file in the department or not.

Mr. CHILLINGSWORTH. Are you aware that in 1912 the delegate to Congress from Hawaii, J. Kalaniana'ole, also protested as to conditions in Hawaii, and asked for relief?

I will ask you whether or not there is a report on file, dated in 1904, from the governor, or a report of an investigation made in Hawaii by Mr. Pinkham, who afterwards became governor of Hawaii? He was at that time appointed as commissioner to look into the question that was then worrying the people of Hawaii.

Mr. MACMURRAY. It might be; I do not know.

Mr. CHILLINGSWORTH. All this is already a part of the official records of this committee, Mr. Chairman, and I just wanted to call the attention of Mr. MacMurray to it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. We are much obliged to you, Mr. MacMurray, and we are sorry to have taken so much of your time.

Mr. MACMURRAY. That is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection, I will place in the record a report of the Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, showing the occupation statistics of Hawaii in the census of 1920.

(The report referred to is as follows:)

OCCUPATION STATISTICS—HAWAII, 1920.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS,
Washington, July 14, 1921.

The Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, to-day issued general occupation statistics for Hawaii. These figures are preliminary and subject to correction.

The detailed statistics covering the number of persons engaged in each occupation will be given in the occupation bulletin for Hawaii, to be issued about the first of September.

IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, 43.7 PER CENT.

According to the returns of the Fourteenth Census, taken as of January 1, 1920, there were 111,882 persons 10 years of age and over in Hawaii engaged in gainful occupations, constituting 43.7 per cent of the total population of the Territory (255,912), and 59.8 per cent of the population 10 years of age and over (187,167).

At the census of 1910, the 101,194 gainful workers constituted 52.7 per cent of the total population of the Territory, and 68 per cent of the population 10 years of age and over.

TWENTY PER CENT OF WORKERS FEMALES.

Of the gainful workers of Hawaii in 1920, 97,619, or 87.3 per cent, were males and 14,263, or 12.7 per cent, were females. The male gainful workers constituted 84 per cent of all males 10 years of age and over in 1920, as against 88.8 per cent in 1910, while the female gainful workers constituted 20.1 per cent of all females 10 years of age and over in 1920, as against 23.7 per cent in 1910.

ONE-HALF ON PLANTATIONS.

Of the gainful workers of Hawaii in 1920, 56,244, or 50.3 per cent, were engaged in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry; 169, or two-tenths of 1 per cent, in extraction of minerals; 18,194, or 16.3 per cent, in manufacturing and mechanical industries; 7,781, or 7 per cent, in transportation; 7,343, or 6.6

per cent, in trade; 6,282, or 5.6 per cent, in public service; 4,117, or 3.7 per cent, in professional service; 8,466, or 7.6 per cent, in domestic and personal service; and 3,286, or 2.9 per cent, in clerical occupations.

JAPANESE WORKERS, 43.6 PER CENT.

Distributed by race. Hawaiians constituted 8,203, or 7.3 per cent of the gainful workers in 1920; part Hawaiians, 3,899, or 3.5 per cent; Caucasians, 21,325, or 19.1 per cent; Chinese, 11,603, or 10.4 per cent; Japanese, 48,815, or 43.6 per cent; and all other races, 18,037, or 16.1 per cent.

In 1910 the distribution of the gainful workers by race was as follows: Hawaiians, 8,654, or 8.6 per cent; part Hawaiians, 2,760, or 2.7 per cent; Caucasians, 17,957, or 17.7 per cent; Chinese, 14,094, or 13.9 per cent; Japanese, 51,478, or 50.9 per cent; and all other races, 6,251, or 6.2 per cent.

The marked increase in "all other" races, from 6,251, or 6.2 per cent, of all gainful workers in 1910, to 18,037, or 16.1 per cent, in 1920 was due, principally, to the great increase in the number of Filipino workers.

Of the 18,037 workers in the "all other" group in 1920, 15,048 were Filipinos, 2,712 were Koreans, 180 were Negroes, and 97 belonged to other races.

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE.

The 111,882 gainful workers of Hawaii in 1920 were distributed by age periods as follows: 10 to 13 years, 269, or two-tenths of 1 per cent; 14 to 15 years, 1,333, or 1.2 per cent; 16 to 17 years, 3,508, or 3.1 per cent; 18 to 19 years, 5,631, or 5 per cent; 20 to 24 years, 16,880, or 15.1 per cent; 25 to 44 years, 54,682, or 48.9 per cent; 45 to 64 years, 27,231, or 24.3 per cent; 65 years and over, 2,270, or 2 per cent; and age unknown, 78, or one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Of married persons 15 years of age and over in Hawaii in 1920, 60.9 per cent were gainfully occupied. The percentages gainfully occupied for married males and females 15 years of age and over were 97 and 18.8, respectively.

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS.

The principal occupations reported for males and females, respectively, in Hawaii in 1920 were as follows:

Males.

Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	406
Blacksmiths, forgemen, and hammermen.....	438
Bookkeepers and cashiers.....	907
Building, general and not specified, laborers.....	1,974
Carpenters.....	2,890
Chauffeurs.....	1,784
Clerks (except in stores).....	1,321
Draymen, teamsters, and expressmen.....	466
Engineers (stationary), cranemen, hoistmen, etc.....	926
Farm foremen, sugar farms.....	1,034
Farm laborers:	
Coffee farms.....	524
General farms.....	1,931
Pineapple farms.....	2,388
Rice farms.....	1,661
Sugar farms.....	34,106
Farmers:	
Coffee farms.....	624
Sugar farms.....	1,215
Fishermen and oystermen.....	1,280
Garden laborers.....	1,181
Gardeners.....	468
Laborers:	
Fruit and vegetable canning.....	826
Public service.....	563
Road and street.....	1,355
Steam railroad.....	583
Sugar factories.....	2,022

Longshoremen and stevedores.....	1, 572
Machinists.....	812
Painters, glaziers, and varnishers.....	627
Retail dealers.....	2, 584
Sailors and deck hands (merchant service).....	425
Salesmen.....	2, 555
Semiskilled operatives, sugar factories.....	407
Servants.....	2, 812
Soldiers, sailors, and marines (United States).....	4, 366
Stock herders, drovers, and feeders.....	808
Tailors.....	582
Teachers.....	441

Females.

Barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.....	131
Bookkeepers and cashiers.....	110
Clerks (except in stores).....	108
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory).....	274
Farm laborers:	
Coffee farms.....	424
General farms.....	180
Pineapple farms.....	529
Sugar farms.....	4, 651
Farmers, sugar farms.....	140
Garden laborers.....	124
Housekeepers and stewardesses.....	155
Laborers, fruit and vegetable canning.....	180
Laundresses (not in laundries).....	502
Nurses (not trained).....	139
Retail dealers.....	223
Saleswomen.....	433
Servants.....	2, 159
Stenographers and typewriters.....	331
Tailoresses.....	102
Teachers.....	1, 447
Telephone operators.....	123
Trained nurses.....	233
Waitresses.....	107

Mr. Box. Mr. Chairman, there is some reference to the general subject of immigration in Alexander's History of the Hawaiian People, several paragraphs of which I wish to insert in our hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be very glad to have you do so.

I wish to state to the committee that Mr. Henry T. Oxnard, president of the American Beet Sugar Co., Oxnard, Calif., with offices at 32 Nassau Street, New York, was here yesterday, and desires to be heard; he could not be here to-day. If there is no objection, I will arrange a date at which Mr. Oxnard can be heard.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, in this connection, may I insert in the record the following: There is a question as to the Hawaiian sugar people, the amount of sugar produced, the benefits they are getting, and what they are seeking now to get from cheap labor. I wrote to the Tariff Commission to find out the amount of beet sugar produced in the United States, and the amount of cane sugar produced in the United States; the amount produced in Porto Rico, with no tariff on it; the amount produced in Hawaii, with no tariff on it; the amount of sugar imported from Cuba; and the amount of sugar imported from the entire world.

And then the amount of revenue that the Hawaiian people would receive for their sugar; in other words, the amount of duty they

would have paid had there been a tariff on the Hawaiian sugar, as compared with Cuba and the United States. And also the same with reference to Porto Rico.

And the Tariff Commission sets out a full and complete statement of the matter, and I therefore ask to have it go in the record. In other words, here is an illustration—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I do not see just what you are driving at. Do you want Hawaiian sugar to pay a tariff?

Mr. RAKER. No, sir; this has not anything to do with tariff; but it shows that these people are trying to get cheap coolie labor; they are getting a benefit on their sugar of \$19,000,000, as to sugar imported; and now they are asking for cheap labor from other countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the matter referred to will be inserted in the record.

Mr. FREE. I think it ought to be read.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; the gentleman may read it.

Mr. WILSON. It is just a matter of statistics.

Mr. RAKER. Here is a letter from the chairman of the Tariff Commission, Thomas Walker Page, showing the conditions; it is just a matter of statistics.

Mr. FREE. We do not know what is in it.

Mr. RAKER. I shall be delighted to read it.

Mr. FREE. If the Judge is offering himself as a witness—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). I am not offering myself as a witness, and do not intend to; but I want this to go in the record to show the benefit they are already receiving, and that they are now trying to get the benefit of cheap labor as compared with the United States; and we will have other witnesses hereafter to show that the American sugar people are trying to do the same thing, in order to get cheap labor if the Hawaiians get it.

Mr. FREE. I object to it going in without reading it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let the matter go over to another meeting.

Mr. RAKER. I understand the gentleman from California objects to its going in to show the conditions as to the cost of sugar there and the condition of labor there.

The CHAIRMAN. He has the right to require it to be read.

Mr. RAKER. I will ask to have these papers marked for identification.

(Thereupon, at 11.50 a. m., the committee adjourned, subject to the call of the chair.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, July 27, 1921.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. There are two witnesses to appear before the committee this morning, Mr. Henry T. Oxnard, of Oxnard, Calif., and 32 Nassau Street, New York City, representing the beet-sugar growers of the United States, and Mr. John M. Rogers, of New Orleans and 810 Union Trust Building, Washing-

ton, D. C., representing the American Cane Growers' Association, which is an association of the Louisiana sugar growers. Without objection, we will hear Mr. Oxnard first.

STATEMENT OF MR. HENRY T. OXNARD, VICE PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN BEET SUGAR CO.

Mr. OXNARD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I want to apologize for not appearing before you when this matter was up some six weeks ago, but at the time I had no idea that anything serious was pending affecting the beet growers, because something like 10 years ago a similar proposition was offered by the same people, the Hawaii planters, which was promptly put aside. So that we did not realize there was any very great danger of anything of this sort becoming a law or being taken up seriously.

As soon as I did realize that I immediately asked for hearings, because we are opposed, on economic grounds, to the admission of Chinese to the Hawaiian Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go any further, so that we will understand what you mean when you say "we"—

Mr. OXNARD (interposing). I am speaking of the American Beet Sugar Co.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your office or position in the association?

Mr. OXNARD. I am chairman of the board of directors of the American Beet Sugar Co. and vice president of the company, which has factories in Nebraska, Colorado, and California—beet-sugar factories.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not conversant with the beet-sugar industry. Is there only one company?

Mr. OXNARD. Oh, no. There are, I should say, 25 different companies.

The CHAIRMAN. There is an association of all of them, then?

Mr. OXNARD. No; there is no real association. There is what is called the United States Sugar Industry, and nearly all of them belong to that association. But I do not represent that association. I am representing the American Beet Sugar Co. here, with factories in operation in three States—California, Nebraska, and Colorado.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are an officer?

Mr. OXNARD. I am vice president and chairman of the board.

Mr. WHITE. Let me ask a question right there, Mr. Chairman: You are representing the manufacturers—

Mr. OXNARD. Of sugar.

Mr. WHITE (continuing). Or the growers, or both?

Mr. OXNARD. The manufacturers.

Mr. WHITE. But not the growers?

Mr. OXNARD. Not the growers, except indirectly, as they are affected by the prices which we pay them for their raw material.

The CHAIRMAN. How many factories are there all told in your organization?

Mr. OXNARD. There are seven factories operated in Nebraska, Colorado, and California.

The CHAIRMAN. You represent those?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes; I represent those.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you name them?

Mr. OXNARD. There is one at Grand Island, one at Chino, one at Oxnard—

The CHAIRMAN. Name them by States.

Mr. OXNARD. There is one at Grand Island, Nebr., at Norfolk—we have since demolished that plant—one at Grand Island, Nebr., one at Lamar, one at Rocky Ford, one at Las Animas, Colo., one at Chino, and one at Oxnard, Calif.

Mr. CABLE. What percentage of all the beet-sugar factories do you represent?

Mr. OXNARD. I think there are something like 60 factories.

Mr. CABLE. You represent about 10 per cent?

Mr. OXNARD. About 10 per cent produced; a little more than that when you consider our capacity—about 12 to 15 per cent.

Mr. CABLE. What per cent of the entire sugar output, in the United States do the beet-sugar manufacturers represent?

Mr. OXNARD. We produce about a million tons a year.

Mr. CABLE. I do not know anything about the sugar business, but what I want to find out is what proportion of the entire sugar output in the country the beet-sugar manufacturers represent?

Mr. OXNARD. I am going to tell you, if I can. I ought to know it if I do not, because I have been at it long enough. I was practically one of the founders of the American beet industries in this country. There were a few factories started many, many years ago, but they failed. Claus Spreckels started in 1888.

Mr. CABLE. I want to know what per cent of the sugar output is represented by the beet-sugar manufacturers.

Mr. OXNARD. Supposing the beet-sugar manufacturers produced a million tons, the Louisiana people produced, say, from 200,000 to 250,000 tons, the Hawaiian people something like 500,000 or 600,000—I am not posted as to the exact figures, but they are in that neighborhood. These gentlemen who are here from Hawaii will tell you if I am wrong.

Mr. RAKER. I have the figures from the Tariff Commission showing the exact amount produced.

Mr. WHITE. About 25 per cent of the sugar consumed in the United States is produced in the United States, and that includes the beet sugar and the cane sugar, I believe.

Mr. OXNARD. It is a great deal more than that. We consume about four and one-half million tons of sugar in the United States, or something like that, and we produce about 50 per cent of it in the United States.

Mr. WHITE. Perhaps I have forgotten, but I went over those figures very carefully in the abstract a short time ago, and if I am wrong, I stand corrected.

Mr. SHAW. You say about 50 per cent of the sugar consumed in the United States is produced here?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

Mr. SHAW. Where does the other 50 per cent come from?

Mr. OXNARD. From Cuba, almost entirely.

Mr. SHAW. What is the argument; is it a question of competition in the sugar business, or is it the labor side of the question?

Mr. OXNARD. Here is the situation, roughly speaking. Cuba, during this past year, could produce sugar for 4 cents, Hawaii could produce it for 5 cents—I am giving you the rough figures; these figures come from Mr. Wright, the secretary of the Tariff Commission, and they are official figures—Porto Rico could produce sugar during the past year for 6 cents, the beet sugar people could produce it for 7 cents, and the Louisiana people for 9 cents. Those are the official figures, and that is about the cost of producing the sugar.

So you can see that the Hawaiian sugars are produced, you might say, in competition with Louisiana and with the beet-sugar people, principally with the beet sugar people. They manufacture their sugar over there in Hawaii and send it to the Pacific coast, where it is refined by a company which is owned, as I understand it, mostly by the Hawaiian planters, and it is distributed in competition with the beet sugar that I produce, we will say, in California.

Mr. CABLE. Are you here because you are a competitor of these other people, or are you here to help us out in regard to this labor situation.

Mr. OXNARD. I am here to tell you I think we ought to have a square deal, and what is fish for one should be fish for the other.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been telling Congress that for upward of 25 years, have you not?

Mr. OXNARD. For 30 years, Mr. Chairman; it was that long ago, I think, when I first appeared here.

The CHAIRMAN. You opposed the annexation of Hawaii for the same reason?

Mr. OXNARD. I did, for that very reason. I am looking at it now from an economic standpoint. I do not think the Hawaiian planters are asking for Chinamen to help the Government. They asked for them 10 years ago, and they have always asked for what they believed would get the cheapest and best labor. They have made attempts to get other labor. I think the natural labor for them is the Filipinos, and I see they have been doing quite well with the Filipino; he has been coming in—let us see; the Filipinos were—well, there are something like 8,000 or 9,000 that have come in, and the number of Filipinos employed increased from 7,490 in 1910 to 8,695 on 1915, an increase of 19.4 per cent. This is taken from the statistics of the Department of Commerce, at page 63. The situation was investigated by that department. Why not take in some more Filipinos? That is a question that these gentlemen can answer better than I can, but it seems to me that is a very natural proposition.

Take the Mexicans. We have Mexicans employed in the beet fields. There is a law that allows us to take in Mexicans under certain conditions, if they go back to Mexico, and pay them the same wages, that is, the current wages.

In order to be posted in regard to this matter, I sent a telegram to the general manager of my Denver office, and he says in reply:

Daily wages paid to Mexicans and Filipinos we employ—

We employ Filipinos also—

is \$2.25 at Chino and south of Los Angeles; \$2.50 in the Oxnard district; in some cases higher in both districts, but that is the general wage. On the general basis we will run from \$2.80 to \$3.25, respectively.

E. C. HOWE, General Manager.

The CHAIRMAN. You have mentioned just the point we want to know about. You employ Mexicans?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. OXNARD. The exact number I can not tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, roughly.

Mr. OXNARD. I suppose we have about 25 per cent of Mexicans.

The CHAIRMAN. Twenty-five per cent of what?

Mr. OXNARD. Of the total amount of field labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is about what?

Mr. OXNARD. We must employ, I should say, 5,000, or something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. You have only, then, about 1,000 or 1,200 Mexicans?

Mr. OXNARD. Something like that.

Mr. BOX. Will you tell us what is the relationship between the factories and the employment of field labor?

Mr. OXNARD. The beet-sugar people, as a rule, produce very little of their own sugar beets, only about 10 per cent. The sugar beets are produced by the farmers, and these wages I referred to are paid mostly by the farmers who employ this labor in the field. That is different from the cane plantations which employ the labor directly, instead of its being employed by the small growers. We have thousands of growers that supply the factories with the sugar beets produced by this labor. We do not pay these men; it is the farmer who pays these men, except about 10 per cent of them, or the number of men who are required in producing about 10 per cent of the sugar beets which are used by the factories.

Mr. BOX. You help the farmers get their labor?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes; we do.

Mr. BOX. How?

Mr. OXNARD. That I can not tell you exactly, but probably by making advances, and things of that sort.

Mr. BOX. Have not your representatives come before this committee and urged the admission of Mexicans for these purposes, and things of that sort?

Mr. OXNARD. I expect they have. I talked with the Secretary of Labor about them—I did not appear before the committee in reference to them.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you have a law—

Mr. OXNARD (interposing). Not a law, but just a regulation, Mr. Chairman, that allows these men to come in.

The CHAIRMAN. You talked to the Secretary of Labor and you appealed to him for the admission of illiterate Mexicans, free of the head tax.

Mr. OXNARD. We did, but we agreed to pay them the current wages.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you give them besides their wages? Do you give them houses?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes; we do give them houses.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you give them fuel?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not think they need any fuel in California.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you give them ice?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not know about that, but we give them certain things.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of houses do you give them?

Mr. OXNARD. The kind they like—the adobe houses—not very substantial houses.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in California?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you give them hot and cold baths?

Mr. OXNARD. I could not answer that question.

Mr. RAKER. Your first statement was that you people are simply manufacturers, but you raise some beets yourselves?

Mr. OXNARD. About 10 per cent.

Mr. RAKER. The other 90 per cent is raised—

Mr. OXNARD (interposing). By the farmers.

Mr. RAKER. By the farmers themselves?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And then your second statement was as to how you get your own labor—that is, for the beet-sugar industry in this country?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes; we get it through this regulation of the Department of Labor, and that takes care of us.

The CHAIRMAN. You have argued to Congress for a good many years—a good many times—as to whether or not the cane industry in Louisiana and the beet-sugar industry in various States was a hothouse proposition.

Mr. OXNARD. I never argued that the beet end of it was a hothouse proposition. I have made it the effort of my life, for 35 years, to develop the beet-sugar industry of the United States, and that is why I have fought at every step any movement that will tend to knock it out. I remember that 30 years ago the sugar men of Hawaii claimed that they had reached their maximum of sugar production when they were producing 200,000 tons, but gradually each year when they have said, "We can not produce any more sugar," they have gone on producing, and I am told, whether reliably or not, that there are thin lands now in the island of Maui and other places that can be developed; that with farm machinery coming in and the use of heavy fertilizers that land can be developed, replacing the cattle that used to do the plowing; and that the grazing land which was used for that purpose is still available and will be put to use for sugar plantations.

The CHAIRMAN. And that hurts you?

Mr. OXNARD. That makes too much sugar. There is too much sugar produced in the world now. It is an unprofitable business; it is a money-losing proposition.

Mr. CABLE. You have made a good deal of money out of it?

Mr. OXNARD. We may have made some money out of it heretofore, but we are losing it now.

Mr. CABLE. You made it up during the war, did you not?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not think we have come out more than even all during the years of the war; we are losing to-day; on every pound of sugar we make to-day we are losing money. We lost last year 2 cents a pound; it cost us 8 cents a pound to make sugar, and we sold it as low as 5 cents.

The CHAIRMAN. And for that reason you do not want the competition of Hawaiian sugar?

Mr. OXNARD. We do not want them to increase their output and make sugar still cheaper. They would make sugar, roughly speaking, so cheap—they have always taken the market away from us; they came right into our territory.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there is some truth in the statement credited to you to the effect that you would be better off if the entire Hawaiian sugar business went out of existence?

Mr. OXNARD. I think we would; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you approve of that?

Mr. OXNARD. No; I will not say that. But I would like to limit them.

The CHAIRMAN. You oppose the use of oriental labor for the Hawaiian sugar plantations, but you want Mexican labor for the beet-sugar plantations?

Mr. OXNARD. I want Mexican labor for the beet growers, and I am willing that the Hawaiian sugar people shall get the same labor. As I said before, all I want is a square deal for American citizens who have put their money into the manufacture of sugar. I want to tell you gentlemen that 30 years ago there was a meeting in Washington which I attended, and Claus Spreckles was there, and he told these Hawaiian planters in my presence, "If you get annexation to the United States, you have got to take the bitter with the sweet. The sweet is the tariff and the bitter is the labor laws of the United States." And they said, "Yes; we understand that, and we will accept those conditions." But they never have; they have always been trying to get labor laws for Hawaii different from the labor laws that affect the sugar producers of the United States. I do not object to their getting Mexican labor; what I ask is a square deal, as Teddy Roosevelt said.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that include the admission of illiterate Mexicans into your sugar beet States?

Mr. OXNARD. Just the same as into the Hawaiian Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point.

Mr. OXNARD. We want to be put on all fours with them. That is what I want done, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you want Chinese labor in the United States?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes, I would; in California I would like to have some.

The CHAIRMAN. You would be in a position where you would like that labor?

Mr. OXNARD. I would like to have it.

Mr. CABLE. For the sole purpose of your company making more money?

Mr. OXNARD. For the sole purpose—

Mr. CABLE. That is your idea concerning it, is it not?

Mr. OXNARD. I will not answer that directly.

Mr. CABLE. Are you afraid of it?

Mr. OXNARD. I will say no.

Mr. CABLE. What is your sole purpose, then?

Mr. OXNARD. My sole purpose is to develop the beet-sugar industry of the United States.

Mr. CABLE. For the benefit of the people in your company?

Mr. OXNARD. I have a pride in the thing; I am, you might say, the one who started it in this country, and I want to see it go on.

Mr. CABLE. It has grown pretty big, has it not?

Mr. OXNARD. It has done fairly well, but it looks as though it might be knocked out.

Mr. CABLE. If you got cheaper labor, would you keep the price of sugar down or raise it? I want you to go on record on that proposition.

Mr. OXNARD. I can not say what I would do.

Mr. CABLE. What is your idea of what you would do?

Mr. OXNARD. My idea is that I would be able to compete with the Hawaiian people if I have the same kind of labor they have.

Mr. CABLE. I would like to have you answer my question.

Mr. OXNARD. What is your question?

Mr. CABLE. Why do you want Chinese labor in the United States?

Mr. OXNARD. Because I consider the Chinaman the best laborer I have ever run across. He is docile and frugal, and attends to his business, and works harder.

Mr. CABLE. Would you get him any cheaper?

Mr. OXNARD. That is the question; I do not know how cheap I can get the Chinaman. It is a question of getting the labor, rather than the price of it.

Mr. CABLE. Are you not getting plenty of labor now?

Mr. OXNARD. No; we always have trouble.

Mr. CABLE. The Hawaiian people are getting enough labor, are they not?

Mr. OXNARD. That is a question you will have to ask them. It does not seem that they are, when they are asking for more.

Mr. CABLE. What do you think about it?

Mr. OXNARD. So far as that is concerned, I do think that with more labor they want to increase their production of sugar. With all the laborers they have had there, the planters kept asking for more and more. I do not blame them; I would have done the same thing.

Mr. CABLE. Is not the sole purpose of your coming before the committee to-day to protect your own sugar interests against some competitor?

Mr. OXNARD. I said it is an economic proposition; just put us on the same basis as the Hawaiian people. If they are under the same tariff, I want to have them under the same labor laws.

Mr. CABLE. You are willing to have Mexican labor come in here, and yet you want them to pay the added expense—

Mr. OXNARD (interposing). I will take the risk of the extra expense of the Chinese labor in California.

Mr. CABLE. You are willing to have Chinese labor, if they do?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. But you do not want them to have it unless you get it?

Mr. OXNARD. No; because they sell in competition with us.

Mr. CABLE. That is the whole question—competition?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are losing money, you say?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes; we are.

The CHAIRMAN. It costs you about how much?

Mr. OXNARD. Last year I think it cost us—I have no absolute figures, but I think it cost us about 8 cents a pound to produce sugar.

The CHAIRMAN. And it costs the Hawaiians 5 cents?

Mr. OXNARD. It costs the Hawaiians about 5 cents.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask you this question: In the broad sense, do you want to be understood as favoring unrestricted oriental immigration into this country?

Mr. OXNARD. Absolutely not. Oh, no.

Mr. WILSON. You say you are not in favor of unrestricted oriental immigration into this country. Are you in favor, now, of the admission of Chinese labor into the United States?

Mr. OXNARD. No; I would rather not have them; but I will say that if the Hawaiians have them, then I want them. That is the whole thing.

Mr. WILSON. Then you are opposed, as far as continental United States is concerned, to the admission of Chinese coolie labor, are you?

Mr. OXNARD. I have always been opposed to it, but if some Chinamen could be brought in under certain restrictions, and sent back again to China, as they do in the case of the Mexicans, I do not know but what I would modify my views on that subject.

Mr. WILSON. What about the Japanese? Are you in favor of the Japanese laborers coming to continental United States?

Mr. OXNARD. Well, I do not know that I am.

Mr. WILSON. Are you opposed to it?

Mr. OXNARD. Those are all political questions.

Mr. WILSON. No; that is an American question. The proposition is this: You are coming here before this committee, which is a legislative committee. Of course, the people who appear on this particular phase of the proposition appear as those interested in the business for which this labor would be used if it is brought into continental United States. You are also a citizen of the United States, and the question is, "Are you opposed to legislation that would admit Chinese coolie labor or Japanese laborers to the continental United States?"

Mr. OXNARD. I will not answer that question, except to say that I change it to the United States, leaving out the word "continental." I am opposed to the admission to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Meaning—

Mr. OXNARD (interposing). Meaning Hawaii.

Mr. WILSON. When I speak of continental United States I do not mean Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we have come to the vital question. Do you think there is any possibility of the Japanese acquiring the mastery of Hawaii by process of peaceful penetration?

Mr. OXNARD. No; I have not the slightest fear, as an American citizen, that Japan in any way, shape, or form will accomplish that result. We could blow them off of the earth in five minutes if we decided to do it. I have been to Hawaii, and I have been to Japan, and I have not the slightest fear about Japan ever getting any mastery over the United States.

Mr. RAKER. What do you mean by blowing them off the earth?

Mr. OXNARD. We could bomb them, and our Navy could bottle them up.

The CHAIRMAN. Sugar would sell for 15 cents a pound, then, would it not?

Mr. CABLE. No; it would sell for 40 cents a pound.

Mr. OXNARD. Gentlemen, I heard Mr. Hoover make a statement two or three years ago, which was a great gratification to me, that if it had not been for the beet-sugar industry the people of the United States would have been paying 15 or 20 cents a pound for sugar, and that was when they were paying 5 cents a pound for it in 1918. In other words, the development of the beet-sugar industry and the fact that we were producing a million tons of sugar here at home saved the American people millions and millions of dollars in their sugar bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Does beet sugar sell for less than cane sugar?

Mr. OXNARD. It is sold for a fraction less, generally 10 cents or 20 cents a hundred pounds less.

The CHAIRMAN. That is another little handicap your industry has to endure?

Mr. OXNARD. Really, Mr. Chairman, we should not endure that handicap because there is absolutely no difference between cane and beet sugar when it is purified; it does not make any difference whether you make sugar from beets or cane, or almost any product you could think of, provided it is pure sugar.

Mr. WILSON. With conditions as they are, supposing we do not legislate upon the question at all and leave matters as they are in Hawaii, and as they are in continental United States, what then will be the situation as to the beet-sugar industry and as to the cane-sugar industry?

Mr. OXNARD. They would go on just as they have in the past, in my opinion. They would go on making sugar, both of cane and of beets.

Mr. WILSON. The difference will be——

Mr. OXNARD (interposing). But they will not go on making more sugar in the Hawaiian Islands if you hold them to where they are; we do not want them to, if we can help it. I want to be perfectly frank about it.

Mr. WILSON. If they can, under any laws, consistent with the best interests of the United States, I do not see why anyone should oppose that.

Mr. OXNARD. Making sugar consistently in that way would be making it with semislave labor. You would then be taking away the ability to grow a similar product made by the farmers of the United States.

Mr. WILSON. I am talking about the conditions as they are now, without changing the law, either for the admission of Chinese labor or any other kind of labor into Hawaii, without changing the laws in relation to the admission of Mexican labor into continental United States. In that case can these various industries go ahead?

Mr. OXNARD. I think they can.

The CHAIRMAN. You said the cost of the Cuban sugar was about what?

Mr. OXNARD. I am going to tell you roughly, on the authority of Judge Wright, of the Tariff Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. It

Mr. OXNARD. Last
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Mr. OXNARD (interpos

Mr. WILSON. When I s
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The CHAIRMAN. Now,
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Mr. OXNARD. No; I have
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mastery over the United
Mr. RAKER.

What do you

— good authority.

— at sugar, 5 cents for Hawaiian

— a cent—6 cents for Porto Rican

— for Louisiana sugar.

— part of the cost is the labor

— about two-thirds of the cost

— the beets themselves, and the

— labor. We pay the farmers

— heavy overhead expense in the

— of the farmers, outside of the

— not?

— and comes in, but outside of

— and puts in a crop—that is,

— the land owned by the people

— is owned by the producer

— think other farmers are on the

— that grow 10 per cent of the

— grown by the small farmers.

— the land, do they not?

— does own it—not the manu-

— the land, he will rent it to any-

—

— improve the land or increase the

— valuable, as I understand it,

— rents his land for \$5, that he

— actually get \$5?

— prices.

—

— pay all kinds of prices.

— his labor situation, on his own

— motives, and taking into con-

— of production in sugar in

— Western States. I want to

— Chinese laborers in Cuba would

— to letting Cuba have Chi-

— with Cuba.

— your situation?

— have 40,000 Chinese working

— you let them do that it will

— make it that much cheaper.

— have 40,000 there now?

The CHAIRMAN. I made an effort to ascertain some facts in regard to that, and I cabled to the editor of one of the newspapers there, and I have this reply from him:

HABANA, July 22, 1921.

JOHNSON,

Chairman Immigration Committee, Washington:

Authentic information difficult obtain. Estimated 1,000 Chinese brought to Cuba each month during 1920, perhaps two-thirds sent sugar mills under contract, approximating a total for the year 8,000. A few of those brought in 1921 are being repatriated.

ROBERTS,

Editor Evening News.

Mr. OXNARD. Where is that, in Cuba?

The CHAIRMAN. That is from Habana.

Mr. OXNARD. I am told about 40,000 Chinese are there now; I am told that on very good authority.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have always been fighting the sugar industry in Hawaii because it was in competition with the sugar-beet proposition.

Mr. OXNARD. I am always fighting them when they want to get an advantage. They came before Congress years ago with the same sort of proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. And six years ago, and four years ago; I do not know that the sugar people did, but we have had hearings from time to time. But in the meantime, the Chinese are being put into Cuba, and that is where the price for sugar in the United States is set, is it not?

Mr. OXNARD. We have a tariff against them.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a little tariff.

Mr. OXNARD. We expect to have more.

The CHAIRMAN. You want a big tariff?

Mr. OXNARD. We can stand it very well.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been around Congress for years on that subject, have you not?

Mr. OXNARD. Thirty years, starting in 1889. When I first came before committees of Congress, there was hardly one Congressman who believed it was possible to make sugar from beets. They told me so.

The CHAIRMAN. You will not admit, now, that it is a hothouse proposition?

Mr. OXNARD. It is not a hothouse proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Will it not have an increasingly hard time in competition with the Chinese who produce sugar in Cuba?

Mr. OXNARD. Certainly; it is being assailed in all directions.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Oxnard, the chairman just asked you a moment ago a question which is unusual for him to ask, and he said that you came here solely and entirely for selfish motives.

Mr. OXNARD. I do not believe I did say that. I had a patriotic motive when I started this.

I said I did this from economic reasons. I started out to say it was not selfish, that the beet industry was my pet, my baby; I did not have to go into it when I did, but I did go into it.

Mr. SHAW. The record will show that when we first started on this examination you said you were here for selfish purposes.

Mr. OXNARD. I meant to prevent them from making more sugar, if you want to put it that way.

Mr. SHAW. You are not here in the interests of the consumers?

Mr. OXNARD. I started to say I went into this thing to show that the United States could produce its own sugar, when there was hardly anybody who thought it could be done.

Mr. RAKER. In addition to your special interest in this "baby" of yours, have you any interest in the proper care and treatment, and the condition of labor in this country?

Mr. OXNARD. Of course, we try to make our labor as comfortable as possible, for, I will say, selfish reasons, if you want, gentlemen. We try to make it so they will appreciate their surroundings, and stay with us, and do it under comfortable conditions.

Mr. RAKER. We have no control over the mode or manner of handling labor in Cuba, do we?

Mr. OXNARD. None whatever.

Mr. RAKER. They can have slave and peonage labor in Cuba, as they have under the Chinese contract, over which we have no control?

Mr. OXNARD. Absolutely.

Mr. RAKER. We levy a duty on the importation of Cuban sugar into this country?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. But on the Hawaiian sugar there is no duty; is that right?

Mr. OXNARD. That is absolutely right.

Mr. RAKER. And on the Philippine sugar there is no duty?

Mr. OXNARD. No.

Mr. RAKER. And on the Porto Rican sugar there is no duty?

Mr. OXNARD. No.

Mr. RAKER. And, of course, upon sugar raised in the United States there is no duty?

Mr. OXNARD. No.

Mr. RAKER. You have read over those contracts relative to the importation of the Mexicans, in 1917, 1918, and 1919?

Mr. OXNARD. I have read parts of them; yes.

Mr. RAKER. You understood how the contract was commonly performed, that when these men violated their entry into the United States, they were arrested and deported to Mexico?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Have any of those cases, to your knowledge been taken to the Supreme Court of the United States in order to have that court determine whether or not that was involuntary servitude, or slavery?

Mr. OXNARD. No.

Mr. RAKER. In that connection, so that the record may be complete, I want to offer a letter from the Commissioner General of Immigration, Mr. W. W. Husband, dated July 16, 1921, which includes two orders, one dated March 1, 1921, and one dated March 14, 1921.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you might as well read them.

Mr. RAKER. In addition to the contracts placed in the hearings heretofore, I want to put into the record all of the orders in reference to Mexican labor.

I will read this letter from the Commissioner General of Immigration, dated July 16, 1921, and I want to consider in connection with

this, the hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House in January and July, 1920, on the subject of "Temporary Admissions of Illiterate Mexican Laborers," page 358 et seq. This follows that, and gives the whole record.

The letter of July 16, 1921, reads as follows:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION,
Washington, July 16, 1921.

HON. JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Referring to request received over the telephone from your secretary a few days ago, I beg to advise you that the bureau is unable at this time to assemble a complete list of the so-called Mexican labor circulars for the purpose of supplying you with the same. However, it is my understanding that a full set of these circulars was furnished to the chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization something like a year ago, and they were published in pamphlet form during the course of a hearing which was held by that committee in connection with a resolution which was introduced for the purpose of delegating authority to the Secretary of Labor to admit, temporarily and conditionally, laborers from Mexico and other countries when conditions here satisfied him that such laborers were urgently needed. If the bureau was supplied with a copy of this pamphlet, it appears to have been misplaced, so that I am unable to furnish you with its number. However, you will doubtless be able to secure a copy of it from the clerk to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Those were all printed at the date and in the order of the hearings designated.

Mr. RAKER. The letter goes on to say:

The concluding orders which the department issued in connection with the subject matter of temporarily admitted Mexican laborers are dated March 1 and March 14, 1921, respectively. I am inclosing herewith several copies of these orders; and if you are able to secure a copy of the brochure above referred to, I believe that the list will be practically complete, if not entirely so.

Respectfully,

W. W. HUSBAND,
Commissioner General.

(The orders referred to are as follows:)

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, March 1, 1921.

All further importations and engagements, respectively, through or at immigration stations of aliens for employment in the United States under the department's exceptions to the contract-labor, head-tax, and illiteracy provisions of the immigration act are hereby ordered discontinued, effective at the close of the 2d instant, and all orders heretofore issued in conflict herewith are hereby rescinded. The Commissioner General of Immigration will immediately by telegraph make all district heads concerned acquainted with this order and at the same time direct that those officers in charge, either directly or in a supervisory way, of ports through which such importations have been made or at which such aliens have been engaged call upon the present employers of such aliens to return such aliens charged to them under existing contracts with the Government as appear of record to be now in their employ.

W. B. WILSON, *Secretary.*

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY,
Washington, March 14, 1921.

The Secretary of Labor having issued an order on March 1, 1921, effective at the close of March 2, 1921, rescinding all previous orders of the department permitting the importation of aliens under the so-called exceptions to the contract labor, head tax, and illiteracy provisions of the immigration act and, having by

ALIENS IN HAWAII.

aliens theretofore so imported, of record
 reporters or others under contract with the
 against such decision having come to the
 requests for permission to extend the period
 here, the subject was discussed in con-
 were present the Commissioner General of
 Commissioner General of Immigration, the chief
 the assistant supervising inspector of the
 from the latter, transmitted by the Com-
 with certain recommendations, was re-
 sion of the conference it was my judg-
 that in view of the cessation of active
 wartime legislation and considering post-
 March 1, 1921, hereinabove referred to
 provided, however, That consideration will
 satisfactory showing of necessity, to applica-
 March 3, 1921, entered into contracts with
 discharged their obligations thereunder, for
 for a limited period and for agricultural
 or engaged under said exceptions: Pro-
 aliens for agricultural work for limited
 terms and conditions obtaining previous
 department so directs in individual cases
 of the necessity of such action: *Provided*
 shall be limited to employers who, prior
 with the Government and thereafter in
 thereunder: *Provided*, That all applica-
 shall be addressed to the Secretary of
 the inspector in charge at the port at or
 engaged or imported, as the case may be.
 ration is hereby instructed to be gov-
 being whenever applications for special
 referred to are received. Meanwhile
 return of said aliens is suspended for 30

E. J. HENNING, Assistant Secretary.

in so that we will have all of the
 which the former chairman of this
 man, I think, and practically all the
 held and determined was involun-
 tual to amend the law, but the bill

examine Mr. Oxnard on the labor

did not undertake to amend the law.
 a bill.

Secretary from making that order.
 Burnett did that?

with reference to the importation

to the courts.
 or give an opinion?

on that.
 or an opinion?

and gone, but I am convinced,
 matter, that it is involuntary servi-

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The CHAIRMAN. Before we go into that—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). This is what I want to examine him on.

Mr. OXNARD. I am very sure you will not get much out of me on that, because I do not know about it.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; I will. On July 13, 1921, I wrote a letter to the United States Tariff Commission in order to get some information in regard to cane sugar, and I have a reply from the chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, dated July 15, 1921, containing a number of tables, one showing the sugar imports from Cuba, with the rate and the amount, showing in 1920 over 5,000,000 pounds, with a duty paid amounting to \$57,132,909.

Mr. WHITE. You do not mean 5,000,000 pounds, do you?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. Do you not mean 5,000,000,000 pounds?

Mr. RAKER. That is correct, the amount is 5,740,933,486 pounds. Table No. 2 shows the imports of the dutiable sugar from all countries except Cuba; Table No. 3 shows the sugar imported free of duty from all countries, chiefly the Philippine Islands; Table No. 4 shows the cane sugar production in Louisiana and the revenue had this sugar been subject to duty, and the amount is 241,998,400 pounds in 1920, and the duty would have been \$3,039,499. Table No. 5 shows the cane sugar production in Hawaii and the revenue had this sugar been subject to duty. In 1920 the production was 1,056,023,998 pounds, and if it had paid duty, the amount of the duty would have been \$13,263,661.

Table No. 6 shows the beet sugar production in continental United States and the revenue had this sugar been subject to duty. The amount of beet sugar produced in 1920 was 1,452,902,000 pounds, and the duty would have been \$19,759,467.

(The letters and tables referred to are as follows:)

JULY 13, 1921.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: I would like to have the following information in regard to cane sugar:

1. The total amount, in pounds, and the value of cane sugar imported from Cuba for 1913 to 1920, both inclusive, stated separately.

2. The duties collected on the above importations for each year and the rate.

3. The total amount of cane sugar from all other countries, in pounds, and value of, imported during the years 1913 to 1920, inclusive, stated separately.

4. The amount of duties collected for each year and the rate.

5. The total amount of cane sugar produced in Louisiana during the years 1913 to 1920, both inclusive.

6. What would have been the duty collected on this sugar thus produced in Louisiana had it been imported.

7. What was the quantity of sugar, in pounds, produced in the Hawaiian Islands, stated separately, for the years 1913 to 1920, both inclusive.

8. What would have been the duty, in dollars, had this same sugar been imported from a foreign territory for each year, and the total amount for the years named.

I would appreciate very much if you can furnish me with this information so that I might have it by to-morrow evening. Send same to my address, room 292, House Office Building.

Thanking you in advance for the same, I am

Yours, most truly,

JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.

ISSUE PROBLEMS IN HAWAII.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION,
Washington, July 15, 1921.

Enclosed herewith the data requested in your letter. Table I shows the importation of sugar from Cuba in 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, and 1921, the duty collected, and average ad valorem rate. Table II shows the importations of all dutiable sugar from all other countries in 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, and 1921, the duty collected, and average ad valorem rate. Tables IV, V, and VI show, respectively, the importations of Louisiana and Hawaii and of beet sugar in the United States with the duty which would have been collected if such sugar had been imported at full-duty rate. Had they been so imported the duty would have been 20 per cent less than the duty actually computed on the basis of 96° sugar for Louisiana and 98° sugar for the beet. Sugar imported in 1914 would have been under the act of 1909. Part of the sugar imported in 1915 and 1916 would have been under the act of 1909 and part under the act of 1914. Sugar imported in 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, and 1921 would therefore have been somewhere between the act of 1909 and the act of 1914. Figures were not given because not asked for. The figures will meet your requirements and will not arrive late.

THOMAS WALKER PAGE,
Chairman.

Washington, D. C.

Sugar imports from Cuba.

Pounds.	Value.	Duty.	Rate.
			<i>Per cent.</i>
3,740,985,521	\$84,456,408	\$49,443,045	58.54
3,370,888,194	105,628,001	61,109,453	57.91
4,672,014,681	146,495,034	46,061,049	31.44
3,170,626,754	190,406,710	51,816,121	27.21
4,790,946,051	208,165,594	47,682,364	22.80
4,322,112,593	218,491,905	44,958,501	20.58
4,672,643,624	373,011,812	66,400,299	17.80
3,740,933,486	667,918,562	57,132,909	8.55

Sugar imports from all countries except Cuba.

Pounds.	Value.	Duty.	Rate.
			<i>Per cent.</i>
42,401,887	\$1,101,277	\$701,316	63.68
17,370,244	400,535	248,569	62.06
260,661,096	8,581,453	3,176,121	37.01
312,245,717	10,558,507	3,458,054	32.75
308,610,949	22,300,669	6,288,881	28.19
225,572,757	11,231,957	2,824,885	25.15
130,713,415	8,336,758	1,508,508	18.09
1,643,690,091	244,651,877	21,087,421	8.60

TABLE III.—*Sugar imported free of duty from all countries, chiefly the Philippine Islands.*

Fiscal year.	Pounds.	Value.	Fiscal year.	Pounds.	Value.
1913.....	208,161,765	\$4,593,199	1917.....	270,008,416	\$8,479,382
1914.....	113,496,554	2,555,822	1918.....	197,523,182	9,337,705
1915.....	326,885,495	7,511,645	1919 ¹	196,819,609	9,328,574
1916.....	217,222,804	6,389,017	1920.....	318,156,663	4,636,117

¹ Calendar years.TABLE IV.—*Cane sugar production in Louisiana, and revenue, had this sugar been subject to duty.*

Fiscal year.	Pounds.	Under act of 1909, 1.685 cents per pound.	Under act of 1913, 1.255 cents per pound.
1913.....	325,147,200	\$5,478,730	.....
1914.....	601,074,880	10,128,112	\$7,549,500
1915.....	493,239,040	.....	6,195,082
1916.....	277,240,320	.....	3,482,138
1917.....	621,799,360	.....	7,809,800
1918.....	487,197,760	.....	6,119,204
1919.....	561,796,480	.....	7,056,184
1920.....	241,998,400	.....	3,039,499

TABLE V.—*Cane sugar production in Hawaii and revenue had this sugar been subject to duty.*

Fiscal year.	Pounds.	Under act of 1909.	Under act of 1913.
1913.....	1,085,392,344	\$18,288,355	.....
1914.....	1,114,750,702	18,783,549	\$14,001,269
1915.....	1,280,863,812	.....	16,087,649
1916.....	1,137,159,828	.....	14,282,727
1917.....	1,162,605,056	.....	14,602,319
1918.....	1,080,908,797	.....	13,576,214
1919.....	1,215,594,766	.....	15,267,870
1920.....	1,056,023,998	.....	13,263,661

TABLE VI.—*Beet sugar production in continental United States and revenue had this sugar been subject to duty.*

Year.	Pounds.	Under act of 1909, 1.90 cents per pound.	Under act of 1913, 1.36 cents per pound.
1913.....	1,385,112,000	\$26,317,128	.....
1914.....	1,466,802,000	27,869,238	\$19,948,507
1915.....	1,444,108,000	.....	19,639,869
1916.....	1,748,440,000	.....	23,778,784
1917.....	1,641,314,000	.....	22,321,870
1918.....	1,530,414,000	.....	20,813,630
1919.....	1,521,800,000	.....	20,697,840
1920.....	1,452,802,000	.....	19,759,467

Mr. WHITE. I would like to put in the record again the statement I made awhile ago that was questioned. I stated that we produce in the United States to-day 25 per cent of all the sugar con-

sumed in the United States. I still maintain, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that I am confident I am correct in that statement, because we produced 2,500,000,000 pounds in the United States, and the statement that was read from that table is agreeable with my statement.

Mr. OXNARD. That would be 50 per cent, would it not?

Mr. WHITE. No, sir; we consumed 9,000,000,000 pounds of sugar in the United States.

Mr. OXNARD. About 4,500,000 tons, I think.

Mr. WHITE. Your statement, reduced to pounds, Mr. Oxnard, is 9,000,000,000 pounds, if you will pardon me, which agrees with the statement of Mr. Raker.

Mr. RAKER. The letter of the Tariff Commission dated July 15, 1921, says:

We would call your attention to the fact that sugar from Porto Rico is on the same basis as sugar from Hawaii. Figures were not given because it was asked for.

So I wrote the following letter to the commission:

JULY 13, 1921.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: Would you kindly give me, from your reports and from the reports of the Federal Trade Commission, the relative cost of production of sugar, per ton, for, first, Hawaii; second, Porto Rico; third, Louisiana; fourth, Cuba; fifth, the United States generally?

Thanking you for this information, I am

Yours, most truly,

JOHN E. RAKER,
Member of Congress.

Mr. RAKER. I will insert in the record the reply of the Tariff Commission, dated July 19, 1921, and also the table that accompanied that letter.

(The letter and table referred to are as follows:)

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION,
Washington, July 19, 1921.

DEAR SIR: We are mailing you herewith the table showing the Porto Rico situation, as requested in your letter of the 16th instant.

Very truly, yours,

THOMAS WALKER PAGE, *Chairman.*

HON. JOHN E. RAKER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

TABLE VII.—Cane sugar receipt from Porto Rico, in pounds, together with the revenue which would have been received had this sugar been subject to duty.

Year.	Pounds.	Potential revenue.	
		Act of 1909. ¹	Act of 1911. ²
1913.....	765,420,310	\$12,897,330	
1914.....	641,252,527	10,805,105	\$8,054,111
1915.....	588,922,493		7,399,484
1916.....	849,763,491		10,672,022
1917.....	977,377,996		12,273,878
1918.....	672,937,334		8,462,064
1919.....	703,286,023		8,832,217
1920.....	837,735,200		10,321,424

¹ Rate of duty, \$0.01685 per pound.

² Rate of duty, \$0.01256 per pound.

Mr. SHAW. How many years does that cover?

Mr. RAKER. From 1913 to 1920, inclusive.

Now, Mr. Oxnard, if the Hawaiian people were not a part of the United States and they had to pay the same duty as is paid on sugar that comes in from Cuba, they would have an additional payment to make of something over \$14,000,000?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And if it applied to sugar outside of Cuba, it would be more?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. So if they got their cheap labor, you would put them in competition with those raising sugar in continental United States?

Mr. OXNARD. Absolutely.

Mr. RAKER. You would be giving them an advantage, although they are a part of the United States, that you do not give the producer of either cane or beet sugar in the continental United States; is that right?

Mr. OXNARD. Absolutely; that is what I contend.

Mr. RAKER. These figures show the amount?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Let me ask you this question: Have you discussed this matter in any way, shape, or form with the Hawaiian sugar producers, as to bringing in the cheap labor, or have you discussed it with any one of their representatives or agents?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not know with whom, but with some member, with some Hawaiian or other, I did discuss it, and they asked me if I did not want them myself, and I said yes. "Then why are you fighting us?"

Mr. CABLE. Want what; what do you mean by that?

Mr. OXNARD. Chinese.

Mr. RAKER. What was said or done, if anything, in the conversations or arrangements, to the effect that if you would "lay off" of this proposition and let them have cheap labor for Hawaii, it would eventually come to the United States?

Mr. OXNARD. I can not say that in particular; I can not remember whom I talked with, or anything particularly said on those lines, except that the inference I got was that if the Hawaiian Islands got their Chinese labor, in time we would probably get ours.

Mr. RAKER. Now, I understand from you that you are opposed to contract labor; is that right?

The CHAIRMAN. I did not understand that; ask him the question directly.

Mr. OXNARD. I am opposed. I am not asking for Chinamen to come into the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not say he was opposed; he said there was a provision in the law that would let him bring contract laborers from Mexico.

Mr. RAKER. No; I do not think he put it that way.

Mr. OXNARD. I could not think of anything but what is the fact; there is no law about that, but the regulations do let us bring them in.

The CHAIRMAN. Under contract?

Mr. OXNARD. Under contract—I do not know whether it is under contract, but under conditions, certain conditions, and stipulations that they go back, or something of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. You undertake to keep them at certain places, and so on?

Mr. OXNARD. Something on those lines. I do not want you to think for a moment that I am evading any questions at all.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want you to evade any.

Mr. OXNARD. I will say this, that I am the vice president of this company in a great many ways, but I do not know all the details. Those are turned over to our manager. The man who sent me the telegram I read to you a while ago is the man who makes these arrangements.

The CHAIRMAN. You have made a great study of this subject, and before the Senate lobby committee you were a witness in regard to the conditions of sugar labor.

Mr. OXNARD. Lots of times.

The CHAIRMAN. You have testified heretofore that you burned the books of the beet-sugar industry.

Mr. CABLE. What occasioned that?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not know that I testified to that.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you testify to?

Mr. OXNARD. That I burned the books?

The CHAIRMAN. You say you do not think you did. I find, on page 1214 of the hearings of the Senate Lobby Committee, this colloquy:

Senator REED. You burned your books two years ago. When did you burn them last prior to that time?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not know.

Senator REED. Have you burned them since that time?

Mr. OXNARD. We have not been keeping books since that time.

Senator REED. You do not make any records now?

Mr. OXNARD. No, sir.

Senator REED. How did you arrange it when you came to the conclusion that it was best not to have any books at all and save the trouble of burning them?

Mr. OXNARD. No understanding has ever occurred in that way.

Senator REED. It is a fact that happened. How did that fact come to happen unless there was an understanding or an agreement, express or implied, to bring it about?

Mr. OXNARD. I know nothing of that. I can not answer that question.

Then we read that Mr. C. P. Hamlin, of Colorado Springs, was at one time chairman of the board of directors. His books were burned. were they not?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not know whether they were or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You can not find them?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not know what books you are referring to.

Mr. BOX. Did you read from the Senate hearings on the subject?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I have the Senate hearings here. Mr. Par-donner seems to have been a factor in the matter.

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The whole crux of the thing.

Mr. OXNARD. What is the crux of it?

The CHAIRMAN. From your attitude—

Mr. OXNARD. What about my attitude?

The CHAIRMAN. From your attitude, there seems to be no chance or possibility of the consumers ever getting any cheap sugar, if you can prevent it. You say you are selling at a loss now.

Mr. OXNARD. They are getting it cheap enough now. They are getting it at a loss of about \$2 a bag, and if we make a million and a half bags, that is \$3,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you have to sell it at now to come out even?

Mr. OXNARD. On this new crop we estimate it will cost us about 6½ cents to produce, and if we do not get that—and we are not getting it now, we are going to lose money again this year.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is getting the benefit?

Mr. OXNARD. The American public is getting the benefit of all this; everybody is being ruined in the sugar business.

The CHAIRMAN. You are no worse off than Hawaiian planters.

Mr. OXNARD. We are worse off, because it costs us more to make it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they not have to pay the transportation; does not the matter of transportation come into the proposition for the Hawaiian people to a heavier extent than it does with you?

Mr. OXNARD. No; they may have some transportation, although they get a mill and transit rate, as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attend a meeting in New York of the sugar growers to discuss this matter?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the discussion?

Mr. OXNARD. That the Hawaiian people wanted to get this Chinese labor.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the result?

Mr. OXNARD. I opposed it, and the Louisiana people opposed it, and the Porto Rico people opposed it.

The CHAIRMAN. All for the protection of that particular industry?

Mr. OXNARD. Why, gentlemen, if you want to say I am selfish, I will let you say it, if you will say that the Hawaiian planters are selfish, too; but if you will say that they are patriotic, then put me in the patriotic list.

The CHAIRMAN. The main thing you are trying to do is to get out whole with the beet-sugar business?

Mr. OXNARD. I am trying to protect the beet-sugar business, and have been doing it for 30 years or more.

Mr. RAKER. This is a question of labor. Are you in favor of contract labor as it existed before we passed the law that was passed in 1889?

Mr. OXNARD. No—I will say no.

Mr. RAKER. Are you in favor of peon labor, where a man goes to work until he pays off his debt, and he is kept in control of his employer?

Mr. OXNARD. No.

Mr. RAKER. Are you in favor of involuntary servitude of any kind?

Mr. OXNARD. No.

Mr. RAKER. Should any industry be permitted to exist if it requires peon, contract, or involuntary servitude labor to do the work in the United States?

Mr. OXNARD. It does not look that way from the way they acted during the Civil War, does it?

Mr. RAKER. No, sir.

Mr. OXNARD. By the way, I do not understand——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Just a moment. Have you read this resolution?

Mr. OXNARD. No; I have not.

Mr. RAKER. This resolution imposes contract labor as it existed in the case of Mexican and Chinese contract labor, in its most virile form. Do you think any part of the United States should sanction such labor for any industry?

Mr. OXNARD. No; I do not. They are protected by a tariff.

Mr. RAKER. Whether they are protected by a tariff or not; you said you would like to get Chinese labor in California.

Mr. OXNARD. I would, if my competitors would have it.

Mr. RAKER. You say you would be willing to have Chinese laborers in California?

Mr. OXNARD. If they come into Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. As an American citizen, do you stand for contract, in voluntary servitude work in any part of California?

Mr. OXNARD. No; I do not.

Mr. RAKER. You do not want to participate in anything that will bring about such a kind of labor?

Mr. OXNARD. No; I have never tried to. I think I have taken up too much of your time already.

Mr. CABLE. There is one point Judge Raker brought out that I would like to ask Mr. Oxnard two or three questions about.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Oxnard stated he had a conversation with a member of this Hawaiian commission.

Mr. OXNARD. No commission; some Hawaiian man; I do not know which one it was.

Mr. CABLE. When did this conversation take place?

Mr. OXNARD. In New York.

Mr. CABLE. When?

Mr. OXNARD. In June; in the first part of June.

Mr. CABLE. What year?

Mr. OXNARD. This year.

Mr. CABLE. Who was the man?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not know.

Mr. CABLE. How long had you talked to him?

Mr. OXNARD. Not three minutes.

Mr. CABLE. Who introduced you to him?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not believe anybody did.

Mr. CABLE. Have you seen him since?

Mr. OXNARD. I would not know him if I saw him.

Mr. CABLE. Was he a member of the commission who are here to-day?

Mr. OXNARD. I would not know.

Mr. CABLE. You know Mr. Kalaniana'ole, the gentleman over there, do you not [indicating]?

Mr. OXNARD. I have seen the gentleman.

Mr. CABLE. Is that the gentleman you refer to?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not know whether I have been introduced to him or not.

Mr. CABLE. Was that the gentleman?

Mr. OXNARD. No.

Mr. CABLE. I would like to have the members of the commission stand up here. Who are on the commission?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Senator Chillingsworth, Mr. Horner, and myself. (The members of the commission referred to thereupon arose in their places in the committee room.)

Mr. OXNARD. I will not say it was any of these gentlemen.

Mr. CABLE. That is a serious inference, and I think the committee ought to find out whether or not it was made.

Mr. OXNARD. It could not be, because I would not know the man myself, but what I have said is true.

Mr. CABLE. You talked to him only two or three minutes?

Mr. OXNARD. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. How does it happen that the beet sugar growers have an association, the Louisiana cane planters have an association, the Hawaiian sugar growers have an association, and they all seem to get together and have a general understanding and that they escape the antitrust laws? How do you escape? That is a serious question, as it comes before us here.

Mr. OXNARD. I do not know whether we all get together or not in any way that is against the law.

Mr. WILSON. Is there any evidence before the committee to show that they have all gotten together?

The CHAIRMAN. They seem to meet.

Mr. OXNARD. We have conferences; we meet periodically for discussions, in the last year or so.

Mr. CABLE. Do you fix the prices of sugar at these meetings?

Mr. OXNARD. Oh, no.

Mr. CABLE. You do not talk about the prices at all?

Mr. OXNARD. We all talk about prices, but we do not fix any prices.

Mr. SHAW. Where is the price fixed?

Mr. OXNARD. Every man fixes his own price, as I understand it. There is absolutely no meeting to fix the price of beet sugar, and I am conversant with that. I do not know about cane sugar. If we did fix it, we would not have fixed it at the price it is to-day.

Mr. SHAW. You say you have been interested in the beet-sugar business for 30 years?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes, sir; since 1889. I started to build factories and went to Europe and studied the proposition.

Mr. SHAW. You ought to know considerable about it.

Mr. OXNARD. I know something about it.

Mr. SHAW. This is a serious question. Do you think there is any possibility of extending the beet-sugar business to the point of producing all of our own sugar without securing sugar from Cuba, Porto Rico, and Hawaii?

Mr. OXNARD. There is no doubt about it. I am going to tell you a few things about this proposition. The bottom of the whole matter in Hawaii has always been sugar, and they became annexed to the United States because of the tariff laws of the United States. If they could have had a tariff without any labor laws, they would have elected to have come in under those conditions; but they could not have it that way. Sugar has been at the bottom of a lot of this trouble in Cuba we have had in past years, and everything else.

I am familiar with the situation in Cuba, and the whole thing is that the people in the sugar business in Cuba would like to be annexed peacefully to the United States, just as Hawaii was, and it would not greatly surprise me—greatly, I say—if that may come about in some years to come. They want to get this market; it is a splendid market. The Porto Ricans when they came in here said they could not make more than 50,000 tons at the outside, and they gradually increased it and it reached 150,000 and more, and they are producing 450,000 now.

Mr. SHAW. That is an aid to the consumer of this country, is it not?

Mr. OXNARD. I suppose it is.

Mr. SHAW. They are a part of this country, just the same as any State.

Mr. OXNARD. It does aid.

Mr. SHAW. We produce a little wool in Illinois, but it costs us a good deal more than it does in the Northwest to produce wool. Should we be protected over the northwestern woolgrower?

Mr. OXNARD. You should all be in the same boat, under the same flag, on the same footing, with the same tariff laws and the same labor laws.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not in the same boat, with your labor getting \$2.50 a day and a hut to live in.

Mr. RAKER. He said \$3.

Mr. OXNARD. \$2.70, \$2.80, \$3.15; \$2.25 is the lowest.

The CHAIRMAN. \$2.50 is the average, is it not?

Mr. OXNARD. Call it \$2.50.

The CHAIRMAN. You have to pay that price as against 40 cents paid in Porto Rico, do you not?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not know what they pay. I want to get in the record the fact that Hawaii paid, in 1902, 99 cents; and in 1905, 83 cents; in 1910, 91 cents; and in 1916, \$1.23 a day to their laborers. Those are the official figures.

Mr. RAKER. Per day?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes. Those are the average daily earnings.

Mr. CABLE. Then they give a bonus?

Mr. RAKER. Nobody has offered, by producing his books, or any other records, to show how much this bonus amounted to, which was paid to any of these laborers.

Mr. Box. Mr. Oxnard, in connection with the price you paid to the growers for their beets, to what extent is that price paid to them regulated by the price received by you? Is it not controlled by it?

Mr. OXNARD. Not entirely.

Mr. Box. How far?

Mr. OXNARD. Not entirely; we give them a certain percentage and a bonus when we sell our sugar for so much more. We have the different contracts. For instance, in California is one price, in Colorado another, and in Nebraska still another. In Colorado and Nebraska 90 per cent of the contracts are at a fixed price, which was \$10 a ton for the beets last year. It is \$6 this year. But in California it is a scaled price. The growers get something like an average of \$12 and \$15 a ton for their sugar beets.

Mr. Box. Is that not controlled very largely, if not entirely, by the price you receive?

Mr. OXNARD. Not entirely, because most of our contracts are made without any price being fixed.

Mr. Box. Did you read the testimony of those farmers which was given before the Ways and Means Committee in connection with the tariff? Did you read that testimony?

Mr. OXNARD. I was not here when the testimony was given.

Mr. Box. You say the price you pay for beets is not controlled entirely by the price you get for sugar?

Mr. OXNARD. I say that because it is so.

Mr. Box. I understand; I am going to have you define it a little further, if you can. It is so, is it not?

Mr. OXNARD. I have just told you that in Colorado and Nebraska 90 per cent—we give them both contracts, a straight fixed-price contract, based on what we get for the sugar, or an upset price—90 per cent of them are taking the upset price; that is, the fixed price, not based at all on what we get for our sugar.

Mr. Box. That is in California?

Mr. OXNARD. That is in Colorado and Nebraska. In California it is based entirely on the price we get for the sugar. There is a fixed minimum of \$10, and so much more, 25 cents for every degree above, and so much more if we get 9 cents or 10 cents, and we had it run up last year when we thought we would get 20 cents, but we averaged about 7 or 8 cents.

Mr. Box. Let us find, if we can, how much of your beets are bought on the basis of the price being fixed by the price you get for sugar. Is not a far greater part of it fixed in that way?

Mr. OXNARD. No; not a far greater part of it; I should say about 50 per cent.

Mr. Box. About 50 per cent?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

Mr. Box. Then if the farmers testified that they are getting a price which was entirely controlled by the price you got for sugar they misstated the facts?

Mr. OXNARD. As far as our company is concerned. It might have been true of a Michigan factory.

Mr. Box. There is a provision in those contracts, when you contract for the planting of beets by which the purchasers of the beets agree to help furnish the labor; in those contracts you stipulate as to the price and you base it on the market price for sugar, do you not?

Mr. OXNARD. I said about 50 per cent is done in that way.

Mr. Box. About 50 per cent of your product is bought on those terms?

Mr. OXNARD. I am speaking of our product entirely.

Mr. Box. Now, in reference to the Mexican labor contract proposition, you know that those men are brought in under the contract system, do you not?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not believe they are; I think it is under the regulations promulgated by the Secretary of Labor.

Mr. Box. Have you ever read those regulations?

Mr. OXNARD. No.

Mr. Box. You do not know then whether or not those regulations provide for the abrogation of the contract features of the labor law; do you know whether they do?

Mr. OXNARD. No. As I said, I have not read them. I am leaving that to our manager.

The CHAIRMAN. Your own agent?

Mr. OXNARD. He is the general agent for all our beet-sugar companies.

The CHAIRMAN. That accounts for this statement that you are not in agreement or combination, but you have a general agent, and he made it a business to travel up and down the Mexican border picking up this labor?

Mr. OXNARD. He did it for all the companies and charged them so much for his services.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, he agrees to get them?

Mr. OXNARD. You can not prove anything by me on that, because I do not know the details in reference to it.

Mr. BOX. Do you know whether or not those regulations provided for the arrest and deportation of a man who left the service of a particular employer or group of employers?

Mr. OXNARD. No; I do not know anything about that. If I had known you wanted information in reference to all these questions, I would have had some one here to answer them all for you.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask this question and make it a part of the record: Just how seasonal is this labor; what is the length of time that these men are employed; about what is the length of the employment furnished to this labor, imported or otherwise—any class of this labor—in a year?

Mr. OXNARD. They start in as soon as the ground can be tilled, which in California is along very early in the spring, or winter, and go right along. In Colorado, Nebraska, Utah, and all those other places they go right along in the spring of the year and then stay there until the crop is harvested.

Mr. WHITE. What period of the year?

Mr. OXNARD. In California they start harvesting next Monday. In Nebraska and Colorado we will start about the 1st of October. We will have all the beets out by the 1st of November in California, and by the 1st of December in the other places.

Mr. WHITE. Would you say you have six months' steady employment in a year?

Mr. OXNARD. Oh, yes.

Mr. WHITE. More than that?

Mr. OXNARD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. That labor is moving from State to State, in order to get steady employment?

Mr. OXNARD. They have to care for the crop, weed it, and do things of that kind; and they thin it, and then about that time it is pretty nearly time to get ready for harvesting.

The CHAIRMAN. They are employed at one place six months during the year?

Mr. OXNARD. Something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they do the rest of the time?

Mr. OXNARD. I think some of them go back and some of them do not. I do not know what they do.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not that pretty nearly equalize your wage with the Hawaiian wage?

Mr. OXNARD. Oh, no; I should not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You have about six months' employment, and they try to have yearly employment?

Mr. OXNARD. We do not employ them at all; it is the farmer who employs them.

Mr. RAKER. Do you ever have to hide the shoes and clothes of the laborers at night to keep them from going off in the morning?

Mr. OXNARD. Not to my knowledge, but I think it might have happened.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be much of an effort for you to ascertain how many Mexicans you have employed?

Mr. OXNARD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. As against those Mexicans properly in the United States, having come up from Texas, where they have been resident, you have those coming in under this peculiar arrangement——

Mr. OXNARD (interposing). With the Department of Labor; I will be glad to do that, so far as my company is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you one more question, then I am through. You think at any time we want to we can shoot the Japanese out of the water, if that occasion should arise?

Mr. OXNARD. I feel that way about it.

The CHAIRMAN. I do, too.

Would we use our military preparations that we have on the Hawaiian Islands for that purpose?

Mr. OXNARD. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. We have made an outpost out there, have we not?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the United States Government was right, or that Congress was right when it recently enacted the law prohibiting orientals from working on the Federal work in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. OXNARD. I would not want to go on record in regard to that. I have not thought of those things at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You, having studied the gentleman's agreement——

Mr. OXNARD (interposing). No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You would agree with me that the gentleman's agreement is so worked as to the continental United States and otherwise that any time the governor or the territorial legislature, or other official persons will proclaim a shortage of labor in that island, Japan could open up and send in all the Japanese they want to, without violating the gentleman's agreement?

Mr. OXNARD. Of course, that is not a question for me to pass upon.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is such a question and Japan chooses to take advantage of it, the sugar people will be more handicapped than before?

Mr. OXNARD. I suppose that would follow, undoubtedly.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, without objection, I will insert in the record telegrams received from Mr. John P. Irish, of Oakland, Calif., in which he makes statements in opposition to statements telegraphed to this committee by Mr. V. S. McClatchy.

(The telegrams referred to are as follows:)

OAKLAND, CALIF., July 23, 1921.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
Chairman Immigration Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Report of State board of control shows Japanese have secured here 74,769 acres, and that our irrigated area is 3,893,500 acres. McClatchy's telegram says that the Japanese have secured one-eighth of the irrigated area, which would make our irrigated area only 598,152 acres. This sort of misrepresentation is intended to deceive Congress and poison eastern public opinion. The Japanese by hard work have reclaimed to productive fertility more barren land than they have secured. I long ago warned McClatchy and his conspirators against international peace that their false and vituperative attacks on the Japanese would lead to mob violence. This result has come in the incendiary burning of five houses of Japanese in Fresno and the kidnapping of Japanese and threats against their lives. It might interest the committee to know who is interested in the depression of stock in Hawaiian sugar plantations, which will be the effect of extending the California conspiracy to that Territory. Publish this letter as his (McClatchy's) was.

JOHN P. IRISH.

OAKLAND, CALIF., July 25, 1921.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
Chairman Immigration Committee, Washington, D. C.:

Like Hawaii is California, also part of the United States. To persecute the Japanese four laws have been passed here which nullify the Constitution and laws of the United States. They are being enforced by mobs as at Turlock. Nine of that mob under arrest say they were promised the support of the American Legion and anti-Japanese committee in committing a State's prison offense, but they only followed the example of the governor and legislature.

JOHN P. IRISH.

MR. WILSON. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Rogers is here.
The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear Mr. Rogers now.

STATEMENT OF MR. JOHN M. ROGERS, REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN CANE GROWERS' ASSOCIATION.

MR. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I represent the American Cane Growers' Association, which is made up of cane growers, I think now exclusively, of Louisiana.

Unlike Mr. Oxnard, I do not want to apologize for having been here so many times, this being the first time I was ever before any congressional committee.

MR. WILSON. Can you state, or place in the record, the comparative cost of production of sugar in Louisiana, Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines?

MR. ROGERS. To do that I would quote Price Bulletin No. 13, prepared by the War Industries Board, issued by them, entitled "Prices of Sugar and Related Products."

MR. WILSON. What year are you going to cover?

MR. ROGERS. This is the prewar cost. They do not give the individual years. It says:

Prewar cost at factory of Cuban sugar was 1.45 cents per pound, while for Hawaii, Porto Rico, and Louisiana sugar the average was 2.23, 2.61, and 3.98, respectively. From the above it will be seen that Louisiana sugar at a normal period cost 3.98, Cuban sugar 1.45, making a difference against Louisiana sugar of 2.53; Louisiana sugar cost 3.98, while Hawaiian sugar cost 2.23, making a difference against Louisiana sugar of 1.75; Louisiana sugar cost 3.98, while Porto Rico sugar cost 2.61, making a difference against Louisiana sugar of 1.37 cents.

Dr. Philip G. Wright, on January 18, 1921, testifying before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, at pages 1252 and 1253, stated that the Louisiana cost at that time, from records he had, was 4.101 cents, Cuban sugar 1.7 cents, a difference of 2.40 cents against Louisiana; the Louisiana cost being 4.101 and the Hawaiian cost 2.896, there was a difference at that time against Louisiana sugar of 1.203; the Porto Rico cost being 2.828, there was a difference of 1.273 against Louisiana; and for the years 1916-17, 1917-18, and 1918-19, that being the war period, the average cost was for Cuba, 4.104; beet sugar, 7.306—and right there let me say in reference to that, that beet sugar being all refined, he has reduced this to a raw basis, so that the figures represent beet sugar as if it were raw sugar—Hawaiian sugar 5.196, Louisiana sugar 9.304, and Porto Rico sugar 5.802.

Mr. WILSON. Louisiana sugar is produced by those operating factories, and also by the independent growers?

Mr. ROGERS. It is.

Mr. WILSON. Small farmers or hired labor?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. Can you give us the proportion of cane produced in Louisiana, beginning with those who operate factories?

Mr. ROGERS. The latest data I have compiled—I have that for 1920 now in hand—but using the year, 1919, which would be a fairly typical year, the data show that the factories in Louisiana produced 44.82 per cent; the small grower or tenant, 54.66 per cent; ground on toll, 0.0052 per cent. That makes less than 45 per cent grown by the factories and a little more than 55 per cent grown by the landowner or tenant.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom was the small fraction of a per cent produced?

Mr. ROGERS. That was sugar ground on toll. This amount is so small it is immaterial.

Mr. WILSON. Then about 45 per cent of the cane produced in Louisiana is grown by the people who have factories?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. And practically all the other is grown by the independent owners, the small farmers, or tenants?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes. May I say there that there are 178 of those factories in Louisiana and there are more than 4,000—I have not the exact figures; about 4,500—of the independents, who employ more than 10,000 people in the production of that sugar on the small farms.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of labor do you have?

Mr. ROGERS. We have the farmer and his family and the Negro.

Mr. WILSON. The small grower is, as a general thing, just an independent home owner, a settler, and a citizen of Louisiana?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. There is no imported labor, no imported people, in the cane industry in Louisiana?

Mr. ROGERS. No; they are all American citizens.

Mr. WHITE. As a general rule does the small independent producer—the farmer—employ any labor?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes; in many instances he must employ labor at times.

Mr. WHITE. That depends upon the acreage that he cultivates?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes, sir. In Louisiana it takes about 80 laborers per thousand acres. Therefore, an ordinary family of five, you can readily understand, could only cultivate the amount limited by that number; and of course he would have to go outside for more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your average wage to labor?

Mr. ROGERS. I am sorry that I can not answer that, sir, to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you get those figures and place them in the record?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes. I will send to New Orleans for them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do that, or instruct the clerk to wire for them. Did you get any of this Mexican labor that was coming in?

Mr. ROGERS. Not under the contract.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make an effort to get any of them?

Mr. ROGERS. No; I didn't. I may explain to you that I personally went to the Commissioner of Immigration and the Labor Department late in 1920 when labor was very short and succeeded in having Louisiana added to those border States having that permit. They had not had it before.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. ROGERS. That was 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. About a year ago, or a little over a year ago?

Mr. ROGERS. About a year ago now. They were so desperate that I went up to Ellis Island and spent a week there with our people trying to see if I could get some labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your European white labor work with those people?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes. Just for an example, I will give you a case. A number of those small farmers are Italians that came in a number of years ago, and we paid a little penalty for that.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that?

Mr. ROGERS. Having the Mafia. In one instance some Italians were killed in New Orleans, not as a result of bringing them to the sugar plantations. Those fellows became citizens. I know one that worked on a farm. He worked as a laborer, was brought to Louisiana for that purpose. He came here and was engaged on a sugar plantation. To-day he has one son in a bank and two daughters teachers in the public schools, and he raises this cane and sells it in that way.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that you paid a penalty?

Mr. ROGERS. I mean in that way, referring to the Mafia.

The CHAIRMAN. If these Mexican laborers brought in under this sort of agreement or contract are killed or injured, who pays the bill?

Mr. ROGERS. I would think that the United States Government would.

Mr. WILSON. Modify that, Mr. Chairman. You mean if they were killed in an uprising of our citizens? You do not mean in just an ordinary difficulty?

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask Mr. Oxnard what he thinks about that. If any of these Mexican laborers brought in by the Secretary of Labor, and who are working on a sugar plantation, are killed in an uprising or riot or trouble, who pays the bill upon complaint of the Mexican Government?

Mr. OXNARD. I suppose the public would.

The CHAIRMAN. So that if these little outbreaks that occurred, as at Turlock and Fresno, Calif., become sufficient to cause the United States to have to pay a bill the United States would have to pay that bill.

Mr. OXNARD. I suppose so.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems that there are two bills pending in Congress now, having been reported out by committees, where the United States Government would pay to Japan certain sums, one of them being for the case of Torahachi Uratake, a Japanese subject killed at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, on November 25, 1915. This man was shot and killed by a soldier of the United States. The other bill is for the death of Tatsuji Saito, a Japanese subject, who was shot and killed by a soldier of the United States in Mexico, where this Japanese was bootlegging. That is what happened, and we have to pay the bill. It is reported out by the committee and indorsed by the Secretary of War. These are bills pending in the present Congress. This latter case happened outside of the United States; that is the trouble.

Mr. WILSON. Before you get through with Mr. Rogers I want to ask him one question.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. WILSON. You are familiar with the resolution relative to admission of labor into Hawaii—I mean Chinese labor?

Mr. ROGERS. I have read it.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Rogers, what effect would the admission of Chinese coolie labor to Hawaii, as contemplated by this resolution, have upon the sugar industry in Louisiana as it stands at the present and upon the independent cane producers in Louisiana?

Mr. ROGERS. If I may preface that with another remark, I should like to do so. As an American citizen and representing the Louisiana cane producers I am and they are opposed to the bringing into the United States of those men who can not become or who will not become citizens of value to the United States. That is a broad American principle that we all stand on. As a Louisiana producer, from a purely selfish motive and for the immediate present, if Hawaii or any other section has labor that is cheap, or potentially cheap, then naturally I want them, because we must compete with that labor, and the effect of bringing in labor for Hawaii would inevitably be to reduce the cost of the sugar which comes in competition with ours and against which we have no tariff or protection.

I want to say that we are perfectly willing to take our place in competitive market on an equal basis with any country now under the American flag. We are willing to take our place under equal legal conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a very fine sentiment, and I want to ask you now, Do want the Mexican illiterate labor?

Mr. ROGERS. We have not got them now.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you asked for them?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes; we have, and I will tell you why. Our cane crop acreage was reduced from 1909, when we had 305,399 acres to 213,136 acres in 1919. That is, acres used for the production of this cane which was cut and made into sugar.

Mr. WHITE. That is in the State of Louisiana.

Mr. ROGERS. That is the State of Louisiana, 22 parishes. The lands that were not in sugar, the difference between 305,399 and 213,136, lay idle—a great deal of it—solely because we could not get labor. Then we reached the point during the war when our Negroes went to the Army, and when many of them came back and had been trained in industries, particularly in the motor industry, driving automobiles, the young Negro wanted to go to the city and get a job driving an automobile; and our labor was so short that we applied to the Government during the war and got them to permit a detail of soldiers from Camp Beauregard, at Alexandria, La., to go in there and save the cane. It was a dire necessity after it was made. Later, in 1919 and 1920, it was apparent we could not harvest our cane. We use 50 per cent more labor about harvest time than we do during cultural time, and it was apparent that we could not get it, and so I went to Ellis Island to look over that bunch brought in up there, and I arrived at some very strong convictions of what I would do if I were a Congressman or United States Senator—if I had anything to do with the United States Government about the labor that came to America.

Mr. RAKER. What is that? Tell us right now.

Mr. ROGERS. In a word, it is this: I would provide that the Department of Labor and the Immigration Bureau have sent into them requisitions for labor, showing the need of it in various industries, the amount required, the wage paid that would yield a fair profit to them on their business, the wages they could afford to pay, and I would have that data transmitted to our Consular Service abroad, and every man who came in would come not under contract but he would come to do that kind of labor that was needed where it was needed, and he would have to be a potential American citizen before he left the other side.

The CHAIRMAN. You assume that he would stay there and do that work?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes, sir. Right here let me say, in parentheses, that if this committee could present a bill to Congress and have it passed preventing the carrying of Chinese in bond through the United States to go to Cuba, or any other place, it would be a splendid service rendered. It has just been put into the record that about 8,000 Chinese entered Cuba last year. I heard it unofficially stated that there is about an average of 40,000 Chinese employed in Cuba at all times. A large part of these Chinamen land in San Francisco and are carried in bond by the Southern Pacific Railway through the cane fields of Louisiana to New Orleans and there placed aboard ship for their intermediate destination, Cuba. I say intermediate because in conversation with a former official of the Department of Labor it was stated to me that in his opinion the major portion of these Chinamen reached the United States from Cuba; that this was the carrying out of their intention when they left China. This statement is given additional weight by press reports within the past few days that a ship wrecked near the American coast disclosed the fact that it had on board contraband Chinamen from Cuba and that some 20 or more of them were found on American soil after the wreck.

It seems unfair that our Government should permit the use of its territory for the transportation of this labor to be used in competi-

tion with the products of our American labor, while at the same time prohibiting, and I think properly so, the use of the same kind of labor on American soil. Aside from this issue, it is at least worthy of investigation as to whether or not Cuba is but a halfway station for these undesirable aliens. It seems pertinent that if it is a fact that Cuba is being used as a halfway station, then why erect another halfway station in Hawaii and make it still easier for them to come to continental United States?

Mr. WHITE. What is the labor situation at this time, in 1921, as compared to a year ago?

Mr. ROGERS. Very satisfactory.

Mr. WHITE. So that when in war conditions were abnormal you were subjected to the difficulties of which you speak, but in ordinary times you would not think there was any necessity for that, would you?

Mr. ROGERS. Well, I say there is always a demand for about 50 per cent additional labor during harvest time, and we handle that in this way—

Mr. WHITE. Let me interrupt you. You could not bring in this imported labor for that season, for that short period of time?

Mr. ROGERS. Just the Mexican labor, but this is not our normal procedure. It is our usual custom to secure farm labor from the cotton section.

The CHAIRMAN. In Hawaii you can not do that. Hawaii is a couple of thousand miles from any mainland, either European or American.

Mr. ROGERS. I said from a purely selfish standpoint we would be glad to have the Chinamen. I do not believe it would pay Europeans or Hawaiians or any other place to bring in that kind of labor in the long run.

Mr. WILSON. You are aware of the fact that the new constitution of Louisiana going into effect July 1 has a provision in it preventing any person incapable of American citizenship owning or leasing property in Louisiana.

Mr. ROGERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Do you approve of that.

Mr. ROGERS. I do.

Mr. WILSON. Then, as a general proposition, you would be opposed to bringing them to Louisiana?

Mr. ROGERS. First, last, and always.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any Japanese coming into Louisiana?

Mr. ROGERS. Not at all.

Mr. WILSON. This Mexican labor has not been coming into Louisiana.

Mr. ROGERS. It has not.

Mr. WILSON. Is there any effort or any demand for it to be brought in there now?

Mr. ROGERS. No; not now. We were desperate and wanted it, and one of our fellows did bring in some Mexican labor. I think he told me the Southern Pacific was paid by him, \$1,100 freight on them. He said afterwards the Southern Pacific had them, he did not. We have to compete with the railway labor wage and the sawmill wage and for that reason our labor wage is not so low, and if we brought in Chinamen or anybody else they would go the way the Mexicans did.

Mr. WILSON. Do you not think, Mr. Rogers, it is the best policy for Louisiana to do as you have done about the Italian whom you spoke about, bringing him in and selling the land to him and making a citizen of him?

Mr. ROGERS. If we could sell every acre of our Louisiana property to the small farmer and let him produce the cane and sell it to the factory, we prefer to do it and would not have one single acre of factory-grown cane. We must have factory-grown cane to be certain that cane will be grown that we know we will get a reasonably steady supply for normal factory operations.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say factory-grown cane, you mean when you go out and make a contract?

Mr. ROGERS. No; I mean where the factory has a plantation and grows it themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to interrupt you right now to ask a question. Did you attend this meeting of sugar growers in New York?

Mr. ROGERS. I did on the 14th of June.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss the Hawaiian proposition?

Mr. ROGERS. It was discussed only, so far as I know, in that the gentlemen of Hawaii read their memorial that was to be presented to Congress; and I stated just what I stated to you, as an American proposition I would be against it, and if Hawaii had it then it must extend to all America; we must have the same privileges. That is what I stated.

Mr. RAKER. Who was present at that meeting? What interests were represented?

Mr. ROGERS. I believe the beet interests, Porto Rico—

Mr. CABLE. Who represented them?

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Oxnard was there representing the beet interests; Col. Edgar—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Who represented Louisiana?

Mr. ROGERS. I represented Louisiana. I may say I was not the authorized representative; I was detailed to represent them. The others who were there I do not know—Mr. Dillingham and Mr. Coombs I am sure—the representative of the Philippine Islands was there.

Mr. RAKER. Who represented the Michigan people?

Mr. ROGERS. Col. Edgar was there. He represented Michigan, did he not?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Who represented the Utah sugar people?

Mr. ROGERS. I do not remember any beet people except Mr. Oxnard and Col. Edgar.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the Spreckles interests represented?

Mr. OXNARD. Not directly.

Mr. CABLE. Were they represented indirectly?

Mr. OXNARD. I suppose they were represented indirectly.

Mr. RAKER. Where was this meeting held?

Mr. ROGERS. At 82 Wall Street.

Mr. RAKER. Who represented or who presented this petition of American sugar interests, consisting of the United States and Porto Rico—who represented the Hawaiian side?

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Dillingham and Mr. Coombs.

Mr. RAKER. That is not this Mr. Dillingham who is present to-day?

Mr. ROGERS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Coombs?

Mr. OXNARD. Mr. Coombs.

Mr. RAKER. What did they do?

Mr. ROGERS. They wanted us to approve the memorial they read.

Mr. RAKER. What was the substance of it?

Mr. ROGERS. You have it.

Mr. RAKER. I didn't know that was it. That is new to me. That is not this Mr. Dillingham who is here?

Mr. ROGERS. No.

Mr. RAKER. I remember fully about that. There is no connection between the meeting up in New York and this commission here—this Mr. Dillingham.

Mr. ROGERS. I understood this memorial they read was to be presented to Congress.

Mr. RAKER. What was the result of the conference?

Mr. ROGERS. The result of it was that I stated if Hawaii was to have that privilege it was to extend where the American flag floated. I think Mr. Oxnard stated about the same thing. I do not know that anybody else stated anything. It was referred to a committee of the Producers' Association for action.

Mr. WILSON. Where is Mr. Dillingham from?

Mr. RAKER. I do not know where he is from.

Mr. OXNARD. Mr. Dillingham is from Porto Rico, and is a lawyer.

Mr. WILSON. Where is Mr. Coombs from?

Mr. OXNARD. He is a New York sugar man, and he is president of two or three large plantations in Porto Rico.

Mr. CABLE. Who has offices at 82 Wall Street?

Mr. ROGERS. A publication known as "Facts about Sugar." We had an office in their room.

Mr. CABLE. A publication or newspaper?

Mr. ROGERS. It used to be a newspaper.

Mr. CABLE. Do you subscribe to it?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. Do they send out a price list every week on sugar?

Mr. ROGERS. I believe they publish it, just as they do in newspapers. They publish a quotation.

The CHAIRMAN. How do they get away from the inquiry of the Federal Trade Commission?

Mr. ROGERS. They just publish the prices as the trade journals do, the price at which sugar was sold the previous day or week.

Mr. RAKER. Who had the memorial of the Hawaiian Legislature before you?

Mr. ROGERS. I do not know where it was from.

Mr. RAKER. Who from Hawaii presented it to you?

Mr. ROGERS. I do not know who—I do not know those gentlemen.

Mr. RAKER. Was there anybody there representing the Hawaiian sugar people?

Mr. ROGERS. My thought was that they were representing the Hawaiian sugar people?

Mr. RAKER. Dillingham and Coombs?

Mr. ROGERS. Yes; because, as I say, my attendance was delegated—I was not a regular representative.

Mr. OXNARD. No. As I said, I have not read them. I am leaving that to our manager.

The CHAIRMAN. Your own agent?

Mr. OXNARD. He is the general agent for all our beet-sugar companies.

The CHAIRMAN. That accounts for this statement that you are not in agreement or combination, but you have a general agent, and he made it a business to travel up and down the Mexican border picking up this labor?

Mr. OXNARD. He did it for all the companies and charged them so much for his services.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyway, he agrees to get them?

Mr. OXNARD. You can not prove anything by me on that, because I do not know the details in reference to it.

Mr. BOX. Do you know whether or not those regulations provided for the arrest and deportation of a man who left the service of a particular employer or group of employers?

Mr. OXNARD. No; I do not know anything about that. If I had known you wanted information in reference to all these questions, I would have had some one here to answer them all for you.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to ask this question and make it a part of the record: Just how seasonal is this labor; what is the length of time that these men are employed; about what is the length of the employment furnished to this labor, imported or otherwise—any class of this labor—in a year?

Mr. OXNARD. They start in as soon as the ground can be tilled, which in California is along very early in the spring, or winter, and go right along. In Colorado, Nebraska, Utah, and all those other places they go right along in the spring of the year and then stay there until the crop is harvested.

Mr. WHITE. What period of the year?

Mr. OXNARD. In California they start harvesting next Monday. In Nebraska and Colorado we will start about the 1st of October. We will have all the beets out by the 1st of November in California, and by the 1st of December in the other places.

Mr. WHITE. Would you say you have six months' steady employment in a year?

Mr. OXNARD. Oh, yes.

Mr. WHITE. More than that?

Mr. OXNARD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. That labor is moving from State to State, in order to get steady employment?

Mr. OXNARD. They have to care for the crop, weed it, and do things of that kind; and they thin it, and then about that time it is pretty nearly time to get ready for harvesting.

The CHAIRMAN. They are employed at one place six months during the year?

Mr. OXNARD. Something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they do the rest of the time?

Mr. OXNARD. I think some of them go back and some of them do not. I do not know what they do.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not that pretty nearly equalize your wage with the Hawaiian wage?

The CHAIRMAN. Come to a "gentleman's" agreement?

Mr. ROGERS. No; they never come to any agreements that I know of; it is just a conference.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think of anything more I wish to ask Mr. Rogers.

Mr. ROGERS. I want to give you some figures as to labor conditions in Hawaii. These are taken from the statistical abstract for 1920, but the point I want to call your attention to is this, the report of the acreage and yields of Hawaii for a period of years. In 1916 they produced 592,763 short tons of sugar; for 1917 they produced 644,663 short tons, in round figures; in 1918 they produced 576,700 tons; for 1919 they produced 600,312 short tons; in 1920 they produced 556,727 short tons.

Now, the point I wish to make is that in 1920 they produced 555,727 short tons. In 1916 they produced 592,763, and in 1919 they produced 600,312. Now, then, if it be true that they are suffering from labor, then that labor that they have has grown lots more efficient. In comparison, Porto Rico produced in 1916, 849,763,491 pounds; in 1917, 977,377,996 pounds; 1918, 672,937,334 pounds; 1919, 703,286,023 pounds; and in 1920, 837,735,200 pounds; which shows that they ran along just about holding their own, just as Hawaii. There is no material difference in production. They had in 1916, 115,400 acres in cultivation; in 1917 they had 123,900 acres; in 1918, 119,800 acres; in 1919, 119,700 acres in cultivation; and we in Louisiana had to reduce our acreage, so we are worse off than before the war. They have enjoyed some advantages relative to labor that we have not had. We are perfectly willing to take our chances with them.

Mr. RAKER. Leaving all that aside, you would not be in favor of having conditions of slavery or peonage in the labor situation as they existed in Hawaii before the war? You would not be in favor of going back to that?

Mr. ROGERS. Judge Raker, my father was a slaveholder, and if we had to go back to that I would rather go out of business.

Mr. RAKER. Have you read this resolution over?

Mr. ROGERS. No; I have not.

Mr. RAKER. Is there anything you know of that has any more iniquity in it than the old Chinese slave labor?

Mr. ROGERS. I have not even read that.

Mr. RAKER. Because in this it does not even permit the Government to pay the expenses. It requires the expenses to be paid by the producer, which in substance goes right back as is fully delineated in this bill, as they used to do in Hawaii—that was, bring them over and keep them until they paid their passage back, which was so abhorrent that they themselves prohibited the entrance of Chinese and Japanese into the islands.

Mr. ROGERS. I agree with you that it is abhorrent.

If I might philosophize just a little bit, I object to this because, I might term it, the law of diminishing returns. Just as certain as we pay labor too much in the cane fields—and Hawaii is suffering from it to-day—just as certainly will that labor decrease to a point where it becomes a burden either in competition or in inefficiency. Just as certain as we pay too low prices for labor and furnish the inadequate support of that labor, just that certain do we as American citizens

pay the penalty. We know in Louisiana to-day that we have got to furnish the Negro a fair house, a garden, a cow—in many instances we have a dairy that they may have milk to drink—and we do not do that because we love him so well but because we know that that is the best way to get a day's work. And I want to say that in terms of cane produced per acre the labor value in Louisiana compares with Hawaii as 15 is to 39. Louisiana produces an average of 15 tons per acre, while Hawaii averages 39 tons. In terms of sugar per ton of cane, labor value in Louisiana compares to Hawaii as 136 is to 248, the Louisiana average production of sugar being 136 pounds per ton of cane; Hawaii, 248 pounds. (Authority: Statistical Abstract 1920 for Hawaii; Department of Agriculture Crop Reports for Louisiana.)

Mr. RAKER. Repeat that again.

Mr. ROGERS. Labor in Louisiana in terms of sugar is as 136 to 248 compared with Hawaii, because out of a ton of cane in Louisiana we make an average of 136 pounds of sugar; in Hawaii they make 248, and they can grow an acre of cane at probably less expense than we can grow it in Louisiana.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they use the same methods?

Mr. ROGERS. No.

Mr. IRWIN. How long does it take you to grow a crop of cane down there?

Mr. ROGERS. About nine months.

Mr. IRWIN. How long does it take to produce a crop in Hawaii? Assume it takes 9 months in Louisiana and 18 months in Hawaii, does that not reduce your proportion to that extent?

Mr. ROGERS. Since you raised that question, I would like to give this official figure, but I am not familiar with Hawaii; I have to depend solely on these figures. Take the time of actual operation in Hawaii, 180 and 190 days, in one island going up to 220 days, and the average is 275 days actual operation.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people are employed in the cane industry in Louisiana?

Mr. ROGERS. The report of the census for 1914 for the manufactures gives something like 4,000 to 12,000 persons engaged in the industry; 4,544 in 1914, and 1919 it was 5,000, and it runs from that up to 12,000, and I want you to understand that this is the census of manufactures and it takes into account only the 178 large plantations. The small farmers, of whom there are more than 4,000—I think that is an error; the Agricultural Department says, in their opinion, it is an error, it should be more—employ more than 10,000. In fact, I think they would come nearer 20,000; but that would include the supporting crops, feedstuff and all. In other words, take the 300,000 acres in effect—299,000—80 laborers to 1,000 acres would give you something like 24,000 right there in culture. That is what it takes in Louisiana—about 80 mules and about 80 hands per 1,000 acres.

The CHAIRMAN. We have been very much interested in your testimony, and I appreciate your sentiments, and I want to ask you if you have given any study to the situation in which Hawaii—Caucasian people in Hawaii, principally American citizens, find themselves with regard to the other population?

Mr. ROGERS. Some. It is limited. The result of my study is—and it is my own conclusion—that Hawaii is a part of the United States to-day chiefly because American citizens invested their money in Hawaii for the production of sugar. Those American citizens, to produce sugar cheaply and to their best advantage and with as much advantage over other American territories as possible, used every method permissible and brought Japanese labor in there to produce that cane, and they are paying the penalty to-day for that. Now, their idea is to go off on another tack and bring in another undesirable element, and for which they will eventually pay a penalty. Therefore I conclude that Hawaii has simply made a bad guess and has not looked at it, as I see it, from a long, final result, taking into consideration that inevitable law of diminishing returns; and they are paying a penalty, and I do not see how it will help them in the end or help us to pull them out of the hole temporarily.

I want to say that I just read a statement from a Filipino that has been over to Hawaii, and he says he has fixed up the trouble, and he thinks he can get Filipinos—they are American citizens—that might give them some help.

The CHAIRMAN. The hearings have disclosed there are some considerable numbers of Filipino laborers.

Mr. ROGERS. From statements published in the Louisiana Planter, without referring to this question, the sentiment is decidedly that there has been a very wide difference of opinion between Filipinos and Hawaiians as to the Filipinos' treatment in Hawaii. I have that copy of that article and that is all I am basing it on. It is only an inference from that.

It is an unbiased statement; has no reference to this question. This is an extract from the Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer entitled "Hawaiian letter." It is dated Honolulu, Hawaii, July 5, 1921, and I will read it to you:

[Extract from the Louisiana Planter and Sugar Manufacturer.]

HAWAIIAN LETTER.

HONOLULU, HAWAII, *July 5, 1921.*

An era of better understanding has been reached in the industrial relations between the Philippine Islands and the employers of labor in Hawaii and on the mainland, in the opinion of Señor Francisco Varona, Philippines labor commissioner, who departed recently for Manila after devoting several months to an investigation of conditions in Hawaii and the Pacific Coast States. Señor Varona asserted on the eve of his departure that he is returning home with the conviction that his visit has paved the way for the elimination of all misunderstandings which in the past have led to industrial strife.

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN FILIPINO AND HIS EMPLOYER RESULT OF VARONA'S VISIT.

"We understand you better and you understand us better," said Señor Varona. "In a phrase, that is the secret of the present situation. In the past only a mutual failure to reach this happy condition has prevented complete cooperation and accord. The Filipino has it in him to be a moral and an industrial asset to any community in which he happens to be living. Hawaii is no exception to this rule. There has been a tendency in the past to forget that the present generation of Filipinos who have left their own country to seek a foothold elsewhere are barely getting a start. Better results can be accomplished by trying to help them up instead of keeping them down. I am glad to say that as a result of the missionary work along this line that has been done on the mainland and in Hawaii this fact is coming to be generally recognized.

Mr. WILSON. Do you not think, Mr. Rogers, it is the best policy for Louisiana to do as you have done about the Italian whom you spoke about, bringing him in and selling the land to him and making a citizen of him?

Mr. ROGERS. If we could sell every acre of our Louisiana property to the small farmer and let him produce the cane and sell it to the factory, we prefer to do it and would not have one single acre of factory-grown cane. We must have factory-grown cane to be certain that cane will be grown that we know we will get a reasonably steady supply for normal factory operations.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say factory-grown cane, you mean when you go out and make a contract?

Mr. ROGERS. No; I mean where the factory has a plantation and grows it themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to interrupt you right now to ask a question. Did you attend this meeting of sugar growers in New York?

Mr. ROGERS. I did on the 14th of June.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss the Hawaiian proposition?

Mr. ROGERS. It was discussed only, so far as I know, in that the gentlemen of Hawaii read their memorial that was to be presented to Congress; and I stated just what I stated to you, as an American proposition I would be against it, and if Hawaii had it then it must extend to all America; we must have the same privileges. That is what I stated.

Mr. RAKER. Who was present at that meeting? What interests were represented?

Mr. ROGERS. I believe the beet interests, Porto Rico——

Mr. CABLE. Who represented them?

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Oxnard was there representing the beet interests; Col. Edgar——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Who represented Louisiana?

Mr. ROGERS. I represented Louisiana. I may say I was not the authorized representative; I was detailed to represent them. The others who were there I do not know—Mr. Dillingham and Mr. Coombs I am sure—the representative of the Philippine Islands was there.

Mr. RAKER. Who represented the Michigan people?

Mr. ROGERS. Col. Edgar was there. He represented Michigan, did he not?

Mr. OXNARD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Who represented the Utah sugar people?

Mr. ROGERS. I do not remember any beet people except Mr. Oxnard and Col. Edgar.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the Spreckles interests represented?

Mr. OXNARD. Not directly.

Mr. CABLE. Were they represented indirectly?

Mr. OXNARD. I suppose they were represented indirectly.

Mr. RAKER. Where was this meeting held?

Mr. ROGERS. At 82 Wall Street.

Mr. RAKER. Who represented or who presented this petition of American sugar interests, consisting of the United States and Porto Rico—who represented the Hawaiian side?

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Dillingham and Mr. Coombs.

Page 63—The daily average rate of wages of field hands was 97 cents.

Page 218—The number of Filipinos employed increased from 1,490 in 1910 to 8,695 in 1915, an increase of 19.4 per cent.

Page 229—Average daily earnings of adult male field employees on Hawaiian plantations:

1902, \$0.99 (covering 9,286 workers only).

1905, \$0.83 (covering 3,437 workers only).

1910, \$0.91 (covering 6,867 workers only).

1915, \$1.23 (covering 6,885 workers only).

NOTE.—Reproduced from report of United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Page 48—Total cost of production f. o. b. factory, including depreciation:

	Per ton.
Hawaii	\$44. 59
Porto Rico	52. 29
Louisiana	79. 50
United States beet sugar	70.08
Cuba (Federal Trade Commission report on the beet-sugar industry, May 24, 1917)	28. 70

Page 81—The average net factory cost per 100 pounds of sugar in the entire United States during the five years ending with the campaign of 1913-14, not including depreciation, was \$3.5041 per 100 pounds, or \$70.082 per ton.

Page 68—After investigation the commission based cost of depreciation at 5 per cent on machinery and buildings.

DENVER, COLO., July 25, 1921.

Daily wages, Mexico and Philippines, basis 9 hours, \$2.25 Chino and south of Los Angeles, and \$2.70 Oxnard district.

Some cases higher in both districts, but this is general wage.

Beet topping on tonnage basis will run about \$2.80 and \$3.15 per day, respectively.

E. C. HOWE, General Manager.

Average wages of male farm labor in the United States, 1910, 1916, 1917.

Per month:

With board—

1917	\$40. 67
1916	33. 27
1910	29. 28

Without board—

1917	57. 28
1916	46. 65
1910	41. 42

Per day at harvest:

With board—

1917	2. 73
1916	2. 23
1910	1. 98

Without board—

1917	3. 34
1916	2. 72
1910	2. 45

Per day other than harvest:

With board—

1917	2. 14
1916	1. 70
1910	1. 47

Without board—

1917	2. 77
1916	2. 22
1910	1. 94

Mr. Box. Mr. Chairman, I have an intimation that some matters are coming up on the floor of the House in which I am interested, and I have previously obtained permission to insert some historical data in the record. It winds up by referring to a treaty between

the United States and Hawaii providing that Chinese shall not hereafter be admitted except under certain regulations.

(The article is as follows:)

As bearing more or less directly upon several questions which have arisen during these hearings, I quote below passages from Alexander's History of the Hawaiian People showing:

1. That Hawaii's industrial and commercial development has in large measure resulted from profitable trade and favorable commercial treaties with the United States and from Hawaii's annexation, so that the agricultural and commercial interests of the islands are beneficiaries rather than victims of their relations with us.

"Material progress in the forties: The progress of the country during these years in wealth and resources was steady but slow, from the want of convenient markets" (pp. 258-259).

"The discovery of gold in California: The discovery of gold in California in 1848 formed an era in the history of the islands. * * * It opened a new market for the productions of the islands, which has been increasing in importance ever since" (p. 260).

"The new treaty with the United States was finally concluded in Washington, December 26, 1849" (p. 270).

"A similar just and equitable treaty was concluded with Great Britain July 10, 1851" (p. 270).

"Material progress: The rapid settlement of California opened a new market for the productions of the islands and gave a great stimulus to agriculture. For a short time sugar brought from 18 to 20 cents a pound in San Francisco, and large profits were made by raising potatoes in Kula, Maui, and elsewhere for the California market. The culture of wheat also increased and in June, 1854, a steam flouring mill was started in Honolulu. The next year 463 barrels of Hawaiian flour were exported. A foundry was started at Honolulu at the same time" (p. 273).

"Agriculture and trade: The production of sugar was greatly increased during this reign, owing to the importation of laborers from abroad and the hope of reciprocity with the United States, which, however, was not realized. The whaling fleet steadily fell off to only 47 ships in 1871, and continued to decrease after that date" (p. 297).

But the hope was not long deferred, as the following discloses:

"The reciprocity treaty: Negotiations were immediately reopened for a treaty of commercial reciprocity with the United States, which was ratified in June, 1875, and in spite of strenuous opposition in both countries the laws necessary to carry it into operation were enacted in September, 1876. This treaty was to remain in force for seven years and further, until 12 months after either Government should give notice to the other of its desire to terminate the same. The conclusion of this treaty was the great event of this reign, and perhaps the most important event in Hawaiian history since 1843. It ushered in an era of unexampled prosperity and set in motion a series of changes of which no man could foresee the end" (p. 303).

"Progress of the country to, 1890: The development of the resources of the islands under the stimulus of reciprocity with the United States surpassed all expectation. The production of the principal staples of the country—sugar and rice—increased to eight times what it was before the treaty. The total value of the domestic exports of the country rose to more than six times and the total revenues of the Government to more than three times what they were before the treaty" (pp. 311-312).

"Proposed treaty of annexation: On the 19th of January the steamer *Claudine* was dispatched to San Francisco with five commissioners, fully empowered to negotiate a treaty of union with the United States. They arrived in Washington February 3 and were favorably received by President Harrison. A treaty of annexation was then drawn up by the Secretary of State and the Hawaiian commissioners, which was signed on the 14th. It was laid before the Senate for its concurrence on the 17th, but was not acted upon before the end of the session. One of the first acts of President Cleveland after his inauguration was to withdraw the treaty from the consideration of the United States Senate on the 9th of March" (p. 317).

"The establishment of the Republic: As all hope of early annexation was now abandoned by the provisional government steps were immediately taken

to establish a republican form of government. A constitutional convention was called to meet May 30, 1894, for the purpose of framing a constitution for the Republic of Hawaii. The convention finished its labors on the 3d of July, and on the following day the Republic of Hawaii was proclaimed, with Sanford B. Cole as its first President.

"The new constitution was in the main modeled after that of the United States" (pp. 318-319).

"Annexation to the United States: On the accession of President McKinley in March, 1897, negotiations for annexation to the United States were renewed, and on the 16th of June, 1897, a new treaty providing for annexation was signed at Washington. It was ratified by a unanimous vote of the Hawaiian senate on the 8th of the following September, but was not pressed to a vote in the United States Senate, as the support of two-thirds of the Members, required by the United States Constitution, could not be counted upon. At last a joint resolution to the same effect, having passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 209 to 91, and the Senate by a vote of 42 to 21, was signed by President McKinley July 7, 1898. The news was received with great enthusiasm in Honolulu on the 13th of July, and on the 12th of August, 1898, the formal transfer of sovereignty was made, and the flag of the United States was raised over the executive building with appropriate and impressive ceremonies" (p. 322).

What Alexander says about Hawaii's development and the causes of it is supported by other authorities.

"The acreage of sugar cane in 1909 was 186,230 and the number of farms growing sugar cane was 1,028, compared with 184 in 1899. The production of cane in 1909 was 4,240,000 tons, compared with 2,239,000 in 1899. The value of the sugar crop was \$26,306,000, compared with \$18,763,000 in 1899. The production and value of sugar since 1909 has been then as follows: 1910, 518,127 short tons; 1911, 566,821 short tons; 1912, 595,258 short tons; 1913, 543,220 short tons, and this was valued at about \$37,000,000. The yield of cane sugar per acre is the greatest in the world. About half the acreage planted to cane is irrigated. The development of the sugar industry on a large scale dates from 1875, when the reciprocity treaty, passed in that year, established practically free trade between the islands and the United States." (Int. Ency., vol. 11, p. 2.)

"Exclusive of sugar, the value of the manufactures increased from \$4,099,000 in 1899 to \$11,454,000 in 1909, or 179.4 per cent. Nearly all the sugar manufactured is exported to the United States." (Int. Ency., vol. 11, p. 4.)

2. That the group of foreign residents and investors who have, in the main, controlled affairs in the islands since many years before their annexation, consisting largely of people strongly attached to the United States, have for many decades made strenuous efforts to introduce numbers of Japanese, Chinese, and other Asiatics and aliens into the islands as laborers.

"Immigration: A bureau of immigration was formed, and in April, 1865, Dr. Hildebrand was sent on a mission to China, India, and the Malay Archipelago to make arrangements for the importation of laborers, to procure valuable plants and birds, and to collect information, especially in regard to leprosy. In July he sent 500 laborers from China under contracts with the Government, who were followed by many others" (p. 290).

"In 1884 the consent of the Japanese Government was obtained for the emigration of its subjects to these islands under certain conditions. The first company of 956 Japanese, sent under this agreement, arrived in the city of Tokio, February 9, 1885. In six years over 10,000 immigrated to these islands, of whom 1,260 returned to Japan. During 1878 and the next six years about 2,000 Polynesians, mainly from the Gilbert Islands, were introduced into this country. These laborers, as a general rule, did not give satisfaction, and nearly all of them have since been returned to their homes" (p. 304).

"After 1876 the Chinese came in great numbers until their immigration was checked in 1886" (p. 304).

"The third smallpox epidemic: In the early part of the year 1881 five so-called tramp steamers arrived from China in quick succession, bringing nearly 700 passengers apiece. Every one of these steamers was infected with smallpox, but the officers of one, the *Quinta*, succeeded in concealing the fact" (p. 305).

By the terms of the act of union, the United States guarded against the demand for the importation of the Chinese. Mr. Alexander so states (p. 323).

QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER AUTHORITIES.

The following is from the resolution of annexation:

"There shall be no further immigration of Chinese into the Hawaiian Islands, except upon such conditions as are now or may hereafter be allowed by the laws of the United States; and no Chinese, by reason of anything herein contained, shall be allowed to enter the United States from the Hawaiian Islands."

"Marriages between natives and Chinese are quite common, but the Japanese have shown an aversion to mixed marriages. * * *

"The increase of the Japanese in the decade 1900-1910 was 18,564, or 30.4 per cent." (Int. Ency., vol. 11, p. 6.)

"Of 4,320 farms in 1910, 2,138 were operated by Japanese, 753 by whites, 876 by Chinese, 463 by Hawaiians, and the remaining 90 by other Asiatics and Negroes." (Int. Ency., vol. 11, p. 2.)

3. That the Hawaiian people have perished rapidly in the presence of incoming races from America and elsewhere.

"The first census of the kingdom was taken in 1832 and gave 130,313 as the total population of the islands at that time.

"Another census was taken in 1836, which gave only 108,779 as the total. By all accounts the decrease of the native population at that period was alarming." (Alexander's History of the Hawaiian People, p. 214.)

"Decrease in population: No census of the kingdom was taken between 1836 and 1850, but it is certain that the decrease in population was rapid. * * * During the year 1848 the measles was introduced from California and spread through the group for the first time. The mortality was dreadful." (P. 200.)

"Census of 1896: On the 24th of September, 1896, an official census of the islands was taken under the superintendency of A. T. Atkinson, Esq. The result showed a total population of 109,020, of whom 39,504 were Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians by descent, and 13,733 were Hawaiian-born 'foreigners' (including 4,312 Asiatics, 6,959 Portuguese, and 2,240 other whites" (p. 321).

OTHER AUTHORITIES.

The United States census of 1910 showed the Hawaiian population to be then 26,041. The 1920 census shows it to be 23,723.

"The native population has decreased rapidly from the time of the first acquaintance of Europeans with the islands. While the cause of this decline has never been fully understood, prominent among the reasons is the introduction of foreign diseases to which natives are peculiarly susceptible. The birth rate of the islands is also small. These conditions indicate that the practical extinction of the race is only a matter of time. While the Hawaiians have been disposed to intermingle freely with other races, there is a small number of 'Part Hawaiians.'" (Int. Ency., vol. 11, p. 6.)

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned until Friday morning, July 29, at 10.30 a. m.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, July 29, 1921.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. There are some matters that might be placed in the record before hearing any witnesses. The chairman has received a telegram from Mr. V. S. McClatchy, representing the Japanese Exclusion League of California, in which he combats statements made by Col. Irish in certain telegrams that were presented to the committee recently. Without objection the telegram will be placed in the record.

(The telegram referred to is as follows:)

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., July 28, 1921.

Hon. ALBERT JOHNSON,
Chairman House Immigration Committee,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Col. John P. Irish, in telegraphed statement your committee, declares untrue my statement that Japanese control one-eighth of irrigated lands of California. Refer you to report State board of Control, June 19, 1920, pages 48, 50, and 51. Irrigated lands in State total 3,890,000 acres. Land controlled by Japanese irrigated and nonirrigated total 458,000 acres. Japanese crops demand almost exclusively irrigated lands and board says the 458,000 acres may be considered for practical purposes all irrigated. Amount named is in effect one-eighth total irrigated lands in State.

Col. Irish also claims Turlock deportation of Japanese by workers due to agitation by Japanese Exclusion League of California and others. On contrary, the league and other influences have served to prevent overt acts on the part of a justly exasperated community at the results of Japanese peaceful penetration and evasion of State law. The Turlock incident arose as result of systematic efforts of organized Japanese to drive out white labor by cutting the established wage scale and the resentment of whites at being driven out of work in their own country by alien race with lower standards of living, against which whites can not and will not compete. As pointed out by me to your committee in July last, racial conflict is certain to ensue if conditions of this kind are permitted to continue and grow worse. Your committee saw a large body of white labor, including ex-service men, displaced at Turlock last year by 1,000 Japanese, who offered to handle the crop at 26 cents per crate, while the whites were receiving 35. This year the whites commenced to harvest at 26 cents and 1,500 Japanese came in and offered to take the work at 16 cents. Last year the whites quietly submitted. This year they tried to deport the Japanese, though not one was injured, and the authorities promptly restored order, provided for return of Japanese, and arrested leaders of the deportation movement.

V. S. McCLATCHY,
Representing the Japanese Exclusion League of California.

The CHAIRMAN. I have two telegrams here from Leonard Withington, national executive committeeman from Hawaii, for the American Legion, in one of which he says:

Department of Hawaii American Legion urges your committee to report and Congress to pass legislation which shall bring about an immediate diversification of alien population of the Territory with view to military, social, and economic safety. We stand as a unit behind resolution of national convention of the American Legion on this subject, which I understand has already been read into the records of your committee in its hearings on the resolution to permit entrance of certain aliens as a measure to prevent Japanese control of Hawaii and to relieve the serious situation there regarding agricultural labor. I have just received urgent cable from department headquarters of legion in Honolulu stating that legion has taken action reiterating its position as favoring immediate steps for the diversification of alien labor and instructing me to do all possible to secure legislation that will bring about this result. Hawaii is American outpost in the Pacific. Present overwhelming Japanese population is menace to American institutions there and on the mainland.

As the agricultural production of Territory can not be maintained without alien labor the only solution we can see is carefully restricted admission for definite periods of aliens whose loyalty and law-abiding character has been proved and would stand with America if a Japanese crisis should arise. Legion in Hawaii stands squarely behind proposed legislation which will give Territory diversified alien population and by curbing threatened Japanese control tend to encourage increase in distinctively American population. We believe measure is in interest of Americanism and American control of Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. That telegram is signed "Leonard Withington, national executive committeeman from Hawaii."

Mr. RAKER. This telegram comes from Fort Worth, Tex.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

I have another telegram signed by Leonard Withington, national executive committeeman from Hawaii, date July 29, 1921, as follows:

Supplementing my wire yesterday just received from adjutant department Hawaii American Legion, Maui Post No. 8 protests against declarations made by president American Federation of Labor regarding importation of Chinese labor for Hawaii. Request you introduce this in evidence; also my wire yesterday carrying official attitude Hawaii department. Believe if labor representatives knew Hawaiian situation and characteristics various oriental races as well as those who defended Hawaii and Nation and upon whom brunt of future war Pacific would fall they would realize that step we urge is only practicable one to safeguard Americanism Hawaii immediately and is in interest safety them and their families and in no regard inimical to interest American labor.

Mr. RAKER. That telegram is also from Fort Worth, Tex.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a word or two with reference to Mr. Withington, in view of the fact that Mr. Raker has seen fit to refer to his present address in such a way as to make it apparent that he doubts the authenticity of the telegrams you have just read.

Mr. Leonard Withington, to my certain and personal knowledge, is at present and has for some time been the national executive committeeman representing the Department of Hawaii in the councils of the American Legion. Mr. Withington left the Territory of Hawaii some time before this commission did for the purpose of attending to some personal business here on the mainland and is now a resident of Fort Worth, Tex., where he has acquired an interest in the Fort Worth Record, a newspaper published in that city, and of which, I believe, Mr. Withington is now the editor.

Mr. Withington was here in Washington, also on personal business, on July 23, on which date he conferred with me with reference to the attitude of the American Legion at large and in Hawaii, with reference to the resolution before this committee. On the date in question Mr. Withington furnished me with a copy of the following week-end letter cablegram sent by him to the commander of the Department of Hawaii of the American Legion:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 23, 1921.

BUTLER,

Commander American Legion, Honolulu:

National organization of Legion backing Hawaii immigration program on basis Americanism, resolution No. 3, on pages 53 and 54, summary of proceedings Cleveland convention. So far I have received no word from Hawaiian department. Why not get busy, as move is understood here to be one against Japanese domination islands and in direction diversification alien population, as referred to in resolution, page 54. Silence Hawaiian Legion costly in view National Legion indorsement, which I understood was highly desired last fall.

WITHINGTON,
Hotel Willard.

Mr. Withington left Washington that same day, July 23, after requesting me to repeat to him by wire, at his permanent address in Fort Worth, Tex., any cablegrams that might thereafter be received for him with reference to this matter. On July 26, I received the following night-letter cablegram addressed to Mr. Withington:

HONOLULU, July 25.

WITHINGTON,

Hotel Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Expect you to support report of Americanism committee as adopted by second national convention which covered this department's instructions to its dele-

rates, especially that part which calls for a diversification of alien population with a view to military, social, and economic safety. Present this to National Legion officials and urge their support to legislation now proposed to give Hawaii this diversified alien population in the interest of Americanism and American control here. Above is department executive committee action to-day.

O'SULLIVAN.

I repeated this cablegram to Mr. Withington by telegraph on the date of its receipt by me, July 26.

On July 28, I received the following additional night-letter cablegram addressed to Mr. Withington:

HONOLULU, July 27.

WITHINGTON,

Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

Maui Post, No. 8, protests against declarations made by president American Federation of Labor regarding importation of Chinese labor for Hawaii.

O'SULLIVAN.

This cablegram I also repeated to Mr. Withington by telegraph on the date of its receipt by me, July 28.

I know both Mr. Withington and Mr. O'Sullivan personally. As I have already stated, Mr. Withington is the national executive committeeman representing the department of Hawaii of the American Legion. To my equally certain personal knowledge, Mr. O'Sullivan is the department adjutant of the American Legion in Hawaii. The fact that Mr. Withington happens for personal reasons to be in Fort Worth, Tex., no more affects his representation of American Legion organizations in Hawaii than does my being here in Washington affect the fact that I do represent the Territory of Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. I have here an interview dated July 11, given out by President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, in which he says that every contention made in support of the proposed bill is insupportable, etc. Then he says:

Time after time the true situation in Hawaii, a situation where peonage, poverty, and profiteering have been pictured in terms all but unbelievable, has been presented in Government reports and these reports have been suppressed.

I have been able to obtain some of these suppressed reports made by honest men who had the interests of their country at heart and who would not depart from the truth. Men high in our Government have participated in these suppressions. The reports were made under Government orders with the intention that the facts should be made public. There undoubtedly is a reason for suppression, but some one else may discover what that reason was. It is my purpose only to make known the truth.

As far back as April 3, 1913, Richard L. Halsey, inspector in charge of Honolulu, reporting to the Commissioner General of Immigration, doubtless knowing by experience the fate that awaited his report, closed the document with the following despairing paragraph:

"I feel a certain loneliness in setting these facts and considerations before you, and I know that I will be without local countenance; and any person in this community who criticizes the sugar interests will meet with strong opposition if he tells the truth; nevertheless, there is no reason why I should suppress it, and I trust that you will receive these remarks as set forth with deliberation and with the spirit of impartiality."

Without objection, this interview will be placed in the record.
(The matter referred to is as follows:)

INTERVIEW BY PRESIDENT GOMPERS TO THE PRESS JULY 11, 1921.

Every contention made in support of the proposed law is unsupportable; the charge that only Chinese labor can be used and that white labor can not be obtained, and the charge that the industry will not support decent wages, are

untrue, and those most active in trying to secure passage of the bill know they are untrue.

Time after time the true situation in Hawaii, a situation where peonage, poverty, and profiteering have been pictured in terms all but unbelievable, has been presented in Government reports, and these reports have been suppressed.

I have been able to obtain some of these suppressed reports made by honest men who had the interests of their country at heart and who would not depart from the truth. Men high in our Government have participated in these suppressions. The reports were made under Government orders with the intention that the facts should be made public. There undoubtedly is a reason for suppression, but some one else may discover what that reason was. It is my purpose only to make known the truth.

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In this report which he felt so sure would be suppressed, and which I regret to say was essentially suppressed, Inspector Halsey described the manner in which the most helpless and impoverished classes of Spanish, Portuguese, and Filipinos were brought to Hawaii by the sugar planters and then said: "It is certainly a fact that without them the plantations that have paid from 50 to 90 per cent on their original investment will not be able to continue to do so. Most of those which do not pay large dividends were overcapitalized at the start or else owing to the prospects of large profits went so deeply in debt, endeavoring to raise sugar in places where an apology is due to Providence for having made the attempt, that they have been unable to pay dividends."

In a report dated April 18, 1913, Daniel J. Keefe, then Commissioner General of Immigration, complained of the undesirable character of Filipinos then being imported and their unfitness to perform the manual labor required on the plantations and in the mills, and continuing, he said: "As stated in my memorandum of the 5th instant, I withdrew the portion of my report dealing with this class of people upon the assurance of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor that, after a conference with President Taft and Secretary of War Dickinson, he was in position to say that few, if any, Filipinos would thereafter be permitted to leave the Philippines for Hawaii, and that such as would be permitted to do so would be of the highest type." Mr. Keefe continued that "Notwithstanding the above-mentioned assurance, nearly 5,000 Filipinos during the last 15 months had been imported," and also declared that they were "generally undesirable."

Mr. Keefe complained to the Secretary that had his report not been suppressed "conditions would have been remedied or at least abated to a considerable extent long before this time."

In the same document and in comment on the report of Inspector Halsey, Commissioner Keefe had this to say: "It is common knowledge that many of the plantations pay very large dividends on their stock. The contention that they can not afford to pay better wages and improve working conditions so as to attract and hold a desirable and permanent laboring population I firmly believe is without foundation in fact."

Commissioner Keefe cited a description by Spanish Consul Arana as showing why the sugar planters experienced so much difficulty in dealing with plantation workers. It was shown by the consul that the workers were dealt with unfairly in the stores, which were owned by the companies, and that their treatment at the hands of foremen and overseers was brutal and intolerable. The same situation exists to-day. The planters do not want freedom. They do not want workers who will resent cheating and brutality; they want coolies, who are chained on the job, and that is why they want the present joint resolution jammed through Congress.

At the same time Inspector Halsey reported to his superiors in Washington that the planters were "making desperate efforts to keep down the wage rate of all employees." It always has been the policy of the sugar planters to seek those workers who could be most easily exploited. To-day they find that the

Chinese coolie is most easily exploited, least resentful of exploitation and brutality, and most easily kept in bondage.

Present reports made to the department and to Congress are meaningless. Investigators have thoroughly learned the lesson taught by experience that they include in their reports only a few meaningless tables on the cost of living and on wages. They make no effort to depict conditions and to analyze the great and important questions that affect employment in Hawaii.

The methods of suppression are varied. Some reports have been suppressed entirely. Others have been so edited as to be harmless. In other cases reports have been edited out of their original meaning and then published in such limited quantities as to be deprived of circulation. The quotations that I have used are from reports that were partially destroyed by editing and that were then published in strictly limited quantities so that only by great good fortune could a copy be secured. I venture to say that not a half dozen copies have ever escaped from the original files.

Let me cite one more statement contained in this suppressed report—a statement that shows clearly the meaning of the whole struggle for profits that is being waged by the sugar planters in their inordinate greed. It is this: "The difference between what is required to content the American or European and the Oriental, Porto Rican, or Filipino workman has of itself a strong tendency to set so low a standard of wages and living as to discourage the Americanization of the islands, so far as the introduction of white labor is an element of such Americanization. I do not see how it will be possible to Americanize Hawaii unless some substantial encouragement is offered to Americans and desirable Europeans.

"It does seem to me that if the planters would give their earnest cooperation to the Territorial immigration board in the effort it is putting forth to stimulate European immigration. It would no doubt go a long way toward solving the labor problem in the islands and at the same time gradually would bring the standard of wages and living more nearly into equality with that existing on the mainland. One of the chief elements of this cooperation should consist of an increase in wages both on the plantations and in the mills."

Analysis of the parliamentary procedure in reference to the joint resolution can hardly inspire one with sympathy for the measure, but rather with a feeling that some unusual methods are being employed to force it through. For instance, on June 20, 1921, Mr. Kalanianaʻole introduced House joint resolution 158, which was first referred to the Committee on Territories and then to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. This bill was based on an alleged shortage of "agricultural labor." Last Thursday it was defeated in committee and in the afternoon of the same day a similar bill, House resolution 171, covering "shortage of labor, either general or by any particular class or classes," was prepared and introduced in the House, a hurried meeting of the committee was called for its immediate consideration, and on Friday morning—the next day—it was favorably reported.

It is impossible not to resent the manner in which it was sought to jam through this joint resolution, the results of which would be to break down a principle maintained by our Government for 40 years.

The people of the Hawaiian Islands are nearly 5,000 miles from our Capital. Surely it is the duty of some of the citizens of the United States here on the ground to arouse the attention of our citizenship that a great wrong may not be inflicted upon the people of the Hawaiian Islands, and that a great principle may not be broken down. To bring Chinese coolies to Hawaii is but the forerunner to bringing Chinese coolies in hordes to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. That interview led me to write to the present Secretary of Labor, Hon. James J. Davis, making inquiry with regard to the alleged suppressed reports and asking for full copies of them. I was very much surprised to find a charge of that kind made in an interview by the president of the American Federation of Labor, and I wrote to Mr. Davis as follows:

The charge is made that certain reports of governmental officials concerning labor conditions in Hawaii in years past have not been made public and that these reports were made to the Department of Labor and are available.

Therefore, for the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, I beg to request that you supply me with copies of the originals of the report

of Richard L. Halsey, inspector in charge at Honolulu, under date of April 3, 1913;

Also the report of Daniel J. Keefe, dated April 18, 1913, concerning the character of Filipinos being imported into Hawaii;

Also copy of the memorandum of Mr. Keefe withdrawing a portion of that report after conference with the then Secretary of Commerce and Labor; and
Also any other reports in connection with the labor situation in Hawaii.

Secretary Davis wrote me as follows:

In conformity with your letter of the 28th instant, there is inclosed herewith a copy of the so-called Keefe report on industrial conditions in the Hawaiian Islands.

The letter of Richard L. Halsey, inspector in charge of the Immigration Service at Honolulu, dated April 3, 1913, a copy of which you request, will be found beginning at page 42 of the inclosed report. I have had this printed copy compared with the original in the files of this department and find it in every respect complete and correct. The letter of Daniel J. Keefe, Commissioner General, under date of April 18, 1913, will be found on pages 40 and 41 of the report. Here again I have had the published letter compared with the original in the files and find it complete and correct.

There is no memorandum in this department, so far as I can ascertain, withdrawing any portion of Mr. Keefe's report after a conference with the then Secretary of Commerce and Labor. I do find, however, in the letter of transmittal by ex-Commissioner Keefe to Hon. John E. Raker, House of Representatives, which is printed on the inside cover of the report, this statement:

"I am therefore inclosing a complete copy of the report, including that portion of it which was omitted at the request of the former Secretary of Commerce and Labor, with the understanding that if this was done the report would be published."

It seems, therefore, that, whatever grounds there may be for the statement that "certain reports on labor conditions in Hawaii in years past have not been made public," this has been remedied by the approval of the Secretary of Labor of the publication of the entire Keefe report, which was done in May, 1913, Keefe's original report having been submitted apparently in 1911.

The letter to Judge Raker is on the inside page of this document, No. 53, Sixty-third Congress, first session. I assume that the matter which the then Secretary of Commerce and Labor desired to omit from the report is a statement in regard to the class of Filipinos that were then coming into the islands. (P. 5, par. 3, H. Doc. 53, 63d Cong., 1st sess.) It is a rather fierce assault on the Filipinos when you consider that it is only one man's opinion. However, he did have the right to make that report. It was not taken out of the report, and it is printed in this document. I do not think it is necessary to put the whole document into the record, but it is available and before the committee for all who desire to see it. It was not suppressed.

I might say in this connection for the benefit of Mr. Gompers and others, who call a matter of that kind the suppression of a report, that to my certain knowledge during the entire time when Mr. Wilson was Secretary of Labor Commissioner Caminetti and others who had reports to make to the Secretary for submission to Congress invariably had to write their reports to fit the views of the Secretary, Mr. Wilson, and the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Post. There was no such thing as the exchange of memoranda as to what should be in the reports, but the reports were sent back to be written to suit the views of superior officers. I regret that any such condition of affairs ever existed in any department. I regret also that the law has not been complied with which would produce the report required by law every five years on labor conditions in Hawaii, one of which should have been forthcoming this year.

Mr. RAKER. I think that in justice to all the members of the department I should say that for about two years I tried to secure this report and other evidence in relation to it, but was unable to do so. Finally, after taking it up personally with the then Secretary of Labor and the commissioner the matter was submitted as here presented. It was then thought that it might create some international trouble, just as it has been all the time. There is always some fear that we will do something that will show the facts, when, as a matter of fact, if they would come out in the open and present the facts and present the truth, the thing could be adjusted. If that had been done, the matter would have been adjusted 10 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. The point I make is that here is an interview given out by Mr. Gompers stating that these matters have been suppressed. They were not suppressed. I am sure that the chairman of this committee, Judge Raker, and other members of the committee have made efforts to get authentic documents, and we will continue to do so. If the American Federation of Labor wants our assistance in that regard, we will endeavor to render it.

**STATEMENT OF MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, PRESIDENT AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR.**

Mr. GOMPERS. May I have an opportunity to speak for a moment to submit some facts? I will not occupy more than a moment.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. GOMPERS. I would not ask permission to say anything at this time except that as I entered the room you took cognizance of it, and said that what you were about to say was for my benefit, and the further fact that you made some reference to the suppression of documents. I do not know upon what you base your statement, and consequently, so far as I am concerned, I do not know, and have no rejoinder or explanation to make.

The CHAIRMAN. My statement was based on an interview purporting to have been given out by you in a statement following your appearance "before Chairman Johnson," as stated in the interview, in which you call attention to the Keefe and Halsey reports, stating that they were suppressed.

Mr. GOMPERS. I have to observe this, when you make reference to reports being suppressed, that the reports of Mr. Daniel J. Keefe, Commissioner of Immigration of the United States Government, or his reports made to the Secretary of Commerce and labor upon the subject of Chinese coolies, was suppressed, and if you doubt that, Mr. Daniel J. Keefe is in the city—he happens to be in the city now—and you can call him and inquire whether that is the fact or otherwise.

Mr. RAKER. I think that would be a good plan.

The CHAIRMAN. I will do that. I have received a letter from the department in response to my written request, all of which is set out here, showing that the documents were not suppressed. Further, let me say that the Department of Labor for eight years past and at present is filled with spies of various kinds so that documents can not be safely intrusted to be carried from one place to another. Further, Commissioner Caminetti's reports, including reports on

deportations and matters of that kind, could not be written honestly, but had to be written to conform to the views of his chiefs. Conditions down there were foreign to securing information that Congress should know from that department. If any word that I could say would help to straighten it out, I would be glad to assist. I object to this interview being given out with regard to suppressed reports.

Mr. GOMPERS. Suppressed reports? They were suppressed. I assert that they were suppressed.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you not come before this committee and make that assertion?

Mr. GOMPERS. You did not give me a chance.

The CHAIRMAN. You were asked to come before this committee the other day. You did not come. You could have come any day if you desired, but you did not come until this morning.

Mr. CABLE. The chairman inquired one morning whether you would be here, so he expected you.

The CHAIRMAN. Before proceeding to hear the witnesses called for this morning I want to call attention to the fact that Representatives Cable, Raker, and others have suggested that the constitutionality of some of the phrases of House joint resolution 171 might be questioned, and therefore I think that the committee at an early date should go fully into that phase of the matter.

To facilitate such an inquiry I have prepared a statement for the record. I shall appreciate any effort on the part of members to make further inquiry along the lines of the constitutionality of the whole resolution.

Mr. CABLE. I will cooperate with Judge Raker in writing a brief on the points on which there is some question.

The CHAIRMAN. I have covered the enabling act of the Territory, the thirteenth amendment, the peonage statutes and references thereto, etc., and will ask the committee to note that the resolution provides—

That such aliens shall be admitted only for limited periods of time, for the purpose of engaging only in the class or classes of labor as to which the emergency has been found to exist * * * and that the regulations shall provide for and secure the return of such laborers to their respective countries upon the expiration of the time limited without cost to the United States.

The question now arising in my mind is whether or not the engagements which the alien immigrants would probably be called upon to enter into, in pursuance of the terms of the resolution and the regulations to be promulgated under its authority, would amount to such contracts of labor or service as are forbidden by the thirteenth amendment and the peonage statutes.

It should be noted that the pending resolution contemplates certain restrictions upon the liberty of action of the alien immigrants after they shall have been admitted to the Territory of Hawaii. That is to say, they shall be at liberty to engage only "in the class or classes of labor as to which the emergency has been found to exist," and they "shall be admitted only for limited periods of time," upon the expiration of which "the regulations shall provide for and secure" their return to their respective countries.

Would it be essential or would it be found to be practicable in pursuance of these provisions of the law, if enacted, to hold the alien immigrant to a contract, express or implied, which would amount to "involuntary servitude"?

Would an alien, presenting himself for admission to the Territory of Hawaii under the terms of this resolution, thereby become a party to an implied contract obliging himself to engage only "in the class or classes of labor as to which the emergency has been found to exist"? Would he likewise impliedly contract to return to his native soil after remaining in the Territory for a "limited period"? Or would he require an express contractual assurance regarding the terms of his employment in Hawaii before presenting himself for admission? In either case would he thereby place himself in a state of personal servitude which would amount to "involuntary servitude"?

If an express contract be entered into under the terms of the pending resolution, what means would be found for enforcing it?

By the organic act (1900) providing a government for the Territory of Hawaii it was stipulated that—

No suit or proceedings shall be maintained for the specific performance of any contract heretofore or hereafter entered into for personal labor or service, nor shall any remedy exist or be enforced for breach of any such contract except in a civil suit or proceeding instituted solely to recover damages for such breach: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this section shall not modify or change the laws of the United States applicable to merchant seamen. Contracts made since August 12, 1898, by which persons are held for service for a definite term, are hereby declared null and void and terminated, and no law shall be passed to enforce said contracts in any way; and it shall be the duty of the United States marshal to at once notify such persons so held of the termination of their contracts.

The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution provides:

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted shall exist in the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Watson, on the Constitution, says:

The amendment was adopted for the purpose of abolishing slavery in every form in the United States, and in every place under their control; it did not purport to do more than this, and this was accomplished, not only in the United States proper, but among the Indians of Alaska and among those under the direct supervision of the Government. Cases cited: *In re Sah Quah*, 31 Federal Reporter, 327, 330; *United States v. Choctaw Nation et al.*, 38 Court Claims, 558, 566.

Story, on the Constitution, says, with respect to the thirteenth amendment:

Nothing by way of comment can make its provisions plainer; the boast of English lawyers and philanthropists after *Sommersett's* case that "a slave can not breathe in Britain, but the moment he sets foot upon her soil he becomes free," is equally or even more strictly true of America. It forbids not merely the slavery heretofore known to our laws, but all kinds of involuntary servitude not imposed in punishment for public offenses.

Watson, on the Constitution, quotes Attorney General Moody as stating the rule to be—

Any person held to labor or service against his will, although he may have voluntarily contracted to submit himself to such control, is in a condition of involuntary servitude, within the meaning of the Constitution.

MEANING OF INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE.

In the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (16 Wallace, 36, 69, 72), Mr. Justice Miller, speaking for a majority of the court, said on this subject:

That a personal servitude was meant is proved by the use of the word "involuntary" which can only apply to human beings. The exception of servitude as a punishment for crime gives an idea of the class of servitude that is meant. The word servitude is of larger meaning than slavery, as the latter is popularly understood in this country, and the obvious purpose was to forbid all shades and conditions of African slavery. (It was very well understood that in the form of apprenticeship for long terms, as it had been practiced in the West India Islands, on the abolition of slavery by the English Government, or by reducing the slaves to the condition of serfs attached to the plantation, the purpose of the article might have been evaded, if only the word slavery had been used. * * *

We do not say that no one else but the Negro can share in this protection. Both the language and spirit of these articles are to have their fair and just weight in any question of construction. Undoubtedly while Negro slavery alone was in the mind of the Congress which proposed the thirteenth article, it forbids any other kind of slavery, now or hereafter. If Mexican peonage or the Chinese coolie labor system shall develop slavery of the Mexican or Chinese race within our territory, this amendment may safely be trusted to make it void. And so if other rights are assailed by the States which properly and necessarily fall within the protection of these articles, that protection will apply, though the party interested may not be of African descent.

PEONAGE.

Revised Statutes of the United States:

SEC. 1990. The holding of any person to service or labor under the system known as peonage is abolished and forever prohibited in the Territory of New Mexico or in any other Territory or State of the United States, and all acts, laws, resolutions, orders, regulations, or usages of the Territory of New Mexico, or in any other Territory or State, which have heretofore established, maintained, or enforced, or by virtue of which any attempt shall hereafter be made to establish, maintain, or enforce, directly or indirectly, the voluntary or involuntary service or labor of any persons, as peons, in liquidation of any debt or obligation, or otherwise, are declared null and void.

SEC. 5526. Every person who holds, arrests, returns, or causes to be held, arrested, or returned, or in any manner aids in the arrest or return of any person to a condition of peonage, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment not less than one year nor more than five years, or both.

In the Peonage cases (123 Fed. Rep., 673) Jones, district judge, says:

What is meant by the phrase holding or returning a person to "a condition of peonage," as used in the Revised Statutes? At the time of the passage of the act of Congress (Rev. Stats., 1990 and 5526) a system of service, popularly called "peonage," existed in New Mexico, though not so termed in the laws of the Territory, which spoke of the relation as that of master and servant. It derived the institution from Mexico, which in turn inherited it from Spain. Peonage was not slavery as it formerly existed in this country. The peon was not a slave. He was a freeman, with political as well as civil rights. He entered into the relation from choice for a definite period as the result of mutual contract. The relation was not confined to any race. The child of a peon did not become a peon, and the father could not contract away the services of his minor child, except in rare cases. The peon, male or female, agreed with the master upon the nature of the service, the length of its duration, and compensation. * * * The courts of the Territory (New Mexico), after the passage of the thirteenth amendment, holding that it destroyed the right formerly existing under the Territorial laws to hold to service, released peons from compulsory service on writs of habeas corpus wherever applied to. * * * The right, privilege, or immunity of a citizen of the United States to be free from

slavery, or involuntary servitude of any kind, except upon due conviction of crime, being given or secured by the Constitution of the United States to every citizen of the United States, Congress, under the authority vested in it by the thirteenth amendment, had power not only to strike down and annul laws which supported the system of peonage in New Mexico, but by direct and primary legislation of its own to punish criminally individuals who in any part of the United States violate the rights of citizens of the United States in this regard by lawlessly subjecting them to the results and evils, "the conditions," of the forbidden system.

In *Clyatt v. United States* (197 U. S., 207, 218), in reviewing the peonage statutes, Justice Brewer said:

It is not open to doubt that Congress may enforce the thirteenth amendment by direct legislation, punishing the holding of a person in slavery or in involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime. In the exercise of that power Congress has enacted these sections denouncing peonage, and punishing one who holds another in that condition of involuntary servitude. This legislation is not limited to the Territories or other parts of the strictly national domain, but is operative in the States and wherever the sovereignty of the United States extends. We entertain no doubt of the validity of this legislation, or of its applicability to the case of any person holding another in a state of peonage, and this whether there be municipal ordinance or State law sanctioning such holding. It operates directly on every citizen of the Republic, wherever his residence may be.

A statute which punishes one who having made a written contract to work for another for a fixed time afterwards and without the consent of the other party to the contract, and without sufficient excuse abandons it and makes a similar contract with another person without telling him of the first contract, is contrary to the thirteenth amendment because it establishes a system of peonage and involuntary servitude. (Quoted from *Peonage Cases*, 123 Federal Reporter, 691.)

Mr. RAKER. The Library of Congress has been working on this subject for me for about three weeks. I had a letter from them yesterday, and they have not yet been able to get all of the data I want, particularly the treaty, or, rather, the attitude of the Chinese Government relative to the exporting of their workers to Cuba and of those that were sent here, as well as those that have been sent to the Hawaiian Islands; but I was advised that the Chinese Embassy down here was very busy, and that they will turn over the entire original matter to expert Chinese, whom the Library has employed for this purpose, to translate it. That relates to the time when Cuba was under Spain.

Mr. CABLE. That applies to this country, too.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; because the original treaty between China and the Government of Spain, when Cuba was under Spain, shows that they abandoned all peonage. In other words, they gave free circulation, or those are the words used in the treaty, but it was provided in that treaty that the Chinese who were then in Cuba should remain in a state of peonage, which would have held until we took it from Spain and rescued it from its horrible condition.

The CHAIRMAN. Further clearing up matters on the desk here, I have a letter from Rev. U. G. Murphy, of Seattle, dated July 22, 1921. Mr. Murphy has appeared before the committee a number of times. He says in his letter:

A note from Hawaii states that the rehabilitation bill has passed and that under its terms only citizens may be employed on Government work, resulting in the discharge of 5,000 Japanese or other alien workmen, much to the joy of the plantation men who are having a hard time to secure the necessary number of laborers. I did not know that this bill had passed the Senate. I found in Hawaii that there was much opposition to it by men not connected with the plantations.

That is the first information I have had as to the number.

Mr. RAKER. In that connection, I wish to state that the chairman of the Committee on Territories advised me about three days ago that as soon as that bill has been passed it will relieve at least 10,000 from the Government employ.

Mr. MEAD. What is the source of his information?

Mr. RAKER. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. I have here the report of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor, signed by W. C. Roberts, E. F. McGrady, and Edgar Wallace, from which I read as follows:

On Thursday, June 20, Mr. Kalaniana'ole, Delegate from the Territory of Hawaii, introduced House joint resolution 158, which would admit to the Territory "such aliens otherwise inadmissible" as may be deemed necessary to meet the "emergency existing in the shortage of agricultural labor." This bill was defeated July 7 in the Committee on Immigration of the House. Late the same day the Hawaiian Delegate presented House joint resolution 171. Representative Albert Johnson, chairman of the Committee on Immigration, hurriedly called a meeting of his committee, approved the bill, and it was ordered reported to the House the following day with the recommendation that it should pass.

But the new bill went much further than the defeated joint resolution. It did not confine the occupation of Chinese coolies it is proposed to bring into Hawaii to agriculture, but to add to the great wrong the new bill provides that for a period of five years from its passage whenever an "emergency" exists in the Territory of Hawaii by reason of a serious shortage of labor "either general or by any particular class or classes," Chinese coolies can be admitted to the Territory.

The joint resolution as printed provides:

"That such admission of aliens shall operate to increase the number of persons of any one alien nationality in the Territory of Hawaii so that their total numbers at any one time shall exceed 20 per centum of the total population of the Territory as determined by the last census."

To be just in our report, we are informed that there was an omission of the word "not" between "shall" and "exceed," and that it was a typographical error which it was proposed to correct. But the joint resolution does provide for 20 per cent. The census of 1920 gives the population of Hawaii as 255,912. Twenty per cent of this would be 51,182.

Then, they say that House joint resolution 158 was defeated in the Immigration Committee through the insistence of the representatives of the American Federation of Labor. I would like to state for the record, in correction of that statement, that, if I remember correctly—and our records will show the facts—House joint resolution 158 was not defeated, but House joint resolution 171 was substituted for it.

Mr. RAKER. It should be stated in that connection, and we will try to make that clear in the brief we will present, that the real objections to that resolution have never as yet been presented to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We want them.

Mr. RAKER. One of the objections is the fact that we would make of the Hawaiian Islands a place for criminals. In other words, it would be letting down the bars to every undesirable criminal class of the world to come to Hawaii and remain. I want to call the attention of the committee to this fact, that having once entered the islands they are then on American soil, and without passports they could come directly to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. A number of amendments are ready to be offered, and when we get through with the open hearings those amendments will be presented and considered; but until we have come to a conclusion, which will take some time probably upon the constitutionality of the matter, it will not be necessary to expend that labor.

Mr. G. W. Wright and Mr. W. R. Chilton are in Washington, having arrived prior to July 27, and reported to the American Federation of Labor. To-day they are before us to make a report on the Hawaiian situation. Mr. George W. Wright is the president of the Honolulu Central Labor Union, or was on June 26, and will be remembered as the man who sent the cablegram of that date to Mr. Edgar C. Wallace, at the American Federation of Labor Building. The cablegram he sent is in the record on page 381, part of the printed record of these hearings (Serial 7—Labor Problems in Hawaii.)

STATEMENT OF MR. GEORGE W. WRIGHT, HONOLULU, PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL LABOR UNION OF HONOLULU.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your occupation?

Mr. WRIGHT. I am a machinist employed at the Pearl Harbor Navy Yard.

The CHAIRMAN. You are employed with the Government?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been over there?

Mr. WRIGHT. For about three years.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go from over there, or from what part of continental United States?

Mr. WRIGHT. From California.

The CHAIRMAN. San Francisco?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; I have been in Hawaii about four years.

Mr. RAKER. Get him to qualify, Mr. Chairman. How long did you live in California before you went to Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. For about four years in California.

Mr. RAKER. From where did you go to California?

Mr. WRIGHT. I lived for about four years in California before I went to Hawaii, and previous to my residence in California I lived in Nevada for about three years.

Mr. RAKER. Where?

Mr. WRIGHT. In Tonopah, Goldfield, and Reno.

Mr. RAKER. Before going to Nevada, where were you?

Mr. WRIGHT. Before going to Nevada I was in California for about two years. Prior to that my life was spent in the east. I was born in Ohio.

Mr. CABLE. What part of Ohio.

Mr. WRIGHT. Chagrin Falls.

Mr. CABLE. In what county is that? That is my State.

Mr. WRIGHT. I think it is in Cuyahoga County, but I am not sure. We removed from that State when I was a very little child to Meadville, Pa., where I spent most of my youthful days. I went to school and college there.

Mr. CABLE. To what college.

Mr. WRIGHT. Allegheny College.

Mr. RAKER. What organizations do you represent in Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Central Labor Union of Honolulu, and I am also the president of the Machinists' Union, Lodge 1245, of Honolulu.

The CHAIRMAN. You work on the Pearl Harbor works?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Pearl Harbor.

Mr. WRIGHT. Pearl Harbor is located about five or six miles from Honolulu.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the membership of the machinists' union out there?

Mr. WRIGHT. The membership of the machinists' union at the present time is about 250 or 260.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they all American citizens?

Mr. WRIGHT. All American citizens, so far as my knowledge goes. They are not all white. There are Chinese or part Chinese and part Hawaiian and Portuguese. We have no Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any Japanese applications for membership?

Mr. WRIGHT. We have not had any since I have been in the chair.

Mr. WILSON. Are there any Californians in the union?

The CHAIRMAN. Would you take up Californians separately?

Mr. WRIGHT. As a separate and distinct race?

Mr. RAKER. There has been a telegram here—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Wait a minute before going into that. You are president of the Central Labor Union of Honolulu?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That comprises 20 or 30 locals, I believe?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think there are at present 14 organizations affiliated with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Representing a membership of about what?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know. I am not at present in a position to know the exact membership of the different organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you make a guess as to the total represented membership in the Central Labor Union?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, I would make a guess that it was in the neighborhood of 1,200.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they all American citizens in those unions?

Mr. WRIGHT. So far as my knowledge goes, they are.

The CHAIRMAN. There are no Japanese?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know of any Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to get at is this: Does any union there take in nonassimilable races in its membership?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think some of the different organizations would if they had occasion to.

The CHAIRMAN. Which ones?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not believe there is anything in the charters of some of the international organizations that absolutely forbids the taking in of aliens.

The CHAIRMAN. But the machinists' union does not do it.

Mr. WRIGHT. We have no Japanese in our union.

Mr. ALIFAS. May I interject an explanation there respecting the machinists?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. ALIFAS. The machinists' union is supposed not to take in any-one but white, sober, industrious machinists. Those are the qualifications, and the yellow race is supposed to be of a different color, and therefore they would not be eligible under our constitution, but under our obligation—

Mr. FREE. What is the fact? They must have known them at the time they took them in.

Mr. ALIFAS. The facts are that, according to our constitution, we have the right to take in anyone who is working at the machinists' trade, but the obligation that our members take prevents them from proposing for membership any other than a white, sober, and industrious machinist.

Mr. RAKER. First, the man must be white?

Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And, second, he must be sober?

Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. That is one of the qualifications?

Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And the third is that he must be industrious?

Mr. ALIFAS. Yes, sir; and those are three good qualifications, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wright, are you familiar with the Japanese Labor Federation in Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. I know there is such a federation; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that federation made application to be taken into the membership of the Central Labor Union?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not since I have been in the chair as president of the Central Labor Union. I believe that at the time of the strike there was some application; but I do not know how far it went.

The CHAIRMAN. How long had you been in the chair?

Mr. WRIGHT. Since about the 1st of April of this year.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a member of the Central Labor Union prior to that?

Mr. WRIGHT. I was chosen a delegate from the Machinists' Union about the middle of 1920, or about August, I think, of 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. Since your membership as a delegate to the Central Labor Union, has the Japanese Federation of Labor of Hawaii, or of Honolulu, or of any particular island, applied for membership or affiliation in the Central Labor Union?

Mr. WRIGHT. It has not.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the Filipino Federation of Labor made any application for membership in the Central Labor Union?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Filipino labor organization has, I believe, made application.

The CHAIRMAN. Has it been acted on?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not definitely; that is to say, it has been acted upon locally, and the application has been approved.

The CHAIRMAN. The application has been approved by whom?

Mr. WRIGHT. By the Central Labor Union of Honolulu.

The CHAIRMAN. Of which you are the president?

Mr. WRIGHT. Of which I am the president.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next step after that approval?

Mr. WRIGHT. The next step is to refer the matter to the American Federation of Labor. It has been so referred, and is in their hands at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. With your indorsement?

Mr. WRIGHT. With our indorsement.

The CHAIRMAN. And your personal indorsement as well?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not my personal indorsement; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What are your views on the matter?

Mr. WRIGHT. What do you mean by "personal indorsement"? Do you mean my personal opinion?

The CHAIRMAN. You are the president of the Central Labor Union.

Mr. WRIGHT. I am the president of the Central Labor Union, but I was not president at the time this application was made. That was just before I came into office. Mr. Tyson was then the president.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your personal opinion?

Mr. WRIGHT. So far as my personal opinion is concerned, I believe that the Filipino labor organization should be affiliated.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think about the Japanese federation?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is another question entirely. You must understand that the Filipinos are a different class of people. The Filipinos, while they are not full citizens, are what you might call semi-citizens. That is to say, they are inhabitants of a possession of the United States, and in that sense they are, I believe, to that extent under the American Flag.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you sent this telegram dated June 26 to Mr. Edgar C. Wallace, American Federation Building, Washington, D. C., reading as follows:

Hawaii's emergency commission misrepresenting conditions. Statistics our possession indicate no actual labor shortage in Territory. Unemployed and casuals in excess of plantation requirements. Men driven from plantations to intolerable conditions; mostly still available if paid living wage. Varone Philippine Commissioner, assured planters of influx of Filipinos. Cost of living here still near peak. No labor organization has indorsed plan; central labor and affiliated unions all vigorously protest scheme direct blow Americanism program. Condition sugar industry due previous overproduction, low prices excessive capitalization, plantation strike and gross mismanagement. Labor charges planters intentionally limiting production, planning artificial unemployment in campaign lower wages. Employers exerting economic pressure on men to force indorsement planters program. Charge of Japanese conspiracy control industry ridiculous falsehood. Japanese here striving for American ideals and standards. Strike purely economic. No nationalistic issues involved. Additional information by mail. Furnish copies this message Curry Nolan, Davis, Baker, and all internationals. If desired, organized labor committee assist in fight. Wire instructions.

Did you send that?

Mr. WRIGHT. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you still stand by it?

Mr. WRIGHT. With the exception of certain points that I have mentioned in a message to Mr. Wallace, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you that subsequent telegram, Mr. Wallace?

Mr. WALLACE. I haven't it with me.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you now ready to present it to the committee?

Mr. WALLACE. He did send a subsequent telegram which, in effect, does modify it to a certain degree.

The CHAIRMAN. But Mr. Wallace said to me the telegram was falsely sent; that if it was not falsely sent, that Mr. Wright had been coerced into changing his view and sending it, and he thought it better not to send it to the committee. We are now without the second telegram, so we are depending on you to make your statement correcting it.

Mr. RAKER. I would suggest, Mr. Wallace, that the best thing for you to do would be to get the telegram and make the presentation.

Mr. GOMPERS. Would it not be well to permit Mr. Wright to tell his story?

Mr. RAKER. He is going to do that. That is what the chairman is figuring on.

The CHAIRMAN. We are developing this question. Here is a telegram that is short, with straight, clear-cut sentences. You are a newspaper man, are you not?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir. I have done a little bit of newspaper work since the 1st of April, but I am not a newspaper man by profession.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will, just go ahead and give us your views. The committee has taken that and placed it in the hearings and has held extensive hearings on that, but were unable to obtain from Mr. Wallace a copy, although they asked for it prior to the last hearing.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Chairman, in order to be perfectly straight, I would suggest that Mr. Wallace send down and get that telegram.

Mr. WRIGHT. I have a copy of it here.

The CHAIRMAN. It would simplify things very much, if he has a copy, to let us have it.

Mr. RAKER. Let the second telegram go in and then he can explain it.

Mr. WRIGHT. I will read the message that was sent on July 4, as I have confirmed it in a letter to Mr. Wallace.

Mr. RAKER. Well, now, that is the one following the one the chairman just read, is it?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And that is the one the chairman refers to?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; this is the second one following.

Mr. RAKER. That is the second telegram the chairman refers to as having been sent to Mr. Wallace from Hawaii to Washington?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes. It is as follows:

Letter held up pending conference between planters and union committee. Temporary labor shortage exists on plantations. Charge of intolerable conditions and deliberate curtailment of present production not sustained by subsequent investigation. Former message conveyed sentiment of Central Labor Union and stands as corrected.

The CHAIRMAN. Has it got your signature?

Mr. WRIGHT. Signature "Wright."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wallace, is that the one you thought was fraudulently sent, or if it was not fraudulently sent that Mr. Wright had been coerced and intimidated?

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Chairman, when I received that message and further received the information that the chairman of the committee not only had knowledge of the message being sent but was actually aware of the contents—

The CHAIRMAN. Which I was not.

Mr. WALLACE. I formed the opinion that either the message was sent without Mr. Wright's knowledge or that Mr. Wright had been coerced.

Mr. WRIGHT. Which I state was a very natural inference, in my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent the telegram?

Mr. WRIGHT. I sent the telegram.

The CHAIRMAN. You made the modifications?

Mr. WRIGHT. I made the modifications.

The CHAIRMAN. As a result of your observations?

Mr. WRIGHT. As a result of my observation; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you coerced?

Mr. WRIGHT. I was not coerced.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you misinformed in the first place?

Mr. WRIGHT. Let me clarify the situation in regard to this original telegram. You people probably think that telegram is an expression of my individual opinion. Please understand that it was a telegram instructed to be sent by the central labor union and comprises the sentiment of the delegates as expressed in the meeting of the labor conference.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they arrive at those sentiments by way of resolutions?

Mr. WRIGHT. They arrived at those sentiments by a discussion and followed that by a resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. And you undertook to sense in this telegram both the resolution and the discussion. Did you follow the resolution?

Mr. WRIGHT. I followed the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the resolution?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have not.

Mr. RAKER. Was this telegram read to the council before you sent it?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was not read before it was sent.

Mr. CABLE. Which one do you mean, Judge?

Mr. RAKER. The first one.

Mr. FREE. Was the second telegram authorized by the labor conference?

Mr. WRIGHT. The second telegram was my telegram to Mr. Wallace. I believe I could outline the developments that led up to the sending of this first telegram and the sending of the second corrective telegram.

Mr. RAKER. Refer to them as "first" and "second," and then we will not get them confused.

Mr. WRIGHT. I presume you gentlemen are aware of the developments that led up to the situation as you have been informed at this end. But I would like to present the events as they occurred in Honolulu, because I believe that certain points will be developed which are not matters of knowledge to you.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go any further I want to say to you that we are going to take a lot of time, with what you are about to present and we will, somewhere along further in the hearings, want the best views you have as to the labor situation over there, the racial situation—the relations of the plantations, and the future conditions of the islands unless some changes are had. In other words, you are fresh from the ground, and we have all the time necessary, so take your time.

Mr. WRIGHT. I am glad to know that you have plenty of time, and I do not like to feel that I am imposing upon you.

The CHAIRMAN. The weather is very hot and the legislative program is such that there is no need for hurry, and the members of this committee are of a class that do not want to run home.

Mr. WRIGHT. About the middle of April of this year Mr. E. Faxon Bishop, president of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, approached Mr. McCarty, Governor of the Territory, and explained to him the desire of the sugar planters to secure Chinese coolie labor to work on the plantations.

Mr. CABLE. I do not want to interrupt you, but what I do want you to state is to indicate clearly what parts of your statement are matters of personal knowledge and what are not, and to state how you obtained the information which is not a part of your personal knowledge.

Mr. WRIGHT. I will state this statement was made by Mr. Bishop himself to a commission of which I was a member as an explanation of how this originated.

Mr. CABLE. Will you follow out that statement as to what you know personally, and what you do not know personally, state how you got your information.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; I will attempt to do that.

Mr. Bishop said that he realized the difficulties that would arise if this request were made direct by the planters themselves, as he admitted to us, so he made use of the executive of the Territorial government in an attempt to secure legislation that would make the importation of Chinese coolies into Hawaii possible. I would say probably as a result of Mr. Bishop's representations Gov. McCarthy sent a special message—

Mr. FREE (interposing). Pardon me. I do not know who Mr. Bishop is.

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Bishop is president of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. Gov. McCarthy sent a special message to the Territorial legislature then in session urging the passage of a joint resolution petitioning Congress to enact legislation allowing the importation of aliens, including orientals, for agricultural and domestic work.

Mr. RAKER. Is it your intent to convey to this committee that the president of the Hawaiian Sugar Association went to the governor to get this matter started?

Mr. WRIGHT. Absolutely. That is the explanation that Mr. Bishop himself gave us in a conference at which I was present.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, instead of taking it up themselves personally, they started through the governor to make it an official act?

Mr. WRIGHT. To make it official, because, as Mr. Bishop said, he realized that it would be objectionable, there would be objections to it if it was started by the sugar planters themselves on their own initiative.

A bill was at once proposed, by a man of the name of Lyman, I believe, which definitely specified either 25,000 or 30,000 Chinese. The bill was at once withdrawn when it was found that the papers had featured the fact that a definite number of coolies were desired, placing the number at 25,000 or 30,000, for it was realized that such a bald proposal would arouse a storm of opposition.

Now, I will state in explanation of that, that that is the explanation that Mr. Bishop and Mr. Butler, of the Sugar Planters' Association, gave to us as to the origin of this popular opinion regarding the number of Chinese that was required.

Mr. FREE. This bill was introduced in the legislature of Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes. Whether it was acted upon or not I am not in position to say, but it was proposed and it was placed on the press table and the daily papers in Honolulu came out featuring the fact.

Mr. FREE. Was that a request to the United States Congress to do this, or what was the nature of the bill that was introduced into the legislature?

Mr. WRIGHT. My recollection is that it was something in the nature of the bill that was finally passed.

Mr. FREE. Passed in Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; passed in Hawaii by the legislature. It also, if I remember, made use of the humanitarian sentiments in regard to the starving Chinese coolies; introducing that element as bearing on the situation; you understand?

Mr. FREE. Have you a copy of the bill?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have no copy of it; no. I was unable to get a copy of it.

Mr. IRWIN. I understood you to say that bill was introduced by the gentleman subsequent to a conference with the governor?

Mr. WRIGHT. I suppose that it was subsequent.

Mr. IRWIN. Is it not a fact that that bill by Mr. Lyman was pending in conference some two or three weeks before the question of labor shortage came up?

Mr. WRIGHT. The point you raise I do not know, because I do not know the date of the conference of Mr. Bishop with Mr. McCarthy.

Mr. IRWIN. You are referring to the conference Mr. Bishop had with the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the governor?

Mr. WRIGHT. He gave us no dates as to when that occurred. If anyone here is in possession of that data, I would like to know.

Mr. IRWIN. I will say for your information that that consultation was held the day before the special message was sent. It wasn't a consultation between Mr. Bishop and the governor. It was a consultation between Mr. Bishop and the leading business men and the heads of the Government departments in Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this resolution Mr. Wright speaks about, introduced by Mr. Lyman to admit 30,000 Chinese into Hawaii, pending before this conference was had?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes; some week or 10 days.

Mr. RAKER. There was a resolution to ask the Congress of the United States to permit the entrance of 30,000 Chinese?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Then there was a conference between the governor and the president of the senate, and a resolution was presented to the legislature?

Mr. IRWIN. No. It went down with the governor's message.

Mr. TAYLOR. What was the explanation of the resolution?

Mr. IRWIN. It was entirely an act of Mr. Lyman, so far as I know.

Mr. CABLE. Can you tell us who this Mr. Lyman is? What is his business? Is he interested in sugar plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know.

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Lyman is a lawyer. He is a member of the legislature. He is from Hilo.

Mr. CABLE. Does this Mr. Lyman represent Mr. Bishop?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know. I do not say that any one represented Mr. Bishop. They are supposed to represent the people of the Territory.

Mr. CABLE. I mean outside of the legislature. Do you know whether he is the attorney of record, or anything like that? Are they in the same city or the same island?

Mr. WRIGHT. They are not in the same city and not on the same island. The island of Hawaii is separated from Oahu where Honolulu is situated.

Mr. RAKER. As I understand you, Mr. Hindle introduced a resolution to permit 30,000 Chinese to come to Hawaii, and this Mr. Lyman's resolution was carrying out that same idea.

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, the change of the resolution was one asked directly for Chinese, and the other one after this consultation with the governor resolved into a message by the governor and a resolution by the Hawaiian Legislature that has been presented to this committee asking that the immigration laws be changed so that Hawaii might receive labor.

Mr. WRIGHT. That has been the result.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say the redrafting of the Hindle resolution was done in conformity with a letter by W. B. Wilson, then Secretary of Labor, dated February 26, 1918 (?), following one of the Hindle bills or resolutions introduced by request of the Delegate, which called for 30,000 Chinese.

Mr. WRIGHT. That is one of the resolutions introduced in the Congress at Washington?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. That is the last one, I believe, we fussed with.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; and it may be said that the committee was unanimously adverse to it.

Mr. WRIGHT. That resolution which you are all familiar with was introduced and it was pushed through hurriedly without a hearing. I will state in explanation of that, it has been customary always in our legislature to give public hearings on all matters that are considered of general importance. We had just come through a rather serious fight, as we considered it, against a press control bill, which we believed was a menace to our interests, and we had public hearings giving us every consideration—

Mr. CABLE (interposing). That was before a committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. That was just before this coolie resolution came up, but the coolie resolution was handled differently. It was pushed by, and, as I say, it was pushed through without opportunity for public hearings. The legislative committee of the central labor bodies, of which I was chairman at the time—I was also president of the council—

Mr. CABLE (interposing). Mr. Wright, how long was it between the time the resolution was introduced until it was reported out by the committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think (Mr. Irwin can correct me if I am wrong) it was less than a week.

Mr. CABLE. How long between the time it was introduced before it was passed by both houses and signed by the governor?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was all within a week, I think.

Mr. IRWIN. I think that is true. It was all near the end of the session, I think, and the bill was introduced the last week of the session, and had to go through then or not at all.

The legislative committee of the central labor body, of which I was chairman, prepared a memorial protesting against the passage of the resolution, but the member of the house who was to have presented it was denied the floor on a parliamentary point of order—a motion for the previous question, I believe—and we were unable to get our protest into the record. This protest I would like to submit for a matter of record to the committee.

Mr. RAKER. Read it. That is the one the labor council presented to the legislative committee, and they could not even get it in the record or get a hearing on it.

Mr. WRIGHT. I will read it:

EXHIBIT A.

TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Referring to the concurrent resolution authorizing the appointment of a so-called labor commission to go to Washington to urge the necessity of importing Chinese coolie labor into the Territory, we beg to present the protest of organized labor in opposition to any such scheme.

Our opposition is based upon the following considerations:

We maintain that there is not at present any serious shortage in the available supply of labor in the Territory, and that the representations of the sugar planters to that effect are false and misleading, being based upon data that does not cover the ground, and that the efforts put forth in behalf of the scheme are for the sinister purpose of creating an oversupply of labor with the end in view of introducing a cheaper substitute for the present labor element and thus inevitably lowering the present standards of living not only among the Japanese and Filipinos but among those of the white race and of American nationality.

The whole wage system of any community is based upon the lowest wage paid to unskilled labor, and a material reduction of the standards of those at the lowest subsistence level must affect the entire structure of our social and economic life. We can not endure to have a virtual system of peonage with all its attendant evils introduced into an already complicated situation.

The present shortage in the sugar crop is not due to the lack of labor, but is a direct result of the strike of last year, which affected the growing crop and reduced the production for the present year.

We call your attention to the fact that under the organic act it is required that an industrial survey of the Territory be held every five years, and we are advised that 1921 is the year in which this survey falls due. Any such action as the legislature contemplates in this matter should be deferred until after the report of a competent and impartial commission, such as would be appointed under the Federal Department of Labor. If such report shows an actual shortage of labor which is now claimed, then it will be time to think of devising some adequate and satisfactory remedy.

To send this commission of labor, so-called, to Washington at this time is the last act of the present session of the legislature would smell too strongly of "undue influence" and would bring into the present rather strained situation another element of suspicion and distrust. We state frankly that organized labor will resist to the last any such effort aimed at creating artificial unemployment in the Territory by flooding the plantations with a horde of coolies, and the matter will be taken up through all our national and international affiliated organizations and an effort made to prevent the consummation of this evil design.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL.
By GEO. W. WRIGHT, *Chairman*.

Mr. CABLE. Were you there at this meeting?

Mr. WRIGHT. At what meeting?

Mr. CABLE. At the meeting that passed this resolution.

Mr. WRIGHT. Understand this was a resolution prepared by the legislative committee which has the watching of the laws, just as legislative committees of organizations here at Washington keep watch of laws passed by Congress, and I happened to be chairman of that committee.

Mr. CABLE. How many were on the committee, Mr. Wright?

Mr. WRIGHT. There were three on the committee.

Mr. CABLE. Two besides yourself?

Mr. WRIGHT. Two besides myself.

Mr. CABLE. And you drew that up and wanted to get it in the record and were not able to do so?

Mr. WRIGHT. I handed it to Representative Uluihi.

Mr. CABLE. Had you prior to that time had any meeting of the Council to authorize you—

Mr. WRIGHT. We had no time. This matter was being pushed through, so that when it came to our attention there was no time to call a special meeting for the special purpose of considering it. I will state that it had been discussed in the meeting of my own organization, the machinists, which happened to have met just about this time, but the meetings of the labor council of the Central Labor Unions are two weeks apart, and during the period between meetings various committees are empowered and authorized to handle such emergency work as comes up.

Mr. CABLE. Who were the other two men and whom did they represent? Can you put that into the record, too?

Mr. WRIGHT. C. L. Wilson, of the Painters' Union, and Estelle Baker, of the Teachers' Union.

Mr. FREE. Are the school-teachers organized into a union in Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; the school-teachers have a little organization.

Mr. FREE. Do all of the teachers belong, or just some of them?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; not all the teachers.

Mr. IRWIN. Very few of the teachers, as a matter of fact, belong to that union—that is, of the public-school teachers. I do not know the number at all.

Mr. CABLE. Is this man a teacher himself?

Mr. WRIGHT. It is a woman.

Mr. CABLE. Oh, pardon me. Is she a teacher?

Mr. WRIGHT. She is a teacher, but she is a teacher mostly in kindergarten and Y. M. C. A. and private tutelages.

Mr. IRWIN. She is not employed in the public schools at the present time?

Mr. WRIGHT. She is not employed in the public schools at the present time.

Mr. IRWIN. How long before the legislature adjourned was this resolution attempted to be presented to the legislature—I mean approximately?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think it was about five or six days before the legislature adjourned.

Mr. RAKER. Do you intend to convey to the committee that this resolution which followed the conference of the governor and the residing officer of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, that

you people were not given an opportunity to present any of these facts to the committee at all?

Mr. WRIGHT. We were not.

Mr. RAKER. You were not entitled to be heard?

Mr. WRIGHT. We figured we were entitled to be heard.

Mr. RAKER. I mean you were not heard.

Mr. WRIGHT. We were not heard.

Mr. RAKER. You were not given an opportunity and they would not even let you put it in the record? Is that it?

Mr. WRIGHT. I will explain: The thing was out of the hands of the committee practically before we had this prepared and an attempt was made to introduce it on the floor but Mr. Uluihi, who was to present it, was unable to get the floor—was denied the floor, as he states to me, on motion of a previous question, and the report of the committee was adopted without him having an opportunity to file that protest.

Mr. RAKER. State whether or not it was clearly presented to that legislature that this method would be virtual system of peonage if it was carried out?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was not. It was not presented to my knowledge. If any one here has a record of the proceedings of the House and Senate—if that is on file in Washington, that point could be looked up. I was unable to get a copy of those before I came away because they had not been completed.

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Wright, was this resolution published in the newspapers?

Mr. WRIGHT. This resolution was published in our own paper.

Mr. CABLE. What do you mean by your own paper?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is a little weekly paper that the labor organizations get out.

Mr. CABLE. Was that published before they voted on the question?

Mr. WRIGHT. I would not be positive as to that; no.

Mr. CABLE. Did you serve a copy on every member in the legislature?

Mr. WRIGHT. No. The thing was finished right there.

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Wright, the legislation went through both houses of the legislature in regular order—had to go through in regular order, did it not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. IRWIN. It was referred to a committee in the senate and in the house?

Mr. WRIGHT. This was introduced in the senate.

Mr. IRWIN. I say, it had to go through the senate and had to go through the house, and had to go before a committee of each body and you had an opportunity to appear before each one of those committees, did you not?

Mr. WRIGHT. No.

Mr. IRWIN. Why not?

Mr. WRIGHT. We had no opportunity, because we had no notice.

Mr. IRWIN. The matter was published in the daily papers then was it not, right along?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not believe it was two days after it was published in the paper before that matter was—

Mr. IRWIN (interposing). Don't you know that that is impossible under the law? Do you not know that it is impossible for a bill to go through both houses in less than five days?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not say less than five days that it went through. I say after it came to our attention.

Mr. IRWIN. Do you not know that the conference that was held in the governor's office was given publicity that very day?

Mr. WRIGHT. That conference and the governor's message were given publicity; yes.

Mr. IRWIN. On the very day the conference was held and the daily newspapers published every step of that proceeding day after day, did they not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. IRWIN. So that if you were reading the newspapers, you and everybody else knew what was going on, and you had your opportunity to appear before those committees if you had wanted to do so, did you not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, it may be possible that we were in a sense in error in not taking the matter up with those committees at once, but I will state that we never anticipated that the matter would be rushed through so quick, and when the thing finally came to a show-down we had our protest ready, and then we were unable to get it on the floor.

Mr. IRWIN. Do you know whether the man who was to present the protest voted against the bill or not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; he voted against it.

Mr. IRWIN. Are you sure of that? You say that advisedly that he voted against it?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have not seen the official records as printed in the House Journal, but I know the man, and I am personally positive that he voted against it.

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Wright, Mr. Weeber has given me these facts. I want to ask you if you think they are correct according to your record: That the governor sent the message to the legislature on the 20th of April, 1921, and this bill accompanied the message—that was on the 13th—and they went to the Senate first, and it was passed by the Senate and then went to the House and was passed by the House on the 26th of April, and was signed by the governor on the 29th of April?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is a matter of record?

Mr. CABLE. No; that is what Mr. Weeber here has just given me—these dates, and I want to know if you can confirm them or not?

Mr. WRIGHT. I can not confirm them from any records, but if he has the records, they are probably correct. But I do not dispute that.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the statement; that the governor sent a message to the legislature accompanied by the form of bills?

Mr. CABLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What date?

Mr. CABLE. Twentieth of April of this year.

Mr. Wright, when did you and your committee begin to take action against this proposed legislation? Can you give us the date of that?

Mr. WRIGHT. I can not give you the date; no, sir.

Mr. CABLE. In other words, I want to find out whether it had passed the Senate before you asked for a hearing, or if it had passed the House, or after it had gone before you asked to be heard on it?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I can not answer that definitely; no, sir.

Mr. CABLE. Can you give us an idea? In other words, did you apply to the Senate committee to be heard on the bill before it was passed?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; we did not.

Mr. CABLE. Did you apply to the House committee to be heard on the bill before it was out of the committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. We did not apply personally. We turned the matter over to this representative, Uluihi, of whom I speak.

Mr. CABLE. Where did you begin on your personal actions? Was it out of the committee or in the House?

Mr. WRIGHT. My own personal actions were taken just about the time that it came out of the House committee.

Mr. CABLE. You know this committee wants to find out whether these two committees refused you the right to be heard on it.

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I do not want to carry that impression at all. We were not refused a hearing. As I stated at first, we were so busily engaged on this press bill matter that we perhaps were culpable, as I stated a moment ago, in not taking more active and vigorous measures to get our position before the committee, but we had no idea so important legislation would go through so quickly.

Mr. CABLE. Can you tell me the date that the legislature adjourned?

Mr. WRIGHT. You can get it from those figures there.

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Weeber says that it adjourned on the 28th of April.

Mr. RAKER. Did the governor sign it after it adjourned?

Mr. WEEBER. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. While you were out, Mr. Chairman, the witness read this for the record, and may it be presented to the record? It is a statement of resolutions addressed to the Hawaiian Legislature.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it remain in.

Mr. WRIGHT. I call attention to the fact that from the very first we insisted upon the need of a Federal survey to determine actual conditions. We took the matter up with the Department of Labor and were informed by Mr. Davis that there was no appropriation available for carrying out the intention of the organic act.

The Hawaiian Legislature, above referred to, created what was known as an emergency labor commission, consisting of three members appointed by the governor, and these men were appointed to come to Washington for the purpose of urging upon Congress the necessity of importing Chinese coolies into the Territory for work on the plantations. I will state that was the way it was presented.

Mr. RAKER. I asked that question of one witness here, if this resolution was not intended to import Chinese it was covered up in a maze of words and was criticized very severely by the committee for intimating such a thing. Now, why do you say all the time this was a resolution for the purpose of bringing over Chinese?

Mr. WRIGHT. I say it because we had been warned last fall that the attempt was to be made.

Mr. RAKER. How were you warned? Who warned you?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is something I do not know, but Mr. Tyson, our business representative had some kind of "tip" to that effect, and I believe communicated with the American Federation of Labor. Has there been a letter on file from Mr. Tyson?

The CHAIRMAN. If I remember correctly in the hearings that have been held to date, Tyson's letter is used in the form of a letter to the labor paper.

Mr. WRIGHT. I know Mr. Tyson never wrote any communication to the labor paper in Hawaii.

Mr. WALLACE. Do you refer to the communication to the American Federationist? There also appeared one article in the American Advertiser, and I think it failed to find publication.

Mr. RAKER. This resolution does not say a word about the Chinese. Where do you get the Chinese part of it?

Mr. FREE. In justice to the witness, I suggest he would do better to get in his statement in chronological order. He is getting in about 2 words of his statement and 40 lines of cross-examination.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, he will proceed.

Mr. WRIGHT. Now, these men who were appointed had very little personal knowledge of the situation, with the exception of Mr. Horner, who was a sugar expert. I will state that that is the statement they made to us before their departure for Washington, that personally they realized their responsibility and depended for their information on outside sources which would be supplied to them.

Just prior to their departure for Washington they requested a conference with representatives of labor. This meeting was arranged for Saturday evening, April 30, 1921, and a general summary of what took place was presented in the Labor Review of May 10, and which I can submit as a matter of record if you wish it.

Mr. RAKER. Read it. That is what we want.

Mr. WRIGHT. It is an outline of the discussion that took place between delegates of the central labor council, who were asked to meet with the emergency commissioners before their departure for Washington. I will state that this was not printed until May 10. It was withheld from publication because we felt that the commissioners would consider it confidential, and we did not want to be the first ones to make a public statement, but garbled accounts were printed in the Honolulu Advertiser immediately after the gentlemen's departure for Washington—I believe it was on Monday morning—and as a result of that we printed what we considered an absolutely impartial and correct statement of what took place at that conference.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you printed the Honolulu Central Labor Union's viewpoint of the conference—their opinion?

Mr. WRIGHT. We printed the actual facts as—

The CHAIRMAN. The actual facts, if they were in dispute. You presented your side, and we have no objection at all to it being placed in the record; it is understood it is your presentation.

Mr. WRIGHT. That would be your natural inference that it was our point of view.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wright, who wrote this report?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was written mostly by me.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly. Go ahead and read it. The other side will have an opportunity to present their views. The other side comes here as a commission, and although their personal integrity has been assailed, and their present relations, I think we might all concede right now that the main industry of the Hawaiian Islands is sugar. It is the basic industry, and we will assume a commission sent here by the legislature will undertake to present the facts as near as it can. Now, here comes a delegation from a labor council, and they have their views, which they think is as near the actual facts as can be stated.

Mr. RAKER. It ought to be said in justification of the labor council and labor men that they were not given an opportunity to be heard on this resolution that was passed through the Legislature of Hawaii in the interests of the sugar people.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think that the record taken here this morning assails that.

Mr. RAKER. It intimates it.

Mr. WRIGHT. I will read the article:

EXHIBIT B.

INSIDE STORY OF LABOR CONFERENCE.

DELEGATES FROM CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL ASKED TO MEET WITH EMERGENCY COMMISSIONERS BEFORE DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON.

Owing to the misleading impression given by the articles and editorials appearing in certain of the daily papers regarding the attitude of organized labor toward the scheme proposed by the governor and legislature for importing orientals into the Territory to relieve a supposed "labor shortage," it has been decided to make public through the medium of the Labor Review the actual facts in connection with the conference between the emergency labor commission and the committee of seven from the Central Labor Council held at the Commercial Club on Saturday evening, April 30, 1921.

DILLINGHAM SEEKS INTERVIEW.

On Saturday afternoon between 12 and 1 o'clock Mr. Dillingham called up the president of the Central Labor Council and requested a personal interview. It was suggested that if the intention was to discuss the proposed action of the commissioners more satisfactory results could be secured by meeting with a representative committee from the council. This was agreed to and arrangements made for a conference at 7.30 p. m. at the rooms of the Commercial Club, on Bethel Street.

During the afternoon an emergency committee was called together by the president of the council, consisting of Messrs. Wright, Pascoe, Atkins, Muller, McVeigh, Figuerelo, and Mrs. Estelle Baker. This committee met with the commissioners appointed by the governor, Messrs. Dillingham, Chillingworth, and Horner, and entered into a discussion of the labor situation.

HARMONY PREVAILS.

The general tone of the conference has been misrepresented in the daily press of the city in such a way as to lead the public to believe that the representatives of organized labor were in accord with the scheme which the commission is trying to put across. Such was not the case. The committee was unanimous in condemning it, and although the discussion was courteous and conservative in tone and lasted from 7.30 to 11 p. m. absolutely no points of agreement were reached, except the generally understood desire to promote the best interests of the Territory. The views of the commission and of the committee from the council were widely divergent as to the actual situation itself, the causes that underly the present conditions, and the remedies proposed. There

was agreement as to the desirability of maintaining industrial prosperity and American standards of living, but here again it was evident that there existed a difference of opinion as to what these terms really mean and as to the best methods of bringing them about.

LACK OF DATA ADMITTED.

The commission admitted their lack of data, except that furnished to Mr. Horner by the plantations, and this was brushed aside by the labor representatives as prejudiced in favor of the sugar planters. The many sins of the planters in the past were cited as affording just grounds for the distrust and suspicion with which the sugar interests were regarded by organized labor in the Territory, and the good faith of the instigators of the present movement to import laborers was seriously questioned.

The only statistical facts accepted by the committee were those offered by Mr. Horner showing a sugar shortage of from 20 per cent to 40 per cent on the various plantations as compared with the output of previous years. Even the members of the emergency commission disagreed among themselves as to the actual cause of this shortage, Mr. Horner affirming that it was due primarily to an actual shortage of laborers, while the other members of the commission were of the opinion that it was largely due to a lowered efficiency on the part of the Japanese laborers. Mr. Dillingham and Mr. Chillingworth were obliged to admit their lack of personal knowledge on this matter.

APPEAL TO RACE PREJUDICE.

At this point considerable time was wasted trying to develop a nationalistic and racial sentiment to cloud the issue, but the committee from the council insisted that inasmuch as the subject had been presented as an economic one it must be discussed in that light. However, if the issue of "Americanization" were to be injected into the conference, the committee declared that the maintenance of the American standards, politically, socially, and industrially, precluded the possibility of importing starving coolies to work under a virtual system of peonage. To do this, it was asserted, would be to still further "orientalize" the industry, for the Japanese and Filipinos who are at present employed in this kind of work are at least partly Americanized, a statement which was not denied.

Mr. Dillingham disclaimed any desire to bring in Chinese laborers, but stated that he could see no other alternative. Mr. Chillingworth denied that the governor's message and the concurrent resolution contemplated such a step, and stated that the representations to that effect in the papers and the general impression prevailing in the community was due to a misunderstanding.

WHO SPILLED THE BEANS?

This statement created some amusement among the members of the committee, and it was brought out that the report originated in the action of some over-zealous senator in introducing a resolution which definitely specified 25,000 Chinese laborers. The imprudent one was promptly subdued, according to report, and the resolution discarded for the one which called for an indefinite number of agricultural laborers, but the cat was out of the bag and the beans spilled, so to speak, and the real intention of the scheme became manifest to the public.

WHY NOT WHITE LABOR?

The commission was asked why, if it laid so much stress upon the Americanization of the industry, it did not recommend the employment of some of the surplus labor from the States, where it is generally understood that in the neighborhood of 5,000,000 men are at present unemployed. The general superiority and efficiency of white labor was admitted, but the commission claimed that since the price of raw sugar is fixed by Cuba, it would be impossible to pay a wage that a white man could live on. One of the delegates from the labor council pointed out to the commission the unnecessarily high cost of living in Hawaii and argued that if local profiteering were eliminated and some of the excess profits sacrificed, the plantations could easily afford to pay a wage that would conform to the American standards. Such a course would relieve the situation locally, it was pointed out, as well as afford relief to a number of our own

unemployed and add a desirable element to the population. It would take time and involve some sacrifices from the industry, but it would be an intelligent attempt to solve the problem and would be justified from the point of view of permanent economic progress.

The point raised by the commission that such a supply would not be permanent and would last only until the new laborers could work up to better positions, and thus leave the fields again short, was answered by the committee, which called attention to the fact that the same thing had happened with the Japanese, Filipinos, Chinese, and Portuguese formerly imported for such work, and would necessarily be true of any class of labor brought under American conditions of employment. The renewal of the supply of common laborers was said by one of the delegates to be the fundamental problem of modern economics, and one that could not be solved offhand by turning back the clock to the days of chattel slavery. If a horde of Chinese coolies are imported now it will only be a temporary relief, and the effects will be disastrous in the long run, for unless they are held in bondage they will work themselves up exactly as the others have done and eventually crowd out those at the top by the constant upward pressure of the forces which they represent.

SLAVERY OR PEONAGE?

Mr. Dillingham claimed that the planters would give a guarantee that imported laborers would be used only in the lower grade of agricultural work, but he was sharply taken up on this point with the statement that the planters were not able to give any kind of a guarantee which could be accepted by labor or enforced after it was given. The legality of such contract was questioned and the whole proceeding characterized as an attempt to introduce virtual slavery into Hawaii. The technical point was raised as to whether it could be called slavery or peonage, but it was clearly shown that it would be in absolute violation of the present immigration laws. This fact Mr. Chillingworth admitted.

SENATE ACTION SCORED.

The discussion worked around in a circle to points previously touched upon, and when asked why the action of the legislature in the present emergency was regarded with so much suspicion by the representatives of labor, the answer was made by the committee that the supposition of ulterior motives was amply justified by the manner in which the scheme was railroaded through, and this view was supported by the previous attitude of the senate in regard to all the labor legislation that had been proposed. Caustic comment was freely made by members of the committee on the action of the senate in killing every constructive measure which had the backing of the Central Labor Council. The workmen's compensation law and the measure to require pure drinking water were cited as examples of senate action which was regarded by the workers as directly opposed to the best interests of the Territory, and the question was asked in effect, "How can you expect us to regard your actions in any other light when your conduct has been unfriendly and antagonistic from the start? You ask for our cooperation and talk about working together for the good of the Territory; you will have to show us first that you are sincere in your protestations and do a little cooperating yourselves. So far, your actions have spoken louder than words, and they have condemned you!"

WOULD CREATE ARTIFICIAL UNEMPLOYMENT.

One of the chief objections of the labor delegates to the proposed scheme was that it was seemingly a deliberate attempt on the part of the plantation interests to lower wages in the Territory before the cost of living had been reduced to a point where the worker could live on less money. It was shown that the imported orientals from China would be willing to work for practically nothing if assured of food and shelter and would thus displace a large number of Japanese and Filipinos from the plantations. Many of these men would be skilled or semiskilled in some of the mechanical trades and would drift to the cities, where they would be forced by necessity to compete with the men who are at present holding these jobs. The result would be that each trade and craft would find itself with an oversupply of available labor and in the end the highest class of workers, lowering the standards and of wages to the point where exist-

ence was impossible for an American under American standards of living. This was characterized as the "orientalization of industry," and it was shown that in the end the highest class of workers must be the ones to suffer.

CONCLUSION.

The conference was protracted by the discussion of immaterial points and by returning again and again to certain arguments and lines of reasoning upon which it early became evident that no possible agreement could be reached. The discussion was absolutely free from personalities, heated arguments, or radical statements, and was marked by earnestness and serious attention on both sides. The sentiment of the committee from the labor council was that the emergency commission was rather to be sympathized with than censured, for they appear to be up against a harder proposition than they realize. The committee was surprised at the lack of convincing data in the hands of the commission and at their inability to look at the problem from a purely economic standpoint. It is to be regretted that the gentleman who was present with the notebook failed to take any notes of the discussion, although the committee expressed the desire that a full account of the conference might be published. It was felt that such a report would have been intensely interesting to the public, and the educational value of such a record would have been very great.

Mr. RAKER. May I ask the witness a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. What was the date of that conference?

Mr. WRIGHT. The date of that conference was April 30, 1921.

Mr. RAKER. I just want to say that I was here in Washington on April 30, and that might appear as though I was personally present. But I wasn't. I was here.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it mention your name?

Mr. RAKER. No, no; but the sentiment conveyed by the committee spoke as though I had been present.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is a fair statement, Mr. Wright. Did they discuss at that meeting whether there was a shortage of labor in Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. The discussion at that meeting was not whether there was a shortage of labor, but a shortage of sugar crop. Mr. Horner said in his opinion the shortage of sugar was due to actual labor shortage on the plantations, whereas Mr. Dillingham and Mr. Chillingworth said they believed it was due to decrease of efficiency of workers on the plantations.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, there was no discussion as to laborers leaving the islands in any number?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not to my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. In your opinion, have they been leaving for the last year?

Mr. WRIGHT. I believe they have—not to a very great extent.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to get your view. You are there and you are interested, and I want to get your view on this problem. Are there many more laborers leaving than are coming in?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think there are more leaving, or had been. I will not say that is true at the present time, because I do not know. Of the number who have left the plantations I understand they have not all left the islands, and of the number who have left the islands they are not all from the plantations.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any discussion as to whether white labor would do this plantation labor situation any good or not?

Mr. WRIGHT. There was this discussion: The matter was brought up and it was the general opinion of all of us, including the commissioners themselves, that white labor, if it could be secured, would be far more efficient than oriental.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any opinion that it could be secured?

Mr. WRIGHT. The commission, I believe, stated that they were not particular what kind of labor was brought in; that it was only to relieve the situation and bring in labor.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to get the workingman's viewpoint. You are president of the labor conference, have traveled a great deal, and you are a trained machinist. I want to get your view: Will white labor work on the plantations there?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not under present conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they if wages are paid as the highest wages in the beet-sugar industry?

Mr. WRIGHT. What are those highest wages?

The CHAIRMAN. \$3.

Mr. WRIGHT. Do you mean is it possible?

The CHAIRMAN. Let's get it straight. If you were here in the United States with your present knowledge of Hawaii on the plantations, would you advise white laborers to go to the islands to work on the plantations for from \$2.75 to \$3, with houses furnished?

Mr. WRIGHT. I would make this statement: If I were here in the United States out of a job, and no possibility of securing a job in the higher mechanical trades, and forced to work in the United States, say, in the fields of the Middle West as a common laborer, I would say I prefer to go to Hawaii and work on the plantations.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your reason for that?

Mr. WRIGHT. At a wage that would be practically the same as the wage I would get here.

Mr. CABLE. Is the work any harder out there in the cane plantations than on the farms of the United States?

Mr. WRIGHT. Is it any harder?

Mr. CABLE. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. I will tell you, I can not say that it is. Of course, you understand that I have not actually been out and worked at common laborer's work on the plantations, but I have seen them doing all the classes of work, and I will touch on that later on, and on the subject of labor-saving machinery.

I have stood and watched Japanese plantation labor loading cane, picking it up in big bundles on their shoulders and walking up a narrow plank, about that wide—

Mr. CABLE (interposing). How wide is that?

Mr. WRIGHT. Six inches wide. It is beveled off on the sides so as to make it as light as possible, and to make it springy. I have seen them walk up that plank with bundles of cane on their shoulders, dump the cane on the car, walk down again, take another bundle, and take it and dump it in the car. Then I walked up the plank myself to see how it felt, and I confess that I would not want to do it that way.

Mr. SHAW. Did you have a bundle of cane when you walked up the plank?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I did not. If white people were doing that kind of work, they would not do it that way. As stated in my

previous answer, under the present condition of labor, and from the way things are done, the white man would not do it, but a white man would start immediately to improve the methods.

Mr. CABLE. What I want to find out is the weight of the bundle that they carry when they walk up on this narrow plank.

Mr. WRIGHT. I think they carry, as the manager told me, 75, 80, or possibly 100 pounds.

Mr. CABLE. How long is the bundle?

Mr. WRIGHT. The plank is about——

Mr. CABLE (interposing). I mean the bundle.

Mr. WRIGHT. It is a rather unwieldy bundle, perhaps about 4, 4½, or 5 feet long.

Mr. FREE. How big around?

Mr. WRIGHT. The bundle is about a foot in diameter, I would say. Those stalks of cane that lie on the ground are gathered up into the bundle, and then wrapped with cloth like a great big sash and swung on the shoulders. They are heavy.

Mr. CABLE. I want to know how high they must walk?

Mr. WRIGHT. The height is about 6 or 6½ feet.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have a railroad-cane car or little sugar-cane car?

Mr. WRIGHT. It is a sugar car.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the first platform low? As they load it or pile it up, they start low on the platform of the sugar-cane car, do they not?

Mr. WRIGHT. All of the cars that I have seen on the plantations are cars that have high sides.

Mr. RAKER. What is the height from the ground to the top of the side at the highest point at which they pile the cane?

Mr. WRIGHT. Do you mean the highest part where it is loaded on the car?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the height upon the side?

Mr. WRIGHT. On the side, I would say it is 6½ feet.

Mr. RAKER. Is that the highest place at which they load the car?

Mr. WRIGHT. When it is loaded it is perhaps 2 or 3 feet higher. That depends upon the conditions.

Mr. RAKER. Would it be 8 feet?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Is there any machinery by which that can be loaded, or an automatic way of loading it?

Mr. WRIGHT. I will develop that later on.

Mr. RAKER. Are they doing that now?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. It can all be done that way, can it not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Making it good work and easy work?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; it is being done. I personally saw on a plantation a cane-loading machine loading cane at the rate, as the plantation manager told me personally, of about a ton a minute.

Mr. RAKER. That is easy work, and it is like a man feeding grain from a stack into a thrashing machine?

Mr. WRIGHT. It is work that young Filipinos who have just come over can do and that Japanese women can do. The Japanese women are somewhat more effective at that work than the Filipino men.

Mr. MEAD. You state that Japanese women load cane that way in bundles?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I was answering this gentleman's question.

The CHAIRMAN. He asked you if women bundled the cane up and loaded the cane.

Mr. WRIGHT. That cane was loaded by machines, and it is only bundled by the workers. It is loaded by the machine itself.

Mr. RAKER. Are there any Japanese women, Chinese women, or others, who, after the bundles are tied, take the bundles and walk up that plank and put the bundles on the car?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have not seen that; no, sir.

Mr. RAKER. What proportion of the cane is loaded, according to the method you have described, rather than by machinery?

Mr. WRIGHT. What proportion of the crop?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Practically the whole crop is being handled that way.

Mr. FREE. Qualify him by asking him how long a time he has spent on the plantations.

Mr. RAKER. How many times have you been on plantations and observed those conditions?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have passed the plantations on my way to and from work.

Mr. RAKER. How many times have you observed those conditions—once or twice?

Mr. WRIGHT. I was taken on a special ride over some plantations by Mr. Butler, of the Sugar Planters' Association. I was taken on a regular route of the plantations and shown those conditions that I am trying to describe to you. At that time I saw this cane loading machine in operation.

Mr. RAKER. Is it your statement that the greater proportion of the cane is still being loaded in the manner you have described?

Mr. WRIGHT. By hand.

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; absolutely.

Mr. BOX. How many plantations were visited by you, and how long did you stay at each plantation?

Mr. RAKER. As I understand it, you made one round of several plantations. How many plantations did you visit?

Mr. WRIGHT. We took in three plantations on that trip.

Mr. RAKER. Going back and forth from your work and driving out in the country, state to the committee how long you have observed this condition that you have described in the matter of the loading of cane.

Mr. WRIGHT. I have observed for, perhaps, three years the general field operations as they have come under my observation, both as to irrigating and cutting cane, as well as loading it on the cars.

Mr. RAKER. There is no occasion on earth to load cane by hand in the way you have described, with the kind of machinery that they have for loading, is there?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; there is this excuse for it, that it costs a little more to load it by machinery with the present development of the machine.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Did you find out on your trip through the three plantations that they had any machine that would do that work at all, or was that an old arrangement or a new arrangement?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think they said they got that machine last year, or rather that they got three machines and they had one in operation.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Up to that time did they have any loading machinery that you know of?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not that I know of; no, sir.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. They have tried many times to perfect a cane-loading device, and are still working on that problem. Did you gather that the reason for not using cane-loading machinery in the past was because it cost more to load with machinery, or because they did not have any machine to load with, until this machine which you have just described was invented?

Mr. WRIGHT. I gathered that there had been a number of machines that had been tried out, but the objection always had been that they cost more to operate, and that it cost more to load by machinery than by the old-fashioned hand method, using this class of workers.

Mr. RAKER. Back in the Middle Ages they did not drive men like beasts in that way in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not have this country civilized in the Middle Ages.

Mr. RAKER. They could drive up on a platform and put it down hill, instead of lifting it up a distance of 8 feet. Could they not provide a platform and drive or pull the cane down instead of raising it 8 feet?

Mr. FREE. Have you ever seen them load cane in a field in California?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. There are so many possible improved methods of handling it that we felt that our charge of mismanagement on the part of the plantations was justified by what we saw, although, perhaps, not in the way it has been understood.

The CHAIRMAN. What other instances of mismanagement are contained in your charges?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I am not quite satisfied with that answer. Judge Raker has interposed the suggestion there that we are doing business in Hawaii according to the methods of the Middle Ages. That is the first criticism of that kind that has been made here of the methods employed in handling sugar cane in Hawaii. Do you know of any machine that would handle cane at any cost, so far as the loading of it is concerned, that was invented prior to the present one?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not of my personal knowledge; no, sir.

Mr. GOMPERS. May I be permitted to make an observation?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. GOMPERS. I have not been in Hawaii, but I have been on the sugar-cane plantations of the United States and also of Porto Rico

and Cuba. There they have machines in which the cane is taken up and loaded on railroad cars built especially for that purpose. Long iron chains are placed around stacks of sugar cane weighing tons and the sugar cane is loaded on those cars with those chains under each bundle at each end holding the cane. These cars are drawn by locomotives, and they are drawn into the grinding establishment. These chains are just hooked together to another chain, and the entire load of cane in those cars is taken out by draulic pressure or steam pressure, I am not sure which, and emptied into the sugar hopper. I saw that done in Cuba a year after the close of the Spanish-American War and I saw that in Porto Rico several times upon my visit there in 1898. I was over there at that time, and I saw them in the United States before that.

Mr. MEADE. I have just come back from Porto Rico, and I know that the method of loading cane there, so far as hand work is concerned, is far worse than it is in Hawaii. They handle the cane by hand twice, because they load it from the field on an ox cart and carry it on the ox carts to the loading platform, where it is handled again by hand in loading it onto the platform at the mill.

Mr. GOMPERS. On small plantations?

Mr. MEADE. No, sir; large plantations. I have watched them load cane over there, and I know what I am talking about. When I asked them, "Why not load it by machinery, or why not load it in one operation?" they said, "We have so much labor that we do not have to use machinery." Did you know that for 50 years the Hawaiian planters have spent thousands and thousands of dollars trying to develop cane-loading machinery? They have advertised for machines, and have offered premiums, and have in every way sought to develop a cane-loading device. They have had their own committees of experts, and they have employed engineers from the United States, and they have had their own engineers trying to develop a machine that would load cane economically or at all.

Mr. WRIGHT. I did not know that.

Mr. MEADE. It is a fact, and I am telling you that it is a fact. I want to say that the production of sugar cane from the planting on is the most advanced operation known in the United States or anywhere in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. I presume that the large plantations will lead the way in that respect or in adopting improved methods and improved machinery. The smaller plantations will either use the same methods wherever possible or will be absorbed by the large ones. I judge that from the development of logging operations. There was a time when logs were handled over skid roads or dragged on the ground, but now they are almost invariably handled by aerial tramways. There was a time when big timbers were carried around wharves in horse-drawn carts, but now they are handled by means of automobile trucks designed for the purpose. Those devices are bound to come in time.

Mr. MEADE. If our sugar-cane fields were level like this table, it would be perfectly feasible, I believe, to invent a machine that could load cane, but the sugar-cane fields out there are not like that. Down where you saw that machine at work the ground was level and even, but nine-tenths of the sugar-cane fields of Hawaii are on the sides

of hills, and you can not get a loading machine that will successfully operate on the side of a hill.

The CHAIRMAN. What other criticism does the labor union make as to mismanagement?

Mr. FREE. Suppose we let him proceed according to the regular order.

Mr. WRIGHT. I will state that during the months of May and June, when this labor commission was in Washington, the local papers in Honolulu were carrying on an active propaganda for the purpose of impressing upon the people of the Territory that the future welfare of Hawaii depended upon securing the admission of those coolies. This campaign was largely in good faith, I will say, so far as the majority of the people were concerned. The chamber of commerce and the Housewives League indorsed the proposal at once.

I know attempts were made to have it indorsed by fraternal organizations and I do not know of any of the organizations that really indorsed it. I know of some organizations in which it was turned down. So far as the American Legion is concerned, I believe you read to-day the indorsement by the American Legion.

The CHAIRMAN. I read a statement from the Territorial head who seems to be present in the United States, and then we had something in the hearings a few days ago of attention being called to the Japanese situation, at least by resolution in their national convention in Minneapolis last year.

Mr. WRIGHT. That was a general proposition. Any material legislation that would tend to break up the tendency to continue to concentrate on nationality.

Mr. RAKER. Have you any of the editorials that were published in Hawaii during the last three months that were advocating the importation of Chinese into Hawaii under this resolution?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have a file—I used to keep a file of the newspapers at the hotel.

Mr. RAKER. Will you look it up, and if you have any—if there is a publication relating to the importation of Chinese—and that was the purpose of this resolution—I wish you would look them up and put them into the record.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. CABLE. Now, Mr. Chairman, I am going to ask that this man be permitted to proceed without interruption.

The CHAIRMAN. It is moved that Mr. Wright be permitted to proceed without interruption. Let us vote on it. All in favor of the motion signify it by saying "aye."

(So the motion was unanimously adopted.)

Mr. WRIGHT. Now, from the reports appearing in the papers as to what was going on at Washington, the impression grew, in labor circles especially, that this emergency commission in Washington was in effect misrepresenting conditions and was working rather for one concrete thing—that is, the importation of coolies, than for the general solution of the problems.

The Central Labor Union, consisting of 14 affiliated trade unions, discussed the matter thoroughly and ordered the sending of a wireless message to the legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Wallace, in which was embodied the collective

opinion of the labor unions. This was sent to Mr. Wallace by wireless.

Immediately upon the matter being reported back to Honolulu the daily papers began a campaign of vilification and attack upon me personally as the author of the message. This was done deliberately with the intention of clouding the issue and making it appear that there was no substantial element backing the protest.

I have here an editorial appearing in the Honolulu Advertiser on that subject which I would like to have introduced, because it touches another very vital point which I believe has been raised before this committee, and that is the nationalistic character of the Japanese strike of last year.

Mr. FREE. What is the date of that editorial?

Mr. WRIGHT. It appears in the Honolulu Advertiser of June 28.

PLAY FAIR, PLAY FAIR.

The Advertiser admits it has no idea who George W. Wright is, nor does it very much care, so far as that is concerned. But it does know, and everyone in Hawaii who is interested in seeing the agricultural interests of the Territory protected, that his cablegram read to the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization by Edgar Wallace, of the American Federation of Labor, according to a special dispatch to the Star-Bulletin yesterday, is misleading and probably was intended to be.

The cablegram said that there is no actual labor shortage in Hawaii, that the Japanese are striving for American ideals, and that the strike last year was not nationalistic but economic.

Mr. Wright—whoever he may be—knows as well as everyone else in this Territory that there is a serious labor shortage in Hawaii, and that unless it is relieved there is going to be a situation that will be more than serious. The good Lord knows it is serious enough now. We know that with the exception of a few Filipinos there has been no importation of labor for the plantation since 1907. In the period that has elapsed since 1907 thousands of Japanese and Filipinos have left Hawaii, and their places must be taken by labor of some sort.

As to the strike of last year everyone knows that it was not nationalistic, as Wright puts it. And his stating so in his cablegram was for no reason other than to cause the members of the Immigration Committee to think they are being misled by Walter Dillingham and the other members of the labor committee now in Washington.

As was stated in yesterday's Advertiser, the members of organized labor in Honolulu told the labor commissioners before they left for Washington that they were in favor of any legislation that proposed to rejuvenate agriculture in Hawaii, and we believed they were sincere, and still believe so.

What in the world this man Wright expects to gain by opposing a measure that means an adequate supply of labor for Hawaii's agriculture we do not know. But whatever his object may be, we believe it would be well for him to tell the facts as they are—in other words, play fair.

On June 29 I was called up on the phone and asked to meet one of the prominent employers of labor, a Mr. Hall, of the Honolulu Iron Works, who said he desired a conversation with me on a matter of importance. I consented to an interview that evening in the house of a friend, a member of the machinists' union, in whose presence the interview took place.

Mr. Hall made a long argument supporting the position of the sugar planters on the matter of coolie importation and asked if it would be possible to arrange a meeting with a representative committee of the labor body at which the planters would be given an opportunity to present their case. Mr. Hall stated that they realized that their case would be much strengthened if they could get the

support of organized labor. I consented to call a committee and arrange a meeting that would be in the nature of a hearing and agreed to see that every opportunity was given for the planters to submit arguments and data which would be presented to the central body for their judgment. I think I made it clear to everyone with whom we had any subsequent dealings that we were all actuated by the best of motives and had only the welfare of the territory at heart, however widely our personal opinions might diverge.

The hearing took place on the evening of June 30 at Mr. Hall's office between a committee of five from the central body, myself, Mr. Chilton, Mr. Ruh, Mr. Pascoe, and Mr. Andrews and three representing the planters, Mr. Bishop, president of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, Mr. Butler, its labor secretary, and Mr. Hall, who had arranged the meeting. We had a stenographer present and have a full transcript of the hearing. It was not a discussion, as we let it be understood that we were present to hear what they had to say and to ask questions. They reviewed all the arguments that had previously been advanced, emphasizing the points of Japanese nationalism and of the economic dependence of all subordinate industries upon the basic one of sugar production. Frankly, in our opinion, they failed to present any new arguments or develop any very convincing facts. At our request they agreed to take us around on some of the plantations on the following day, and we asked to see the worst they had to show.

The next day we visited Oahu, Ewa, and Aiea plantations. We found conditions apparently very much as they had described them, but we asked a lot of questions and succeeded in developing several important points. We failed, however, to find conditions as bad as we had been led to expect so far as sanitation, housing, and living conditions were concerned. Some of the camps or quarters which we asked to see were not shown to us on account of lack of time. We found no reason to believe they were not making a bona fide effort to take off the present crop, and their books showed a numerical shortage of labor, though we noticed a large number of men and women not working. They claim that many of their field hands work only every other day, or possibly less frequently, as there is practically no bonus and no inducement to steady work. We saw large acreages of abandoned cane, in wretched condition, especially on the uplands. Much of this cane was the Lahina variety, which has become affected with a mysterious disease due to soil exhaustion or to some undetermined parasitic fungus. Other fields were of old cane which had been neglected last year on account of the strike and allowed to ratoon again. Still other abandoned acreages were in locations which made it very expensive to irrigate or handle it, or on areas otherwise unfitted for the production of sugar economically at the present low price.

Another thing which we saw which has a direct bearing on the labor situation was the successful operation of a mechanical cane loader which was putting cane on the cars at the rate of a ton a minute. It was operated by a gang of about 80 Filipino men and Japanese women, and, though crude and capable of vast improvement, it was nevertheless loading cane at a cost of \$1.10 a ton, if I recollect the figures given by the manager, which, I understood, in-

cluded all overhead and the balancing off of the first cost of the three machines, only one of which was working. And it was being operated by a class of labor that is easily obtainable, a class of work that even boys could do. The cost of \$1.10 a ton was for cutting and loading, as against 80 some cents by hand, but the individual workers received an average of \$1.52 a day. We who were mechanics were very much impressed with the possibilities for the improvement and further development of the machine, with a view to greatly increasing its capacity and efficiency. Personally, I am convinced that with certain improvements the machine will be able to handle cane more cheaply than it can be handled by the crude and old-fashioned methods of a generation ago, which are the methods used when the cane is handled by hand.

We were shown a gang of little boys 10 to 12 years old gleaning cane after the Japanese workmen had cleared the field of the bulk of the crop. Whether or not this exhibition was arranged for our special benefit I can not say, but it was so impractical as to be almost ridiculous. The little tots had no way of getting the cane into the car except to throw it over the side, which is fully 6 feet high. I am positive the 10 of them could not load a car in a day, and the manager told us that he paid them 50 cents apiece a day.

Mr. Gibbs, of the Honolulu plantation at Aiea, whom we interviewed on our way back, threw an illuminating side light on the situation when he explained that the Japanese who had left the plantation had nearly all gone to Federal construction work, where they were able to earn better pay than on the plantation. He told us that he did not think a large number had left the Territory, and of those who had left he expected many to return after they had spent the bonus money they had accumulated when sugar was at the high mark. He made the assertion that if only those who had left for Federal construction work would return, he would be satisfied and would not need any more. Mr. Butler's attention was called to this aspect of the case, in view of the fact that it was reported in the papers of that date that the Hawaiian rehabilitation bill had passed Congress, carrying the proviso that no aliens would be employed on Government work. Mr. Butler admitted that the release of these men would help considerably, and it was roughly estimated in the conversation that of the 5,000 who would be released probably 2,000 would be available for the plantations.

A special meeting of the delegates to the Central Labor Union had been called for that evening and a full report of the investigation was made by each member of the committee and the transcript of the hearing was read. Thereupon, after a thorough discussion the delegates unanimously voted to stand by the original message sent on the 25th, but to authorize the committee to hold a second conference with the planters and enter into a discussion of the situation with a view to offering a new program, eliminating further consideration of the plan for importing coolies.

Accordingly I called up Mr. Hall on Saturday, the following day and informed him of the action of the Central body. He asked us to meet that evening, and I so informed the rest of the committee.

At 8 o'clock the labor representatives, six in number—Mr. Chilton, Mr. Ruh, Mr. Pascoe, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Vickery, and myself—met with five representatives of the sugar planters—Mr. Bishop, Mr.

Butler, Mr. Dowsett, Mr. Bottomley, and Mr. Hall. The conference was opened by Mr. Hall, who intimated that we were there to arrive at an understanding and effect a bargain by which labor would indorse the planters' program of importing coolie labor. He was at once corrected from our side of the table with the statement that we were not there in that sense at all, as we had nothing to buy or to sell, that the indorsement of coolie labor must be set aside as impractical and un-American, and that we were there solely in the interests of the welfare of the industry in which, as residents and workers in the Territory, we had a vital concern proportionately as great as that of any of the planters.

We were then asked if we had any other suggestions to make, anything constructive to offer as a substitute, and we replied that we had a very definite program which we believed would afford immediate relief from the situation in which the planters found themselves—a relief that would also be permanent. As a preliminary we asked whether the planters would be willing to help us establish a permanent point of contact for the purpose of cooperating in the future for the solution of the difficulties that might arise between employers and employees; in other words recognize organized labor and the principle of collective bargaining in the future.

It was intimated that this arrangement might be effected if we would recede from our original position on the coolie question. That was again set aside, and the planters returned by setting aside our proposition for the recognition of organized labor. We told them that we had not made the proposition in the spirit of bargaining, but because our program was based on their willingness to meet us in the proper spirit of cooperation, and they replied that this willingness was already demonstrated by the fact that they were so meeting with us now.

We told them that we had studied the situation from the point of view of the workers and that we honestly believed we were able to point out the cause of their trouble, which was an essential preliminary to suggesting an intelligent remedy. We stated that we believed that the plight in which the sugar industry finds itself to-day is due primarily to a lack of understanding between employers and employees. This results in the discouragement and antagonism of the workers and lowers their efficiency to, say, 50 per cent of normal, and causes dissatisfaction and the consequent drifting away from the plantations of the laborers whose services are required to take off the crop. Extremely low wages and the impossibility of earning a living except at the lowest possible standards of subsistence prevents those living outside the plantations from taking plantation jobs, though in our opinion there are enough unemployed and casually employed who would be willing to fill the jobs if the conditions were such that there was any inducement offered.

We then outlined verbally our proposed remedy.

Follow the approved industrial methods and endeavor to increase the efficiency of your employees by effecting a right understanding with them. Recognize the principle of collective bargaining and signify your willingness to meet with representatives of your employees in a conference which we will arrange and to which we, as

representatives of the central labor body will be present as the third party, acting as mediators. We will guarantee that if this is done in the right spirit of cooperation on your part it will be met in the same spirit by your employees and an agreement reached whereby you will gain the friendship of your men and increase their efficiency to normal. As one of the chief matters to be considered at such a conference we suggest the establishment of a new wage scale based upon the cost of living, details as to flexibility and determining factors to be worked out later.

If this increased efficiency does not then relieve your shortage, and the return of workers drawn back to plantation life by the incentives offered still falls short of your requirements, we believe that plenty of new labor can be recruited in the Philippines, with the cooperation of the Filipino labor commission.

As an added source of supply we point out that a large number of men will be discharged from Federal construction works upon the signing of the rehabilitation bill or shortly thereafter, who will be forced back on the plantations, where they belong, provided you make it a point to employ citizen labor in the skilled and semiskilled industries which your influence dominates. There is no question in our minds but that you will thus be able to fill your shortage of labor and maintain your industry at a normal pace without the importation of any other oriental labor.

This proposal, which constituted labor's program, was turned down as impractical, theoretical, and academic.

There was more scattering discussion, but the program we offered would not be entertained and the conference was closed. At the last, in answer to a question regarding our message to Mr. Wallace, which had been printed in the evening paper as cabled back by Dillingham, I explained that the message was not in any sense an expression of personal opinion but an instructed statement of the views of the delegates in the central body. I was then asked whether, in view of what had been said and what I had seen, I would still uphold the statements it contained. I answered that I regretted the use of the word "intolerable," as it was too strong, and I admitted the error of judgment in its use, for I am usually particular in that respect. I also volunteered the statement that I was personally convinced that there was no deliberate curtailment of present production, though most of our people still insisted that there was. As to the shortage of labor, I stated that I had seen enough to convince me that it was actual as far as the plantations were concerned, and that I had never said otherwise, having been misquoted in that respect. Asked if I would wire Mr. Wallace to that effect, I replied that I would be glad to do so, which promise I carried out by night letter on July 4.

It was understood that these conferences were semiconfidential; that is, that they were not to be given out for publication in the papers, but were to be limited for use as between the parties concerned. Now, this understanding, I believe, was kept locally so far as both parties were concerned, but the statement that was made here to-day, and information which I had received previously, led me to believe that the other side to the conference considered this committee, or these members of this committee, as being in a sense

parties included, and the fact that advanced information was given in Washington as to the message which I agreed to send to Mr. Wallace led me to draw that conclusion. I would like that point to be cleared up at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. You are through with your statement now?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, you will understand now that when this commission arrives and begins to present their statements that the inquiry does not end with just their statements. We have kept you people here and it has been dragged out a great deal in order to try to get as far as we could on our own angles. After the whole statements were in for the first time and the hearing tentatively closed, I heard (I do not know whether it came from the Hawaiian newspapers or where) that Mr. Wallace had received a telegram differing from the statements in your original telegram. I spoke with him about it, and I gave him an opportunity to get it. As to what was in your second telegram I have never known until this day. Regardless of that I am glad to hear your statement to-day, and I think that telegram and the report here make a very fair statement. The committee will probably want to ask you some questions as to labor problems over there and discuss in full with you the Japanese Federation of Labor, study its by-laws, and what they mean. You are in a position to help us on that a great deal.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. WALLACE. Is it not a fact that you wrote me two letters subsequent to sending that cablegram?

Mr. WRIGHT. It is a fact that I wrote you two letters.

Mr. WALLACE. When were those letters mailed?

Mr. WRIGHT. Those letters were mailed in Honolulu.

Mr. WALLACE. When? How early before the time of your leaving Honolulu?

Mr. WRIGHT. One letter written on June 28, the letter referred to as being held up pending that conference; and that was mailed without any additions, on July 2 or 3; and that note in the telegram was to explain why you had not received the letter earlier. The second letter was written on July 5, and I believe mailed on the 6th or 7th.

Mr. WALLACE. I wish to state that I have not received either one of those letters for some reason. You left yourself possibly a week or more afterwards, didn't you, after you sent the second letter and arrived here and have been here for several days? Those letters have never yet reached me. Did you mail them?

Mr. WRIGHT. I did not mail those letters personally. I gave them to my son to put them in the Honolulu post office rather than to put them in the box.

Mr. WALLACE. At separate times? You did not give them both to him at the same time?

Mr. WRIGHT. Oh, no; not at the same time.

Mr. WALLACE. Neither one of those letters has reached me.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you copies of those letters?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir. I have copies of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they confidential letters?

Mr. WRIGHT. They are confidential.

Mr. CABLE. How old is your son, Mr. Wright?

Mr. WRIGHT. Sixteen or seventeen years of age.

Mr. CABLE. And has it been customary for you to have him mail letters for you?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; it has been customary. I have been working at Pearl Harbor, which makes it difficult for me to get down town without making a special trip, and my son has been doing quite a bit of work for me.

Mr. BOX. How long after they were supposed to have been mailed before you left Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. How long?

Mr. BOX. When did you leave Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. I left Hawaii on the 12th.

Mr. BOX. And they were mailed about when?

Mr. WRIGHT. They were mailed about the 5th or 6th, the last one.

Mr. BOX. Have you inquired of your son whether he mailed those letters or not?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have not had the time.

Mr. BOX. You did not know that they had not been received?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; not until I reached Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write any other letters to Mr. Wallace?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I have written no other letters to Mr. Wallace.

The CHAIRMAN. And he has received none of your letters?

Mr. WRIGHT. My only communications with Mr. Wallace that he received were the two messages.

Mr. WALLACE. The two messages and the cablegram that you were leaving.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. One of these letters was a sort of digest of the statement you were making?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; the letters were in a sense a summary of the events.

The CHAIRMAN. You addressed those to Mr. Wallace?

Mr. WRIGHT. Those were addressed to Mr. Wallace.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any statements in those of the statements he has received?

Mr. WRIGHT. Those were the letters.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send them to anyone else?

Mr. WRIGHT. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. How does it come that the American Federation of Labor here have a digest of this matter addressed to the president rather of the Central Labor Conference at Honolulu?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the information boiled down that you were sending?

Mr. WRIGHT. The information is a matter of common knowledge to us.

The CHAIRMAN. So that digest on page 673 of the American Federationist reached the federation in another letter than in the letter to Wallace?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes; that is a letter addressed to Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, at Denver, by Mr. Wright.

Mr. WRIGHT. That is the letter to Mr. Morrison.

The CHAIRMAN. So, then, you did send some letters to other people?

Mr. WRIGHT. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You misunderstood my question.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is immaterial.

We will adjourn until Monday morning, August 1, at 10 o'clock.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, August 1, 1921.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Guy L. Shaw (acting chairman) presiding.

STATEMENT OF MR. C. C. HAMLIN, COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Chairman, I represent the Garden City Co., which has a beet-sugar factory at Garden City, Kans.; also the Holly Sugar Co., which has factories in California, Wyoming, and Colorado; and, for the purpose of this statement, and solely for the purpose of this statement, I also represent the Great Western Sugar Co., having factories in Nebraska, Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming. The combined production of these beet factories is possibly, at least, 40 per cent of the entire beet output of the United States, and I should say upward of 50 per cent of the sugar production west of the Missouri River; more than 30 per cent.

I came here because of certain matters I have seen in the newspapers regarding a statement purported to have been made by the American Federation of Labor. I have not seen that statement. I have seen a denial of it, and I have before me here the manner in which it is carried by the Associated Press. The statement, if I gather it correctly, is to the effect that the beet-sugar people of the United States are cooperating with the Hawaiian planters in favor of this bill, with the ultimate idea of getting Chinese into our beet fields in the United States.

I want to say that I am confident there is absolutely no foundation for that statement; and, for the interests I represent, I will say that we have no desire to have coolie labor in the United States. It would be a visionary dream to think of it. I will say, personally, and I think I reflect the views of those whom I represent, that we are in full accord with the policy of the United States with reference to the use of coolie labor in our country. So far as the pending legislation is concerned, we are taking no interest in it whatever so far as our concerns are involved.

I will say that in some years, in connection with the beet-sugar business, talking with various beet-sugar men, and in meetings we have had from time to time, I have never even heard it suggested that it was desirable to have or to seek to have Chinese labor in our beet fields. Regardless of whether it might be good or bad, we are American citizens, and we are in sympathy and in harmony with the policy of the Government in that respect; and while I have not seen the statement—I am speaking, Mr. Raker, of the statement purported to have been given out by the American Federation of

Labor—while I have not seen the statement, I can say positively there is nothing to it.

That is about all I have to present upon that phase of the question.

Mr. SHAW. There was a man who appeared before the committee the other day by the name of Oxnard, whom, I think, represented the sugar business.

Mr. HAMLIN. Just as I do. I represent certain companies, and he represented his own company. I think neither of us represents the industry as a whole.

Mr. WEEBER. How much of the industry do you represent, as compared with Mr. Oxnard?

Mr. HAMLIN. I believe that the American Beet Sugar Co. is perhaps 10 per cent, and the concerns I speak for on this particular question represent, I should say, 40 per cent of the industry. Our labor situation is a serious one—

Mr. SHAW (interposing). Where do you get your labor?

Mr. HAMLIN. We have three kinds of labor. During the war and even prior to the war, we had a good deal of Mexican labor. We have, especially in northern Colorado, a great deal of what is called Russian labor. It is really a German labor. They are Germans who went to Russia under Catherine and were afterwards compelled to leave. They are experienced beet raisers. We have some little Indian labor under contract—this is at Garden City—from the Indian Department of the United States. That is the only contract labor we have.

Mr. SHAW. How is that contract labor employed—through the department?

Mr. HAMLIN. Through the Indian Department, as I understand it, of the Interior Department. They are boys that come up there during the beet season and work during the summer months while they are out of school.

Mr. WEEBER. And you made contracts for those Indians?

Mr. HAMLIN. As I understand it, and I think I am right in this, the contract is made with the Indian agent.

Mr. SHAW. You probably pay the Government, then.

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes; but I think the money goes to the individual worker. Our labor problem is a very serious one.

I do not know that it is germane to this question, but, in connection with the labor situation, I might refer to a clipping from the Wall Street Journal of July 15 in regard to the statement of the United Fruit Co. for the first six months of this year. It may be of interest to you. Of course, our great competitor is Cuba. That is particularly true since her tremendous war expansion in the production of sugar. We can not adjust ourselves as they can.

In other words, we will commence manufacturing sugar in October on beet contracts that we made in January of last year, and the sugar is not sold, all of it, until 18 or 20 months after the contracts are made. Neither can we adjust labor conditions as they can, nor do we want to. The condition in Cuba to-day is that they have shut down their factories and are discharging their entire forces, with the idea of rehiring them on a prewar basis.

This statement is very brief, and I think the information is probably reliable and it is illuminating. It goes on to say that the United Fruit Co. made before taxes \$12,218,000, the equivalent of \$12.21 a

share on its 1,000,000 shares of capitalization, for the first six months of this year, and then goes on to say that they would probably return a balance of \$16 a share on its stock for the year, and then it says:

Satisfactory as are these earnings, the contrast with a year ago marks and illustrates the terrific force of the deflation which has hit the entire world, for in the first six months of 1920 United Fruit actually earned three times as much as this year, or over \$36,000,000. The explanation is that over 50 per cent of this, or some \$17,500,000, came from sugar which was then commanding 22½ cents a pound.

I want to simply state in that connection that when Cuban raws were selling at 22½ cents a pound, at that time our western beet factories were confined to a price of 12 cents a pound for refined sugar, and the Louisiana planters to 17 cents a pound. Indeed, I think it is due to this condition, and to the fact that Cuba backed up its sugar against the world supply and produced 800,000 tons of duty-paid sugar which has produced a crisis in the sugar business; not only the beet sugar business, but all sugar.

Then, the article goes on to say:

It is, of course, very doubtful if United Fruit can show any profit on sugar this year, but it is improbable that a permanent investment of \$50,000,000 in lands, modern refineries, and working capital can long be profitless. Labor costs are coming down rapidly, dropping from \$2.50 to 65 cents a day with supply exceeding demand.

Mr. RAKER. That is in Cuba?

Mr. HAMLIN. That is in Cuba. I continue:

Every effort is being made to get back to the prewar basis which will insure a reasonable profit when sugar prices recover somewhat.

Now, while our labor situation is serious, we certainly do not want to introduce into the United States a new labor element which the definite policy of the Government is against. Personally, I do not think we should introduce anyone into the United States and allow them to come in here unless they have the potentiality of citizenship.

Mr. WEEBER. By the United States, what do you mean?

Mr. HAMLIN. Continental United States. I do not believe anybody should be allowed to remain here longer than five years without learning the language.

Mr. RAKER. You do not make any distinction between continental United States and the Territories of the United States, do you?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes; I am speaking of continental United States. That is the only thing of which I am advised.

Mr. RAKER. But you do not make any distinction between the continental United States as to its laws and the policy that should be carried out.

Mr. HAMLIN. As I say, this legislation is a matter of indifference to us, but I will say this—

Mr. RAKER. I said continental United States and its Territories.

Mr. HAMLIN. My own personal opinion is that if we acquire tropical territories we have got to legislate rather differently than we would for the mainland, perhaps. I am not prepared to say that would not be justified. I am not advocating it, but I am not saying it would not be justified. From what I can learn, the conditions are quite different from what they are in continental United States.

Mr. SHAW. You use a good deal of Russian labor in Montana, do you not?

Mr. HAMLIN. I think so. It is very good labor. To a considerable extent these Russians I speak of have settled in those countries. First, they came in as laborers, and the next step was as tenant farmers, and many of them now are acquiring their own farms. Those people have large families and to a large extent supply their own labor in their own families.

Mr. SHAW. And most of them have become naturalized?

Mr. HAMLIN. I do not know as to that; but a great many of them undoubtedly have.

Mr. RAKER. Let me ask you a couple of questions about this contract Indian labor. Do you know what the nature of those contracts is?

Mr. HAMLIN. Just in a general way. At Garden City, for instance, about which I am better acquainted than any place else, we will probably in a season have 60. I can not designate the officer; but, anyhow, an officer of the Indian Department comes there in due time and makes the contracts. They are paid the same wage that we would pay for like labor to anybody else.

Mr. RAKER. They can quit when they want to?

Mr. HAMLIN. No; I understand not. They are under strict Government control.

Mr. RAKER. Let us see about that. That is a new phase I have not found out about. I have found pretty nearly everything else. You say the Indian can not quit when he wants to? Suppose he does not like the labor, and says, "I won't work any more," and just picks up his blankets, if he has any, and leaves.

Mr. HAMLIN. He might quit working, I imagine, but he could not go away because, whether they are in the schools or in the field or wherever they are, they have their own supervisor, or whatever you call him, who is in charge of them. They are to be taken at a certain time and returned at a certain time.

Mr. RAKER. You can not arrest him and bring him back?

Mr. HAMLIN. Oh, no; we have no control over him.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I was trying to get at.

Mr. HAMLIN. Oh, no; we have no control over him, but the supervisor of the Government could take the whole bunch and move them out, I suppose. We can not keep that labor there, for instance, for the beet harvest, because the school commences then.

Mr. RAKER. So far as you are concerned, you have no control over his circulation?

Mr. HAMLIN. No; our dealings are entirely with the supervisor.

Mr. RAKER. You can not arrest him if he quits?

Mr. HAMLIN. Oh, no; we have nothing to do with the individual.

Mr. WEEBER. All your dealings are with the Government agent who comes there with the men and is sent there with the men?

Mr. HAMLIN. Entirely; we have no control over them at all.

Mr. RAKER. Have you been to Cuba lately?

Mr. HAMLIN. No; I have never been to Cuba, Mr. Raker.

Mr. RAKER. You do not know anything about their labor conditions, then?

Mr. HAMLIN. Only by hearsay. I do know, as I stated—this, of course, is hearsay, but I can state it as authentic, that what I stated about their discharging their labor in their mills and going back to a prewar basis immediately is true.

Mr. RAKER. You said, "We have no interest in this legislation," or words to that effect. What do you mean by that?

Mr. HAMLIN. I mean we are making no presentation for or against it. I presume, of course, I suppose it would be for the benefit of the American industry, the continental industry, if there was no sugar produced in Hawaii, but we do not take that narrow view. I do not. They are under our flag, and it is for this committee to say whether this is necessary for their welfare and prosperity or not. I do not know.

Mr. RAKER. Notwithstanding you are interested in the sugar business, I suppose you have a keen interest as an American citizen in the treatment of labor.

Mr. HAMLIN. Absolutely.

Mr. RAKER. In the United States.

Mr. HAMLIN. Anywhere, United States or Russia.

Mr. RAKER. Or in its Territories or wherever it is.

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And you would lament the day when we should attempt to return to the old system that was in vogue in years gone by in this country of slavery or peon labor, as well as serfdom, or the old Mexican system, or the Chinese system.

Mr. HAMLIN. Oh, yes. Of course, I do not favor that. I believe in America for Americans. As I say, I do not believe anybody should be admitted to this country unless they have the potential qualities of citizenship, and I would go further and say they should not be allowed to remain unless they learn the language. I think we pay too little attention to the immigrant after he gets into this country.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, sir.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Hamlin, you say you believe in America for Americans. If you were informed that the sugar industry in Hawaii which has been under control of American capital and American management for 50 years, was in danger of passing out of their hands within a comparatively few years and into the hands of an oriental race, if something was not done to check such a turnover, and the only method which is feasible to check that turnover is to bring in some Chinese labor into the Territory of Hawaii, under restriction—a rotating immigration plan, which would not produce another racial problem within the United States—would you prefer that no such arrangement be made for securing Chinese labor under restrictions and permit the industry to pass over into the hands of alien control, or would you prefer to see some such arrangement made as is suggested by this resolution? Are you familiar with this resolution?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes; I have read the resolution. I would answer that in this way, as between orientals, and I speak from some little experience, because when I was a young man and came West, we had a good deal of Chinese labor in the community in which I settled—as between the orientals, I think the Chinese are the best. He is honest, frugal, and so on, and a good citizen. He pays his debts; and if there is a danger of the control of any industry passing into the hands of orientals, if it were a country where the oriental performed the work, I would say that legislation of this kind might be justified. That is merely my personal opinion.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. In other words, you would prefer to see this resolution passed and the relief provided in preference to seeing the industries of the Territory of Hawaii pass into the hands of aliens?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes. I certainly think it would be very unfortunate if the industrial control of the Hawaiian Islands should pass to Japan, for instance. I would much rather see a mixture of labor than to have that eventuality happen. I do not know whether there is danger of that, but I think it would be a great calamity.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Hamlin, did you get the full purport of Mr. Dillingham's question and the full purport of your answer to it?

Mr. HAMLIN. I thought so, but perhaps not. It was rather long.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; it was quite long, and I wondered whether you fully understood it or not.

Mr. HAMLIN. I thought I did when I answered the question, but you put it in your way.

Mr. RAKER. Let me put it in this way: You say you have read this resolution?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Have you studied it enough to realize and to know that this resolution inaugurates in a Territory of the United States peon and contract labor?

Mr. HAMLIN. I can not say that I got that impression of it. As I understand the term "contract labor," as we had it in the old days, the agents of various industries would go abroad and make a fixed and binding contract for labor, and bring it here and place it, and would be able to hold them to that contract. I am not in favor of that anywhere or under any conditions. Of course, I have not given the resolution as close study as you have, Mr. Raker, but, as I understood the resolution, it simply provides the same, as the Mexicans have been allowed in this country for temporary periods, and once here he has a right to hire out to whomever he pleases.

Mr. RAKER. Oh, no.

Mr. HAMLIN. Then I do not understand the resolution.

Mr. RAKER. This resolution provides that they can work at certain kinds or classes of work, designated, upon their being admitted into the Territory of Hawaii. They can not quit that work and go to other work.

Mr. HAMLIN. They could go to the same kind of work under another employer?

Mr. RAKER. Well, that is a question.

Mr. HAMLIN. I do not know. I am asking you.

Mr. RAKER. I do not know about that.

Mr. HAMLIN. I am not stating that, but just asking the question.

Mr. RAKER. But if he came over for the cane fields, he could not quit and go to the city and go into the restaurant business, or he could not quit the pineapple or rice or sugar business and go into the peanut business or into the potato business. He would be subject to arrest and deportation.

Mr. HAMLIN. You mean if he went from one form of agricultural labor to another?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; he would have to stick to that one particular class of work. Now, would you be in favor of bringing labor to Hawaii or to any other place under conditions whereby you could

arrest them and deport them if they did not follow that particular kind of labor.

Mr. HAMLIN. I am not strong on this arresting and deporting.

Mr. RAKER. Now, that is a clean-cut proposition. That is just what this resolution means and nothing else, and I want to know, as a man interested in the sugar business, your answer to that question; that is, whether you are in favor of that kind of labor in the United States.

Mr. HAMLIN. No; I am not.

Mr. RAKER. You think it would be a sad day when we returned to the old days of contract and peon labor, and slavery, and involuntary servitude?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. It can not be done in this country.

Mr. HAMLIN. We do not want it; but I do say, as I stated before, not that I would favor it even there, but I think in your tropical possessions, where you have a yellow man's country, or we will call it that for the purpose of designating it——

Mr. RAKER. We have only two such places, and they are Hawaii and Porto Rico. We have no others.

Mr. HAMLIN. Well, there are the Philippines.

Mr. RAKER. No; that is the reason I asked you the question a while ago so you could make it clear. Hawaii is a Territory and a part of the United States. The Philippines are an insular possession and not a part of the United States. Porto Rico is a Territory and a part of the United States.

Mr. HAMLIN. I am not in favor of peonage. I am not in favor of any of those laws where the employee is reduced to virtual slavery. I would not say that a condition might not arise where he should be confined if the necessity existed.

Mr. RAKER. You have read the history of labor in this country—slavery, peon labor, and serfdom—and you have read the history of Cuba with its revolting history of labor, and you have read over the history of Mexico, which brings the blush of shame to any man who ever participated in it, and also the history of some of the old countries. It has all been eliminated now, save and except the interior of Africa, and they are trying to eliminate it in Mexico. Do you believe the people of this country would stand for one minute for a return to any form of labor whereby the man would not have the right of free circulation or where he could be held as a peon or as a slave or held in serfdom?

Mr. HAMLIN. No; I do not.

Mr. RAKER. And any law that ever intimated or permitted that you would be against, would you not?

Mr. HAMLIN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Then if any business in this country requires that kind of labor we had better quit the business rather than to turn back to the days of peonage and serfdom and slavery.

Mr. HAMLIN. I would say, so far as the business which I represent is concerned, it would be better for us to go out of business, with our investment and all that, if we had to have it.

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Chairman, may I make a statement pertinent to Mr. Hamlin's evidence? Mr. Hamlin began his evidence by saying that the American Federation of Labor had issued an interview to

the effect that we understood that the American sugar growers favored the resolution on the ground that if this resolution passed it would be possible for American sugar growers to get the same kind of labor and under the same conditions. The American Federation of Labor did not issue such an interview or circular. What has been said by the officials of the American Federation of Labor, based upon evidence presented here before this committee, is that the American sugar growers were approached and it was signified to them that if they favored this resolution there might be hope for them some day to get the same kind of accommodation. We have that upon the evidence and upon the personal statements to us of certain sugar growers in the United States, that they have been so approached; but we did not say that they consented and favored this resolution upon that ground. We do not believe they do; in fact, what evidence has been before the committee is to the contrary.

Mr. RAKER. Now, Mr. Wallace, right there, will you just give the names of those men, the sugar growers of the United States that in substance talked with the American Federation of Labor and said that this would result as you have stated?

Mr. WALLACE. Mr. Oxnard, before this committee, made that assertion.

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. WALLACE. And Mr. Rogers made that assertion; and while they were rather vague, inasmuch as they would not say which of the commission or what agent of the commission approached them, yet they made that assertion.

Mr. HAMLIN. Mr. Wallace, Mr. Oxnard said he talked to the man two minutes and did not know his name and would not know him if he saw him. That just demonstrates how these statements that are based on vague statements get into the press. I learned of this statement. I did not see it here in Washington. I had supposed it was in your records, probably.

I learned that this statement had been given out here in Washington, but I did not see the statement itself. I said that this appeared in your records, probably, but I could not find it here this morning; but here is the way the statement was carried in a comparatively small paper in my home town, the Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph, of July 26, 1921. It is a Washington dispatch and is evidently an Associated Press dispatch, headed "Sugar interests support coolies." The article reads as follows:

The effort to pass legislation permitting the importation of Chinese coolies into Hawaii is a "conspiracy" that has behind it their eventual admission into the United States, the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor charge in a report made public to-day. Representatives of the sugar interests of Hawaii, the report said, have advised sugar men of this country not to interfere with the enactment of a law permitting Chinese coolies to come into Hawaii.

Now, as I said, I did not know that that report had been made, but that was a newspaper's deduction from the report that went broadcast over the United States.

Mr. RAKER. Is it not quite natural to draw the inference that if the sugar interests of Hawaii are permitted to break down the law and obtain contract coolie labor, which is peon or serf labor, it would be only the entering wedge toward supplying the sugar interests on the mainland with the same sort of labor?

Mr. HAMLIN. I think there are two answers to that. In the first place, I think there is no such disposition, and, further than that, anybody who has followed labor legislation in this country, no matter how desirable that situation might be, would realize that under the law we have already adopted——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Under the thirteenth amendment.

Mr. HAMLIN. All right; under the thirteenth amendment, although after the thirteenth amendment we did have contract labor in the United States.

Mr. RAKER. No; all of those laws have been held unconstitutional.

Mr. HAMLIN. But we did have it. It was in vogue. It might not have been presented to the courts.

Mr. RAKER. Wherever there has been a decision on the subject such laws have been held unconstitutional. What I asked you is this: If the Hawaiian sugar interests could induce or persuade Congress to permit this kind of labor to come into Hawaii, would it not be an easy step to assume that the sugar interests in the United States would ask the same privilege?

Mr. HAMLIN. No, 'sir; I would not think so. I do not know anything about Hawaiian conditions, but they are foreign to our conditions. I think that the bringing of contract labor or peon labor into the United States is so repugnant and foreign to all of our ideas that it is——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). You overlook the fact that Hawaii is a part of the United States.

Mr. HAMLIN. I do not know their conditions. I hold no brief for Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. What difference does it make as to the conditions?

Mr. HAMLIN. None whatever, so far as peonage is concerned.

Mr. RAKER. So that, if they could by any means, in any part of the United States, although it was only a possession or Territory, get this sort of concession, it would be quite natural, or it would look quite feasible, to get it at any other place in the United States, would it not?

Mr. HAMLIN. I do not think so, and I would have to answer no.

Mr. WALLACE. I want to call attention to the fact that Mr. Oxnard and Mr. Rogers have stated that they were opposed to having coolie labor imported into the United States, but that if that accommodation was given to the Hawaiian Islands, they would also require that same accommodation here, inasmuch as they were competitors.

Mr. RAKER. How do you feel about that?

Mr. HAMLIN. I have felt very strongly——

Mr. WEEBER. And you represent half of the beet sugar industry?

Mr. HAMLIN. Not half of it, but about 40 per cent of it. So far as the Great Western interests were concerned, I wired out there.

Mr. RAKER. It is quite natural for any American citizen to realize that to-day, because in the event he was trying to get a benefit from the Government; he could not stand up and ask for coolie contract labor in this country——

Mr. HAMLIN. Speaking personally, I would not want it. I would rather see the business go out than have it.

Mr. RAKER. How do your associates feel about it?

Mr. HAMLIN. In the same way. I know that they do not want it.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. This assumption, which Judge Raker says is a natural one from the evidence which has come before this committee,

namely, that the sugar interests in this country would be interested in bringing Chinese in if the Hawaiians got Chinese, or if they got permission to bring them into Hawaii, and that therefore there was a conspiracy between the sugar interests of the mainland and of Hawaii to bring Chinese into the United States——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). No, sir; I made no such statement.

Mr. HAMLIN. I did not so understand Judge Raker.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is the statement put out here by the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. HAMLIN. I tried to find the original, but I did not find it. I saw it as it was reported by the Associated Press.

Mr. SHAW. The question has been asked as to whether you were the attorney of these interests or represented them in some other way?

Mr. HAMLIN. I am both. That is to say, I am a lawyer and I have been more or less active in the managerial sense.

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Dillingham referred to a statement of the American Federation of Labor. What is that statement?

Mr. HAMLIN. I tried to get the statement, but all that I had of it was what was carried in the Associated Press dispatch which I read here, and which was to the effect that there was a conspiracy between the beet-sugar growers of the United States and the Hawaii sugar planters to ultimately introduce Chinese labor into the United States. That is practically the way the Associated Press carried it as the statement of the American Federation of Labor. I am not saying that that is a correct or proper deduction from it, but I am simply showing you how it got into the papers, and I have come here for the purpose of denying it.

The CHAIRMAN. The entire statement purporting to be the statement that Mr. Gompers offered the press is printed as a part of last Friday's hearings.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I wanted to get the statement here to see what it was. We are trying to unravel a fact that is based on a statement purporting to have come from the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read the interview given by Mr. Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, as it appears in our hearing of last Friday.

(At this point the chairman read the interview of Mr. Gompers which appears in the record of Friday, July 29, 1921.)

Mr. HAMLIN. I presume that those two last lines would be the ones referring to the matter carried by the Associated Press.

Mr. WEEBER. That was not the interview. It was printed from some advance pages of the American Federationist.

Mr. HAMLIN. This is not the one, but it is a statement carried by the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor. That was carried in the press.

The CHAIRMAN. What I have read was the interview given out. The other matter was the advance sheets from the forthcoming number of the American Federationist, containing a report of the legislative committee. I think it is somewhat similar except that it has the first telegram from Mr. Wright and not the second telegram which made some modifications.

These advance sheets also contain what we learned the other day was part of a letter written to Mr. Morrison at Denver. In this report

of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor, consisting of the three gentlemen whose names were given the other day, this statement is made:

The conspiracy to admit more than 50,000 Chinese coolies into Hawaii for any purpose leaves no doubt that it has behind it the idea of their eventual admission into the United States. Representatives of the sugar interests make no secret of this in talking to those they believe friends of the bill. Their advice to the sugar men in this country who it can be said are opposed to the bill is: Do not interfere with the enactment of a law permitting Chinese coolies to come into Hawaii. It is an entering wedge; if we get them, you will have no trouble to get them into the United States.

Mr. HAMLIN. That is the portion.

Mr. GOMPERS. May I call attention to the fact that there is no statement there bearing out the alleged charge that there is a conspiracy between the sugar planters of Hawaii and those of the United States? It states there is a conspiracy, and of that fact there is no doubt in the minds of those representing the American Federation of Labor—that is, that a conspiracy exists in Hawaii.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I deny that there is any such conspiracy. We propose to be open and above board in every particular. We have a commission here that was appointed by the governor of Hawaii under a concurrent resolution passed by the Legislature of Hawaii, and the charge of a conspiracy is entirely unwarranted and not supported by any of the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the committee understands, and it is giving a good deal of its time to these hearings because of the fact that the commission which is here comes from the Legislature of Hawaii. A resolution was passed by the Legislature of Hawaii, and for that reason we believe that we should go into it as fully as we can. Mr. Hamlin, the committee thanks you for your statements.

I meant to ask you, Mr. Gompers, when you were here the other day, if we could get hold of Mr. Keefe.

Mr. GOMPERS. There is no doubt you can.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. GOMPERS. I saw him for a moment, and only for a moment, on last Saturday.

The CHAIRMAN. In connection with suppressed or withheld reports or papers, I feel that a whole lot of our trouble in regard to oriental people is due to the fact that we have never been able to secure the basis of the gentleman's agreement, and I feel that this committee is acting largely in the dark on Japanese matters for want of those papers.

Mr. GOMPERS. My impression is that we were not discussing Japanese, but Chinese.

The CHAIRMAN. The question in my mind is what to do with the Hawaiian Islands with 43 per cent Japanese population, a large part of that 43 per cent being American-born Japanese.

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know, and I will not assert it, but if my memory serves me right, or, at least, I have somehow got the impression that last Friday you said that the most important thing for Hawaii was sugar. If that statement was made by you, sir, as a citizen and as president of the American Federation of Labor I resent it. I regard as the most important thing in Hawaii man or manhood.

The CHAIRMAN. That is merely splitting hairs, and the record will show what I said. Just what I said was that the basic industry of the island is sugar, that the various business enterprises they have out there rest largely upon sugar, and that without the sugar business you would not have much prosperity in Hawaii.

Mr. GOMPERS. But there are different methods by which sugar can be produced profitably without following the present method of using peon labor, Japanese labor, or Chinese labor.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has gone at considerable length into the labor troubles of Hawaii since long before her acquisition by the United States, and going back to the days of the monarchy. We have made a study of the work of the Hawaiian Immigration Board. We have seen the situation of Hawaii in that regard as a republic, when she turned back some Japanese laborers, and then we have seen her as a Territory of the United States forced to apologize for that action and pay \$75,000 in damages and admit the Japanese. Finally we have run into the situation created by the "gentlemen's agreement," and I am wondering if, as we have been informed, the "gentlemen's agreement" has a separate provision as to Hawaii, and, if so, where Hawaii gets off in the long run.

Mr. RAKER. Would it not be proper to say that while it was a monarchy, they admitted Chinese, and that the residents of Hawaii then arose and demanded the exclusion of the Chinese, while the sugar planters were in favor of admitting the Chinese, and they fought it out. The sugar planters said that they could not exist without the Chinese, but, after a long struggle, the people of Hawaii excluded the Chinese through their legislature, and they had them excluded when the islands became a part of the United States. My recollection is quite clear on that, and the record will show that there was a memorial by the sugar planters making it clear as to what they wanted.

In that connection, I hope that Mr. Keefe will come forward so that he can make a statement with regard to the length of time it took me to get the Keefe report. After I got the report, I obtained permission from the House to have it published as it appears.

Mr. BOX. Will you have inserted in the record the date of the act by the Hawaiian government by which they excluded Chinese? There has been some reference to such an act. That was prior to annexation.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; long before; following the Gary Act. The Chinese comprised one-fourth of the population of Hawaii at that time. The native population has always been declining since Capt. Cook made the discovery of the islands, and they have always maintained their population by some form of immigration. The Chinese were going into the small trades and businesses, and thereupon the people became afraid that they would be orientalized through the Chinese and excluded them.

Mr. RAKER. Have you read the memorial that was presented at that time by the sugar planters? It is not in exactly the same words as this resolution, but it is very similar to the resolution that is presented by the governor of the Hawaiian Islands to-day.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, you are perfectly right in stating that this committee has gone into the history of immigration into the Hawaiian Islands. We have gone into it also, and one fact must

come to the fore, and that is that the people of Hawaii for 40 years have realized that the only way to secure American control of that country was to keep the races in balance. Pointing back to the Chinese problem, when we realized that the Chinese were getting a numerical strength out of proportion to the other nationalities in the country we put the clamps down. At the time of annexation and prior to annexation we called attention to the fact that, unless something was done, by virtue of Japanese immigration to Hawaii the Japanese would get out of balance with the other races and the country would get out of American hands. For 23 years that matter has at different times been called to the attention of Congress. To-day Mr. Gompers and others are insisting that our problem can be solved in some way other than that we have suggested. No such plan has been put forward by them, but I want to say that there is sufficient latitude in the resolution passed by the Hawaiian Legislature to give us the opportunity of meeting any constructive remedy which may be suggested here in Washington. The resolution which is before this committee to-day was prepared here in Washington. It is true that we believe that Chinese, or a limited number of Chinese, admitted under certain restrictions would relieve this situation to-day. If there is a better way, we want to know it. We do not know of any other way. We believe that this is the best way. If it is a question of whether or not Hawaii shall go over to the control of an alien nationality and American control cease, we protest and urge that something be done to make secure American control of Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. The problem now before the committee is this: It is admitted here that the Japanese are there in sufficient numbers to endanger the maintenance of the islands by this country as an American territory. You have a considerable number of Filipinos. The testimony of Mr. Keefe, when it comes, or as you will see from this report, will show that he assailed the Filipinos in very bitter language. The present proposition is to bring in Chinese. All of these propositions are detrimental to the bringing in of any sort of European labor, which probably would not come to Hawaii unless it were poverty stricken and illiterate. Where will you go to draw your line? If you bring in Chinese for a period of five years, you will have made it that much more oriental and that much more unlikely to attract European immigration, even if we should relax the law so as to admit the illiterate. Therefore, at the end of five years, your position would still be oriental, with Japanese there and still coming through the picture-bride method and otherwise. They will be certain, in my opinion, through peaceful penetration, in time to exercise complete control of the Hawaiian Islands. I think that is the problem.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is the problem.

The CHAIRMAN. Whether this resolution or some modification of the same offers a temporary solution is the question. I think it will be a matter of comparatively few years before the sugar plantations will be in the actual control of the Japanese.

Mr. RAKER. The peculiar thing is this—and I have given the matter study and investigation for 16 years—that, so far as I can find, there has been no effort on the part of the Hawaiian people, before any committee of Congress, or otherwise, to restrict Japanese immigration, but there have been two long and hotly contested mat-

ters before this committee when they sought Chinese labor, and both of them were defeated unanimously. This is the third time the matter has been presented to this committee.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Did I understand Mr. Raker to say that the Territory has previously asked Congress for legislation for the admission of Chinese?

Mr. RAKER. No; I did not say that. I said that there had been two questions brought before Congress, one eight years ago and another one three years ago——

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE (interposing). Proposed by the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. RAKER. No; it was not by the Territory.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I want to make it clear that this is the first time since I came here to Congress that the Territorial government has asked Congress for relief of this kind.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, was not one of the bills of which Judge Raker speaks before the Committee on Territories?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Not the Hindle bill; that was the United Chinese Society's bill that they sent Mr. Hindle here to ask for. The bill you refer to was the bill to prohibit the employment of aliens on Federal public works.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was before the Committee on Territories. As a matter of fact, you started the plan to take oriental labor or Asiatic labor off of Federal works in Hawaii?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Right there I would like to ask Mr. Gompers something. He said he wanted "men" there. Now, at the last election in Hawaii the labor unions in Hawaii opposed me at the election on this same proposition of Americanization in the rehabilitation bill. That provides for Americanization of public works by prohibiting the employment of aliens on Federal public works. That was the first time that a representative from Hawaii had ever come to Congress asking for such protection for American labor, and the labor unions of Hawaii opposed me on that proposition at that election.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Is it not true that the beneficial results from that part of the rehabilitation bill are greater than from any other part of that bill?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes; at least so far as the laboring man is concerned.

Mr. WRIGHT. On the point the Delegate has just raised, I wish to make a correction. In the first place, the labor unions did not oppose Mr. Kalaniana'ole at the last election—that is, did not go on record as opposing him—although the sentiment of the organizations was opposed to the rehabilitation bill, but it was absolutely not for that reason at all; it was opposed to the rehabilitation bill that was before the Congress at that time because it was the general sentiment that that bill, if passed, would put an end to homesteading. That was the sole ground upon which organized labor opposed the rehabilitation bill.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. The labor men knew that this labor section for the Americanization of the islands was in that bill, and Mr. Tyson, president of the labor union at that time, notwithstanding that knowledge, came out with a statement opposing me generally on that bill. They publicly opposed me on the whole bill without

any reservation whatsoever. The most important matter in that bill so far as organized labor is concerned was the Americanization section and yet the labor unions opposed that, a matter that was of vital interest to the Hawaiian laboring people. Why? Because we wanted our country to be run by Americans and not Asiatics, and yet the labor unions opposed it.

Mr. GOMPERS. And that is the reason why you want to bring in Chinese coolies?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. It is not the reason at all, but the reason is that Hawaii and the Hawaiian people have been knocking at the doors of Washington for relief for years but Washington has not granted that relief. Ever since annexation I am on record for the Americanization of those islands, and why do not those who stand for Americanization here stand for something that will help the Hawaiian people?

Mr. GOMPERS. Let me answer that question by saying this: That the relief you ask to Americanize Hawaii is to bring Chinese coolies into Hawaii. That is your system.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Before annexation we had our labor laws. Hawaii is not a new country, and we solved the problem of our labor through labor laws which permitted us to bring in laborers in such a way as to maintain a balanced population and we had no such racial issues as we have had since annexation. We had laws barring the Japanese from Hawaii, but when annexation came, the American laws allowed them to flood Hawaii, with the result that they are now in numerical control. And now Hawaii is appealing to Congress for relief from a situation which is a result of no act of our own. That is our situation. You have allowed the Japanese to come into Hawaii, and we ask you to solve the problem for us and make it an American Territory.

Mr. GOMPERS. By permitting Chinese coolies to come into Hawaii?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes; to overcome the preponderance of Japanese population that the laws of the United States have allowed to come into Hawaii. We believe the Chinese are the only ones that can overcome that preponderance; and, while we propose this as an emergency relief measure, we want you to pass permanent immigration laws to allow white people from Europe to come into Hawaii and make that a white man's country.

Mr. WALLACE. Will they come and compete with the Chinese? Will any white man compete with those you have there now, the Filipinos, for instance?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. The Filipinos have as much right there as anybody else.

Mr. WALLACE. Absolutely, and more so than the Chinese.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. The Chinese would not compete with any white men at all under the terms of this resolution.

Mr. WALLACE. They will.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. But they can not do so under this resolution. It is all up to the committee here. If they see fit to pass such a resolution as this, it is up to them to restrict it in such a way as to protect citizen labor, but if they do not pass it we are delivered into alien hands.

Mr. Box. I have read somewhere that your Government, prior to annexation, sent a commission to Japan and finally succeeded in

inducing Japan to consent to the importation of a lot of Japanese laborers—is that correct?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. When was that?

Mr. BOX. It must have been during the kingdom.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes; that was done by the Government.

Mr. BOX. And some thousands were brought in.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Oh, yes; but when we saw that we were going to be dominated by a certain race we stopped them from coming in because we could not allow any one alien race to dominate.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, you now have a large number of Japanese in the islands. Their presence there has brought about an acute economic and racial condition.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Now, to remedy that condition—

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We are asking you to give us a remedy for it.

Mr. RAKER. To remedy that condition you are seeking to have brought in Chinese contract labor which will go out in the fields and take the places of these Japanese—is that right?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. It is not. No Chinese would replace a single Japanese. We are coming to you and advising you of the condition in Hawaii, and we believe that the provision of a balanced population is the only way to solve the racial problem we have there. If you do not believe in the solution we are presenting to you, for God's sake give us something else, but do not condemn us for coming over here and trying to save ourselves. It seems as though you think we are a bunch of damned crooks and that we are trying to sneak something through Congress; while, as Mr. Dillingham has stated, this commission has been sent here officially. We strongly resent any such intimations.

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Let me ask you a question.

Mr. FREE. I do not believe Mr. Kalaniana'ole understood your last question. You asked him whether they were not trying to get in Chinese convicts to do this.

Mr. RAKER. No; I did not. I said Chinese contract laborers.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. You would be willing to accept the complete exclusion of orientals from the islands and the United States, too?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. It is up to you to solve that. We have had racial questions in Hawaii for many years and we have solved them but now it is a question for you gentlemen to solve; and, unless it is solved, it is going to be the same question that arose in the South. If you send this commission back to Honolulu without this problem solved by Congress, you will find that the Japanese will feel, and will state publicly, that the United States is afraid to exclude Japanese and afraid to admit Chinese. "The Americans are afraid of us Japanese," they'll say, and they will act in accordance. That is the situation. I tell you that you must solve our problem and not let it continue until a condition arises in Hawaii similar to the condition that arose in the South, and let lynch law solve it. Solve it now while the situation is such as will enable you to solve it without international difficulty.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, down in Fresno somebody took the Japanese and put them on the train and sent them out of Fresno. You want legislation whereby we can go to China and bring over—

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE (interposing). The Fresno situation is not similar. I do not want you to go any further with that until I am

through. You sent these shiploads of Japanese and put them in the Territory of Hawaii. The people there had nothing to do with the dumping of those Japanese into the islands, and we are coming to you, who dumped them in there, to solve the problem that they make to-day for Hawaii. We did not bring them into Hawaii; you did it.

The CHAIRMAN. We will suspend this line of debate. Mr. Wright is here and we will proceed to hear him. Are you ready to go on with your statement, Mr. Wright?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; I guess so.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you have been in the islands about how long?

Mr. WRIGHT. I stated I had been in the islands about four years, a little less than four years.

The CHAIRMAN. You visited how many of the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. I visited on two of the islands; I have been on two islands—the islands of Oahu and Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. You have made a study of the sugar-plantation business?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have not made an exhaustive study of it; no. I worked on a plantation in Hawaii for three months, and that is all the plantation work I have done.

The CHAIRMAN. You are sent here as a delegate from the trade-unions of Honolulu?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; I have credentials.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there trade-unions in other parts of the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. Other than——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Honolulu.

Mr. WRIGHT. There are members of our organizations in the other islands, but no local branches.

The CHAIRMAN. Just who sends you.

Mr. WRIGHT. The Honolulu central labor body.

The CHAIRMAN. You come from the Honolulu organization and not from any that may be at Hilo or Maui or anywhere else?

Mr. WRIGHT. As a matter of fact, there are no lodges on the other islands; our members on the other islands are under the jurisdiction of the Honolulu lodges.

The CHAIRMAN. About what did you say was the membership of the labor unions in Honolulu?

Mr. WRIGHT. I said that at the present time the membership had probably dropped to 1,200.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it dropping off?

Mr. WRIGHT. Although I am not positive.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the membership come down a little?

Mr. WRIGHT. The membership has come down; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the cause of that?

Mr. WRIGHT. It is pretty hard to tell, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Has industry let down a little?

Mr. WRIGHT. A good many of our people who are from the States—mechanics—have returned to the States. Then we had trouble with the telephone company; the electrical workers were involved in a quarrel with the telephone company, and as a result the membership of the electrical workers fell off considerably.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there many electrical workers on the Island of Oahu?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; in our organization there were at one time over 200 members.

The CHAIRMAN. You are employed in the navy yard at Pearl Harbor—is that right?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And your work is that of a machinist?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are paid directly by the Federal Government?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; by the Federal Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Are all the employees paid in that way?

Mr. WRIGHT. All the employees in the navy yard?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any orientals at work there?

Mr. WRIGHT. There are no orientals working in the navy yard.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any?

Mr. WRIGHT. There have been some, I understand, working on contract works, and that is especially true of contract works under the Army.

The CHAIRMAN. What I want to get at exactly is this: In Pearl Harbor, as far as you know, up to the passage of this recent law, which was a part of the rehabilitation bill, were there Japanese laborers employed, or other orientals, or alien laborers?

Mr. WRIGHT. Do you include Filipinos as alien laborers?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. WRIGHT. During the war I believe, Mr. Chairman, there were quite a few aliens employed in the navy yard, but immediately after the war an order was issued by the Navy Department, I understand, which absolutely eliminated all aliens from employment in the navy yard.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you make any estimate as to the number of orientals that have been eliminated from Federal employment?

Mr. WRIGHT. From Federal employment?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Directly and on contract work under the Federal Government?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. It has been variously estimated at from 5,000 to 10,000, but up to the time I left, which, you understand, was only a few days after this went into effect, there had been no authoritative statement issued, aside from an article which appeared in the Honolulu Advertiser on July 2, which I ask to have inserted in the record.

(The article is as follows:)

MANY ALIENS TO BE THROWN OUT OF WORK HERE—PASSAGE OF REHABILITATION BILL MEANS DISCHARGE OF 5,000 FROM FEDERAL WORK—WILL AID PLANTERS.

Operation of the rehabilitation bill, which now has been passed by both Houses, will release from Federal employment—and probably make available for employment on sugar plantations—about 5,000 aliens now employed on Army and Navy and other Federal Government work in the islands. Thus, although the immediate effect may be to paralyze construction work at Schofield Barracks and elsewhere, the plantations will be enabled to speed up the grinding of the sugar crop, which is behind schedule.

The CHAIRMAN. When that went into effect, were these orientals—and I take it they were mostly Japanese—immediately dropped from the works?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think they were, immediately upon the signing of that bill by President Harding.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there other people ready to take their places?

Mr. WRIGHT. To take the places of these men who were dropped off?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. In some of the lines there probably were.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know in detail?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know the thing in detail, because it all took place so shortly before I left.

The CHAIRMAN. In your opinion, will the men who were dropped off the Federal works go to the plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. They were the men who had come originally from the plantations, a large portion of them, and in our conversation with Mr. Butler, the labor secretary of the Sugar Planters' Association, and who, by the way, is also a member of the American Legion and very proud of the fact that this was put over through the efforts of the American Legion—in our conversation with him he developed the fact that in his opinion about 2,000 of those men who were released would be immediately available for plantation work, and he said that would have an effect upon the problem. That is the way he put it to us.

The CHAIRMAN. When you left the islands you had come to the conclusion that there was a shortage of labor on the plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. On the plantations.

The CHAIRMAN. When you left the islands, you had come to the conclusion that there was a shortage of labor?

Mr. WRIGHT. I had realized for some time that there was a shortage on the plantations; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When you go away on business of this kind, do you quit your Federal job or take a furlough?

Mr. WRIGHT. I am on furlough; I have a leave of absence, part with pay and part without pay, from the commandant at Pearl Harbor to come to the mainland and present data and information that we have collected on the conditions in Hawaii and on the cost of living especially before the Navy Wage Board, which is about to convene. The fact that I was coming here on that proposition was one of the reasons that I was chosen as delegate from the central labor body, because it was felt that expense could be saved in that way, and that two birds could be killed with one stone, you might say, by combining the missions.

The CHAIRMAN. You are authorized by the commandant of the navy yard to make these presentations on the cost of living and wage adjustment.

Mr. WRIGHT. Before the wage board; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand that you are authorized to do that by the commandant?

Mr. WRIGHT. I am authorized; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he pay some of your traveling expenses?

Mr. WRIGHT. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. He is just interested in having you make that presentation?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, as a new member of this committee I have consumed very little time of this committee. I think one morning I asked two questions; I started to ask three, but finished with two. This committee has been sitting here for about a month. We have been listening to statements made by members of a commission from Hawaii, representing the Government and appointed by the governor of the Hawaiian Islands, and those men seem to be the authorized agents of those islands. Their statements have been open and aboveboard and have been quite interesting.

At first I was inclined to sit back and listen to questions by some of the older members of the committee, several of whom, I think, know about as much as can be known about this question, but, since Mr. Wright's first telegram came, I have been made to realize the seriousness of some of the charges he has made. I have gone into this thing a little bit individually and I would like the indulgence of the committee for a little while to ask quite a number of questions, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Wright, you testified on Friday that you went to Hawaii in 1917, and that you had been employed as a machinist since that time. Have you ever been on a sugar plantation, except for the time of your visit on or about July 2 of this year, subsequent to your conference with representatives of the sugar planters?

Mr. WRIGHT. Have I been on a plantation?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. I have worked on a plantation as a machinist.

Mr. SHAW. What kind of machinist work were you doing on the plantation?

Mr. WRIGHT. General mill repair and overhaul work.

Mr. SHAW. That had nothing to do with field machinery?

Mr. WRIGHT. Nothing to do with the field machinery; no.

Mr. SHAW. Did you have anything to do with the field management of these various sugar plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. Personally, no.

Mr. SHAW. You do not have any first-hand knowledge of the plantation work there; that is, gained from experience on the plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. No.

Mr. SHAW. Then, you have never done any so-called field work on sugar plantations in Hawaii or any place else?

Mr. WRIGHT. No.

Mr. SHAW. Have you ever visited any plantation outside of the island on which you live?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHAW. Where?

Mr. WRIGHT. On the island of Hawaii.

Mr. SHAW. How many days altogether have you spent on sugar plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. How many days altogether?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. I stated I had worked three months on this plantation in Hawaii.

Mr. SHAW. On that one plantation?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHAW. I did not understand that. But that work was wholly with the machinery in the mill?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; that was my work.

Mr. SHAW. Just what do you know about sugar, as a matter of fact? Is that all the experience you have had in the sugar business, just your three months' work in this mill?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is all the personal experience I have had, yes.

Mr. SHAW. How long did you say it takes a sugar crop to mature?

Mr. WRIGHT. A sugar crop?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. It is supposed to take 18 months.

Mr. SHAW. What kind of attention does it require in the ground and while it is growing? Can you describe the operations of producing a crop of sugar?

Mr. WRIGHT. The entire operations?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Why, I think I can, in a general way. Do you want me to go into detail?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. You understand that the ground has to be prepared; the old stools are plowed under and the ground is prepared, furrowed, and the seed planted; then the seed is covered and given its first irrigation, and after that nature does its work, assisted by the cultivators. The cane is given irrigation at certain intervals, I do not know how frequently, and when it requires it, it is cultivated, hoed by hand and weeded.

Mr. SHAW. How many times do they cultivate it in a season?

Mr. WRIGHT. It differs on the different plantations, I believe. I understand that the plantation of Olaa, on the Island of Hawaii, has reduced the cultivation to a very marked extent by use of the paper mulching system on this plantation. The seed cane, after it is first irrigated, is covered with a peculiar kind of paper that is manufactured from the waste products of the cane. It is something like building paper in rolls; it is laid over the cane, and this paper kills the growth of weeds; it is easily broken by the sharp point of the cane shoot as it comes up, and it also retains the natural moisture of the soil, and is considered to be a very improved method.

Mr. SHAW. That is the pulp from the stock, left after the sugar is squeezed out?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; after the sugar is squeezed out this fiber is put through a process which brings it to the form of paper, and it is then used for that purpose. That, of course, reduces the necessity for cultivation on that plantation, but I believe it has not been followed to any extent on other plantations. Of course, after the cane is up and closes the field over there is no more cultivation. Then the problem is simply one of irrigation and fertilization. The fertilizer, I believe, is applied through the irrigating water in solution, sacks of nitrate being dumped into the ditches according to instructions issued by the chemist. That goes on and the cane grows until it is ready for the harvest. I believe the cane blooms first, and then immediately after blooming I think it is supposed to be ready.

Mr. SHAW. Is it supposed to be ready when the bloom falls?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think that is the case.

Mr. SHAW. At what season of the year is that?

Mr. WRIGHT. It is practically a rotating proposition; that is, you understand, we have no seasons as we have here, and it depends on when the cane was planted; so many months after it is planted it reaches that stage of maturity. Then the problem is to get the field cleared off as economically as possible, and on most of the plantations the fields are burned over, which burns up the dry leaves and leaves the stalks of cane—blackened stalks of cane. Then after that the cutting gang goes in and cuts the cane; it is stripped wherever necessary and the tops cut off, trimmed up, and left in shape to be loaded on the cars; then the loading gang loads it on the cars and it is hauled to the mill. The cars are hauled to the mills on railroads, the plantations running roads a certain distance apart, 150 feet, I believe, or 300 feet, and it is taken to the mill and crushed. That is the cycle of the operation, so far as I understand it.

Mr. SHAW. Is this cane cut by hand or by machinery?

Mr. WRIGHT. The cane is cut altogether by hand.

Mr. SHAW. Is it topped after it is cut or before?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think it is usually topped at the same time, but I am not positive on that, because, as I say, I never went into the fields.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Wright, I would like to know just what facts you based your first cablegram on. That is, on the date of that message, what information did you have and where did you get it, with reference to the statements by the Hawaiian commission before the committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. In regard to the fact of their misrepresenting conditions?

Mr. SHAW. Yes; and all other facts mentioned in your telegram.

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, I will say that largely our impression was gained from the newspapers published in Honolulu.

Mr. SHAW. You say your impression was gained. Do you mean to say that that statement was not based on facts?

Mr. WRIGHT. I say the statements that they made were misrepresenting conditions. Of course, we were not here present in Washington and had absolutely no way of knowing except through the reports that were given out there as to what was being done here at Washington.

We believed, in the first place, that the labor situation had been greatly exaggerated, at least the criticalness of the situation. We admitted there was a certain labor shortage, but it seemed to us a misrepresentation to attribute all the ills of the Territory to this one factor, as we were led to believe was being done.

Mr. SHAW. You did not mean to be positive, then, that it was being misrepresented, but you thought from the facts you gathered from the newspapers that that was probably the case.

Mr. WRIGHT. Certainly. That is the only way in which we could secure any information.

Mr. SHAW. When you were under the impression that they were misrepresenting conditions, just what particular misrepresentation did you have in mind?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, I will state, as I stated before, that the matter was discussed and different delegates from the central body expressed their opinion. I will state that that was one of the points upon which

we believed they were misrepresenting conditions, attributing all the ills of the Territory to the labor shortage; and another thing, we believed from cross-examination of Mr. Dillingham, when Mr. Raker tried to bring out a definite statement that coolies or Chinese under bond were desired, the report carried the impression that this issue was being evaded and the real intention concealed. Of course, that might not come under the head of misrepresentation of conditions.

Mr. RAKER. Where is that in the record? I have been trying to find that colloquy in the record. Do you know where that was? I have been looking for it for a couple of days.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in this record which has just been printed. You have not seen that record?

Mr. WRIGHT. I had not seen the record until this morning.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Wright, I want you to understand that I have not any special interest in this matter except to get at the bottom of it.

Mr. WRIGHT. That is all any of us want. We were discussing misrepresentation when Judge Raker interrupted a moment ago.

Mr. Dillingham's statement as to the setback to the pineapple industry appealed to us as misrepresentation, for we knew that the pines were coming off at least two weeks ahead of season and that the fields and canneries had plenty of labor to handle an abnormally large crop. No extensive advertising was necessary this year to secure all the labor required, and offers of blocks of labor—in hundred lots—was turned down, according to information given by the Filipino labor agencies. There was a standing ad. in one of the papers offering all kinds of Filipino labor. The propaganda carried on there for the avowed purpose of backing up the commission's request gave us the impression that the commission was not really striving for a solution of a problem but for the accomplishment of a very definite objective, namely, the admission of Chinese coolie labor into the Territory. We felt that to insist that such a program constituted the only solution, or, in fact, constituted any actual solution to the problems of the Territory was the rankest kind of misrepresentation.

Mr. SHAW. Now, since you have discussed the cablegram generally, let us take it up point by point. You stated that statistics in your possession indicated that there was no actual labor shortage in the Territory. Have you those statistics with you?

Mr. WRIGHT. I will state in regard to the statistics in our possession that the commission, I believe, has claimed that 6,000 laborers were required at present to fill the shortage. Mr. Butler stated to us that 5,000 was all that could be absorbed within the next 18 months. Mr. Hall stated that 2,000 within the next two months would probably be all they could handle. We figured that Mr. Hall was very near the mark; in fact, a little under our mark. We had assumed that about 3,000 would fill the present shortage. Consequently, we felt that the amount of shortage was being overestimated.

We were positive from inquiries we had made that this shortage of 2,000 or 3,000 could easily be filled locally. All the other industries except pineapples were slacking down, and men were being laid off, and we find that there is a large class of casuals or men engaged on occasional jobs, or temporarily employed, who ought to be figured as available for steady work, and it was reported to us that there were 1,000 idle Filipinos and 2,000 idle, or only occasionally employed, laborers of other nationalities who would be available on short

notice for any kind of laborer's work, requiring groups or blocks of men. The reports were made to us during the investigation that was carried on through a committee of the central body.

Mr. FREE. Pardon me just a moment right there, Mr. Wright. You say reports were made. Who was making those reports to you?

Mr. WRIGHT. Our committee members who had been asked to make these investigations. So far as signed statements are concerned, we can not give you any signed statements, because, I will state to this committee, the people do not dare to put their name to anything that might become public for fear it would result in their being discharged or blacklisted. That is an absolute fear that our people are working under.

Mr. SHAW. Who do you mean by "our people," Mr. Wright?

Mr. WRIGHT. I mean the working people, the people who are dependent for their living upon jobs. Whether that theory is justified or not, I am not in a position to say, but it is an absolute fear, a fear of coming out publicly with any statement that might be construed in that way.

Mr. SHAW. Is there not some way in which you can determine whether or not that theory is justifiable?

Mr. WRIGHT. I will say that in our opinion there has been a blacklist system effective on the islands. Of course, it is denied absolutely by the plantation interests and the employers of labor.

Mr. SHAW. And you do not have any positive proof?

Mr. WRIGHT. I will tell you, gentlemen, that we tried to get a bill through the last legislature prohibiting blacklisting, and we failed absolutely. They refused to pass that bill. It is perfectly evident that we have no data of any kind that could be submitted to this committee as statistics.

Mr. SHAW. Then your statement was based upon statistics——

Mr. WRIGHT (interposing). Statistics that had been given to us.

Mr. SHAW. Statistics described in this testimony by you as having been prepared by yourselves?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. SHAW. Then you did not secure any information from any other source?

Mr. WRIGHT. The committeemen, you understand, made inquiries of the employment agencies, and also made inquiries of the heads of the different labor organizations, and as a result of the reports that were given to them, they reported to the central body what conditions they found. You appreciate we were not in any position to carry on a canvass of the territory or anything of that kind; but I will state again what I stated before, that the thing we wanted, the thing we want now more than anything else, is an absolute showdown on this proposition; an authoritative investigation by some Federal agency which will absolutely determine what we can not ourselves determine. That, I believe, is the thing we asked for in the very start.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Wright, how many laborers are employed on the sugar plantations and how many were there employed last month?

Mr. WRIGHT. How many laborers are employed on all the sugar plantations?

Mr. SHAW. Yes, sir.

Mr. WRIGHT. I have not the information for last month; no.

Mr. SHAW. Would you recall it if you heard the number?

Mr. WRIGHT. Of all nationalities?

Mr. SHAW. Yes; all laborers.

Mr. WRIGHT. I would say that I presume there are about 37,000 or 38,000.

Mr. SHAW. Are there not about 38,600? Is not that about right?

Mr. WRIGHT. I would not recognize those figures; no.

Mr. SHAW. Do you know how many there were employed in June, 1920, on the sugar plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. In June, 1920—I think I can give you May, 1920. The only sources of information we have on those points are the published statistics. All nationalities, 44,285 in June, 43,371 in May, skilled and unskilled, including contractors, according to the governor's report.

Mr. SHAW. 1920?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; 1920.

Mr. SHAW. What was it in 1919?

Mr. WRIGHT. Forty-five thousand three hundred and eleven.

Mr. SHAW. Do you think there is a real labor shortage existing in the islands now?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, I do not; that is my personal opinion. I do not think there is.

Mr. SHAW. That is your personal judgment.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; just my personal opinion. I believe, if anything, so far as plantation labor is concerned, there is an over-supply; that is, so far as the ordinary lower level of labor is concerned, because I believe this discharge of aliens from Federal construction work has released enough men, together with those unemployed and casually employed, to fill the plantation vacancies for the present; that is, the present plantation requirements. Now, if it comes to the problem of supplying this deficiency that has been created in Federal construction work, then that is another problem entirely. That is a problem that should be solved by the taking over of unemployed white citizens from the United States. You understand that; that is where that shortage could be supplied by white labor, and I will state further, we have contended all along, and our efforts have been directed with this point in view, of keeping the Japanese on the plantations as far as possible. Our fear, our menace, has been the upward crowding of the Japanese, and we have believed that any means that could be devised to keep the Japanese on the plantation where he was originally brought to do his work, would be the solution of the problem.

Mr. SHAW. Do you mean to say bringing in other laborers would advance the Japanese and that that would furnish you competition?

Mr. WRIGHT. Unquestionable it would. The Japanese would yield to the pressure from below of this lower grade of orientals that are brought in underneath them, and absolutely, they would crowd out those at the top, and we who consider ourselves on the top level would be the ones crowded off the islands. That is the way we look at it.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Wright, you said in your cablegram that men were driven from the plantations by intolerable conditions.

Mr. WRIGHT. Which I amended by dropping the word "intolerable."

Mr. SHAW. You amended that in the second cablegram to Mr. Wallace, which was read on Friday. Now, I would like to know just why you made such a serious charge, knowing it would be presented to a committee of Congress, and then found reason within a week to retract that charge.

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, you are harping on the use of the word "intolerable."

Mr. SHAW. No; I am not harping on anything. I just want to know what the conditions are there. I want to know why you made a statement like that and then had to retract it.

Mr. WRIGHT. I have confessed to the committee an error of judgment in using the word "intolerable." That is all I can do so far as that is concerned. Omitting that word, the statement would be that the "men are driven from the plantations by conditions. Men who are driven from the plantations by the conditions are still available if paid a living wage."

Mr. SHAW. Now, what are the conditions under which they have been driven from the plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. The conditions could be classified in two ways. First, there is the simple question of a living wage. That is included in the conditions under which the men work. And the second is the arbitrary, autocratic way in which they are treated and all their requests for adjustments, wage adjustments, or wage changes are not only denied but are refused consideration. That in itself has created among all the plantation laborers—I am not speaking of the Japanese; I am speaking of all of them—a feeling of antagonism and discontent. The men, as far as I can find, have been, or consider that they have been, illtreated in their efforts to get what they consider adequate living conditions.

Mr. FREE. May I interrupt right there, Mr. Wright? Is it not a fact that they made tremendous salaries during the last year?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; they have not been paid any tremendous salaries. They have been paid a bonus.

Mr. FREE. I am referring to the bonus.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; they have been given a bonus.

Mr. FREE. And they made more than you did?

Mr. WRIGHT. Some of them did, and some of them did not.

Mr. FREE. Have they any complaints in the world on the wages they have been paid in the last year in Hawaii on sugar plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. What is that?

Mr. FREE. Have they any complaints on the wages that they have been given for the work they have done during the last year?

Mr. WRIGHT. You mean up to the time sugar took this drop?

Mr. FREE. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not think they have any complaint as to the amount. The only complaint they had was to the principle involved.

Mr. FREE. What principle was involved? If they got good wages and good living quarters, what were they kicking about?

Mr. WRIGHT. The principle of a bonus in itself.

Mr. FREE. They did not want the bonus?

Mr. WRIGHT. As near as I can understand it, they would have preferred a steady basic wage that would raise them to a permanent higher economic level, rather than to be dependent upon a fluctuat-

ng schedule of bonuses that was given to them as a gift and could be taken away at any time. That was the idea, I believe.

Mr. FREE. Then they were not fighting on account of the amount of money they were getting or on account of the living quarters, but were fighting because they wanted a higher basic wage instead of getting a larger amount of money through a bonus; is that right?

Mr. WRIGHT. Are you speaking of conditions previously or conditions existing at the present time. I am speaking of present conditions.

Mr. FREE. Present conditions have only come on in the last few months.

Mr. WRIGHT. Under the present conditions, you understand, the bonus has practically been eliminated.

Mr. FREE. But you were speaking of trouble that was created there in the islands and complaints that were made by the workers and that must have been a year ago, because there has not been any late trouble, has there? In other words, they were kicking while they were getting this big money, were they not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Last year?

Mr. FREE. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; they had been kicking for some time because they did not believe, as I understand it, that the system was a proper system, but I do not know, and of course I am not sufficiently in touch with those people to know just what it was that they demanded. All I know is—

Mr. FREE (interposing). All you know is that despite the fact they were getting bigger wages than the mechanics in the islands and despite the fact they were getting good living quarters, yet they had it in for their employers; that is the fact, is it not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, I will tell you this—

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we let Mr. Shaw go ahead with his series of questions.

Mr. RAKER. He ought to answer the question first.

Mr. WRIGHT. I believe what the gentleman was trying to arrive at was in regard to the strike of last year. It is not a question of whether or not they were justified; that is another matter; but the fact remains that they were defeated in that strike and were beaten down and crushed, and as a result of that these feelings were engendered, which result in the present shortage of labor and in the present lowering of efficiency.

The CHAIRMAN. A little later, Judge Raker and myself and some others want to take up the matter of that strike at some length, but for the present we will let Mr. Shaw continue.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Wright, in connection with the question that Mr. Free asked, when you said that enough laborers can be procured if paid a living wage, what, in your opinion, is a living wage for plantation workers, and do you still believe that such laborers are not paid a living wage.

Mr. WRIGHT. That is a rather involved question.

Mr. SHAW. You made the statement, did you not, that if the laborers on the sugar plantations were paid a living wage there would be a sufficient number of laborers in the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think I stated that they would be drawn back to the plantations; that laborers would be turned back to the plantations if paid a living wage.

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. It all comes down, of course, to the basis of a living wage.

Mr. SHAW. Now, what do you consider a living wage?

Mr. WRIGHT. At present?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. In the neighborhood of \$2.50 or \$3 a day, I would say; that is, for orientals, those at the lowest subsistence level, which would not, of course, be according to American standards.

Mr. SHAW. What would it be according to American standards?

Mr. WRIGHT. According to American standards, a living wage would amount to something in the neighborhood of \$8 or \$9 a day, that is, for a person in a skilled mechanical trade.

Mr. SHAW. In a skilled mechanical trade?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. SHAW. Would you advocate the planters paying that price for their laborers, for these unskilled laborers on the plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. For unskilled laborers I could not recommend that, no.

Mr. SHAW. Just what do you recommend?

Mr. WRIGHT. It seems to me that the problem of the adjustment of wages ought to be based upon an investigation which would involve the cost of living at the level and under the standards of the class for which the adjustment is made.

Mr. SHAW. And that has not been gone into, and you are not prepared to say now?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; that is one of the things we ask.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Wright, I am informed that there are about 50 of these large sugar plantations down there. On how many of these plantations have you ever made a personal investigation as to housing, sanitary conditions, and general living conditions?

Mr. WRIGHT. A personal investigation myself?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Oh, I will state that I have only been on four different plantations—three recently, and one a couple or three years ago.

Mr. SHAW. Have you inspected those thoroughly enough to say you are familiar with the conditions on those plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not absolutely. This inspection was at the time when Mr. Butler and Mr. Hall took our committee around on the plantation to show us, and, as I stated before, I believe there were certain things we asked to see which we did not have time to see; but so far as our observation went and things our attention was called to we do not have any particular kick against the sanitary systems at present installed or against the living quarters. Of course, there are field camps that are not up to date, but the efforts of the plantations have been, I will state frankly, in the past, in the past year or year and a half, to improve the conditions wherever possible. There was quite a bit of trouble at the time of the "flu" epidemic and there was considerable criticism at that time in regard to the handling of the cases.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Wright, did not that same criticism prevail throughout the United States pretty generally at that time?

Mr. WRIGHT. It may have; in fact, there are conditions here in the United States that are worse than the conditions on the Hawaiian sugar plantations so far as housing and sanitary conditions are concerned.

Mr. SHAW. That condition that you spoke of applied in my own home, and I had a pretty good home at that time; that is, at the time of the "flu" epidemic. That is not quite an analogous case, is it?

Mr. WRIGHT. Oh, no.

Mr. SHAW. Now, Mr. Wright, I have understood that the earnings of the laborers on the islands in 1920 were pretty high, and that the Japanese alone were able to send \$17,000,000 home to Japan; do you know anything about that?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know anything about how much they sent home.

Mr. SHAW. That would represent prosperity among the laborers if that is true, would it not?

Mr. WRIGHT. They sent that much money out of the country?

Mr. SHAW. Yes; to Japan.

Mr. WRIGHT. \$17,000,000?

Mr. SHAW. That is what I understand.

Mr. WRIGHT. And found no opportunity for investing it in our country?

Mr. SHAW. It is not the principle of the Jap, is it, to invest in our country?

Mr. WRIGHT. No. That is what we wish to bring out, that it is not the policy of the Japanese to invest.

Mr. SHAW. Do you know how much they sent home in that year?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I do not know personally. You have given me the figures, \$17,000,000.

Mr. SHAW. It is hearsay on my part, because I have not looked it up. Is it not true also that the Filipino laborers sent substantial amounts of surplus earnings back to their country, and is it not true that the director of the Philippine Bureau of Labor reported that the conditions in Hawaii were so favorable that special and added inducements had to be offered Filipinos in their own country in order to keep them from going to Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. I believe that is the substance of that Varona report to which I made reference in the telegram. The conditions of the Filipinos at the time of the strike, and immediately after, were not very desirable, it is generally understood, and the Filipino Government sent Mr. Varona as a labor commissioner to investigate conditions. Mr. Varona made a tour of the plantations under the auspices of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, and inspected all the plantations, and made a complete report, which I believe so far has been confidential and not accessible; but he recommended certain things in addresses to the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, and I believe that his recommendations have been put into effect. Then he came on to the United States and on his return stopped in Honolulu and there was a banquet there of the Hawaiian sugar planters and Mr. Varona and the officials of the Filipino laborers' organization. It was in the nature of a sort of love feast, you might say, and everything had been fixed up, and as a result of

that, Mr. Varona before his departure gave out an interview to the paper, which is referred to in that letter, in which he said:

Mr. Varona believes that one result of his labors in Hawaii will be an influx of Filipino labor into the islands. When the results of his mission are published in the Philippines, he asserts, the misgivings of the Filipinos as to the treatment that they can expect here will be dissipated and they will flock to Hawaii in increasing numbers.

(The text of the article referred to is as follows:)

VARONA PROMISES LOYALTY ON PART OF FILIPINOS IN HAWAII.

"I can assure the planters that there will be no more trouble from the Filipinos in Hawaii," said Francisco Varona, special labor commissioner of the Philippine Government, at an aloha dinner to him, given by the Filipino community at the Young Hotel last night.

"I do not consider this dinner as an honor paid to me alone but to the entire Filipino community," said Senor Varona. "It is the first time that the Filipinos and Americans here have ever gotten together. The Filipinos are playing their part in the cosmopolitan orchestra of Hawaii and we want to play without discord. We are peace-loving people, and we want to be better understood. We have been so often mistreated in the past that we have mistrusted everybody."

Senor Varona has been in Hawaii since last October, with the exception of two months on the coast studying conditions among the people of his race there. He will leave by the *Wolverine State* for Manila to make his report to the insular government.

Rev. B. T. McKapagal acted as toastmaster at the dinner. Approximately 200 guests were present.

Gov. Charles J. McCarthy said that when Senor Varona arrived in Honolulu the governor told him that he would be given every opportunity to investigate conditions in the Territory.

"He has investigated," said the governor, "and has told us plainly what he thought should be done and it is being done. I consider Hawaii a great agricultural university for the Filipinos and I believe that those Filipinos who have taken a course of study in this university are grateful for what it has taught them."

J. M. Dowsett, speaking for the H. S. P. A., said that the planters would like to welcome Senor Varona back to Hawaii as the permanent resident commissioner from the Philippines. Mr. Dowsett said that he was sure Senor Varona's report to his government would be absolutely fair and impartial.

Other speakers were Pablo Manlapit, for the Filipino laborers; Miss Soledad Abary, of the Filipino nurses in Hawaii; and Sam B. Trissel, of the Advertiser.

[Star-Bulletin, Hawaii, Wednesday, June 22, 1921.]

VARONA WILL PRAISE POLICY OF SUGAR MEN.

PHILIPPINES COMMISSIONER DECLARES NEW UNDERSTANDING PROMOTES GOOD WILL — THINKS FAVORABLE REPORT MAY INDUCE LARGE NUMBERS TO COME HERE TO WORK.

An area of better understanding has been reached in the industrial relations between the Philippine Islands and employers of Hawaii and the mainland, in the view of Francisco Varona, Philippine labor commissioner, who departed for Manila on the *Wolverine State* last night after devoting several months to an investigation of conditions in Hawaii and the coast States.

Mr. Varona asserted on the eve of his departure that he is returning home with the conviction that his visit has paved the way for the elimination of all misunderstandings which have led to industrial strife in the past.

"We understand you better and you understand us better," said Mr. Varona. In a phrase, that is the secret of the present situation. In the past only a mutual failure to reach this happy condition has prevented complete cooperation and accord.

"The Filipino has it in him to be a moral and an industrial asset to any community in which he happens to be living. Hawaii is no exception to this rule. There has been a tendency in the past to forget that the present generation of Filipinos who have left their own country to seek a foothold elsewhere are barely getting a start. Better results can be accomplished by trying to help them up instead of keeping them down. I am glad to say that as the result of the missionary work along this line that has been done on the mainland and in Hawaii, this fact is coming to be generally recognized.

"CAN DEPEND ON PLANTERS.

"We feel that we can depend absolutely upon the sugar planters and other employers of Hawaii to take a broad and generous view of the Filipino labor problem from now on. Employers here have shown me every courtesy and consideration and have put themselves to great pains to assist me in carrying out my mission. They met me, perhaps, a little more than half way, and strengthened the conviction which I had entertained from the first, that beneath the surface of all apparent disagreements and misunderstandings was a mutual ignorance of motives and purposes."

Mr. Varona believes that one result of his labors in Hawaii will be an influx of Filipino labor to the islands. When the results of his mission are published in the Philippines, he asserted, the misgivings of the Filipinos as to the treatment which they can expect here will be dissipated and they will flock to Hawaii in increasing numbers.

Mr. WRIGHT. I want to call attention to the fact that that implies the previous discontent, previous misunderstanding, and previous prejudice that existed and that will exist until the time when Varona shall return to the Philippine Islands and make his report. That will set their minds at rest. When that is done there is no question but what they will be anxious and glad to come to Hawaii. That in itself is an added argument on this point that there is no necessity for Chinese coolies if they can get all the Filipinos they want. If there should prove to be a shortage of labor in the Territory—which we do not believe, but if there should prove to be a shortage, upon a Federal investigation, then there is that source of labor in the Philippines, which is always accessible, and which is under the American flag in a certain sense, and they are not considered aliens, like the other Asiatic races.

Mr. SHAW. Does Mr. Gompers wish to submit something?

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Gompers asked me whether Mr. Varona had a conference with representatives of labor in Hawaii, or representatives of white labor, and I said that I was invited to meet Mr. Varona at this banquet. I was invited by a representative of the Filipino labor organization, but I had a very important meeting on at that time and I was unable to attend. Therefore, I did not have the pleasure of meeting Mr. Varona.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Wright, you appear here as the representative of organized labor in Hawaii, do you not?

Mr. WRIGHT. I represent the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. SHAW. Did I understand you correctly on Friday to say that you did not know just how many men you represent, but that you thought it was about 1,200?

Mr. WRIGHT. In the neighborhood of 1,200.

Mr. SHAW. How many of those 1,200 men would you say are in good standing with all their dues paid?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is a question I can not answer. In the first place, I do not know; and if I did know, I do not know that I would feel at liberty to say.

Mr. SHAW. How many of that number are Japanese?

Mr. WRIGHT. None of them are Japanese.

Mr. SHAW. None of them are Japanese?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Mr. SHAW. How many members of the American Federation of Labor in Hawaii are employed by the Federal Government?

Mr. WRIGHT. There are something like 200 members of the Federal employees' organization, and then we have in the machinists' organi-

zation, I should say, in the neighborhood of 75. That is just a rough guess.

Mr. SHAW. In round numbers, 275?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHAW. Whatever that number is, are the Federal employees dependent upon the prosperity of the Territory for their own livelihood, or would they still have jobs even if all the rest of the Territory were just an arid desert? In other words, if the sugar and pineapple business were not in existence, those people who are in the employ of the Federal Government are the only ones who would have jobs, are they not?

Mr. WRIGHT. I could not even say that they would have jobs, or all of those connected with Government work. Of course, you understand that a lot of the Federal employees are not organized—that is, they are not affiliated. The post office employees, or the volume of the post office business, would naturally depend upon the prosperity of the community.

Mr. SHAW. I understood you to say that they were organized but not affiliated.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHAW. Are there any unions in Hawaii, outside of the Japanese and Filipinos, that are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and, if so, what are they? You have answered a part of that question.

Mr. WRIGHT. Do you mean not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. There are none. The post office employees are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Now, do not misunderstand that point—

Mr. FREE. I did not get your last answer.

Mr. WRIGHT. When I mention the post office employees, I do not want to give the impression that they are not connected with the American Federation of Labor, because I believe they are, but they are not affiliated yet with our central body.

Mr. FREE. Will you explain that situation for me? I thought that the American Federation of Labor was the central body. What is the difference? There is a State central body, is there not?

Mr. WRIGHT. The central labor union of any locality is a voluntary grouping together of the organizations that are qualified to be affiliated together in this way by being directly or indirectly connected with the American Federation of Labor. Some of them are connected directly through direct membership, and some of them are connected through international or trade unions. For instance, the machinists organization, to which I belong, is a local branch of the international organization of machinists, which is affiliated internationally with the American Federation of Labor. Now, these local organizations group themselves together, and each union elects delegates to what we call the central body, or the central labor union. It is all local.

Mr. FREE. Is not the American Federation of Labor a body over them all?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; that is the headquarters with which all of those central bodies are affiliated, or those local central labor unions. We have them in all the big cities. We have them here in the States,

and they also have another grouping together of local central labor bodies forming State federations. It is a system of subdivisions within the organization.

Mr. GOMPERS. The American Federation of Labor is based upon the form of government of the United States of America—that is, the international units and the national trade units are grouped as Mr. Wright has stated. For instance, the machinists have their local unions or local lodges, as they call them, in all parts of the American jurisdiction. It is a form of the international union, because Canada is a part of the labor union. There are local unions of each of these national organizations of trade, such as bricklayers, carpenters, electricians, street railway men, etc. These locals form in each city and town where there is a sufficient number of local union men, and they form central labor unions to deal with the industrial, commercial, and political conditions in the localities. I want to say that there are about 1,060 of those local central labor unions in America, and in the States they form State federations, consisting of delegates from all of those local organizations within the State, and they deal with the economic, industrial, political, and legislative subjects within the jurisdiction of the State. The international unions, or the national trade-unions form the American Federation of Labor, and, as its name implies, it is a federation of all of those organizations or trade-unions and central bodies and State federations. In Porto Rico we have an insular federation of labor, with local unions and a central body.

Mr. FREE. Do the delegates to your American Federation of Labor come from the State organizations or directly from the local unions?

Mr. GOMPERS. In order that you may have the entire picture, let me explain the situation to you. The American Federation of Labor, realizing that there was only one way in which a body of that character and size could legislate; that is, either by a democratic form or by an autocratic form, adopted that plan. It was for that reason that we established a system such as this. The national and international trade unions elect at their national trade union conventions the quota of delegates to which each organization is entitled to send to the convention of the Federation, or when they do not elect those delegates at their respective conventions, as they do usually or as a general rule, they elect them by a referendum vote. For instance, there was recently an election in the organization in which I hold my primary membership, and throughout the jurisdiction of that organization, including Porto Rico, Canada, and the United States an election was held. It required a second election to determine the matter. I was the only delegate who was elected by the referendum on the first ballot out of a total number of 20 aspirants. There was a second ballot, and there were three more to be elected. The aspirants or nominees were those who received the six highest number of votes. Those names were submitted for a second ballot, and it is arranged in that way so that it will not take more than a second ballot to determine an election. Those three additional delegates were elected.

The president of the organization was a delegate by virtue of his office, and four other delegates were to be elected. They were elected in the way I have stated. This goes on all through the year, and sometimes simultaneously, for the purpose of having this a

legislative body rather than one that can be dominated by autocratic action or by dividing into groups of two, one in support of the administration and one against the administration. If we had delegates innumerable, we would have a convention probably as large as either of the great national parties, the Republican and Democratic. It could not be a legislative body. Therefore, we devised this plan, providing that any national union with below 4,000 members was entitled to one delegate; from 4,000 to 8,000 members, to two delegates; from 8,000 to 16,000 members, four delegates; from 16,000 to 32,000 members, five delegates; from 32,000 to 64,000 members, six delegates; from 132,000 to 264,000 members, seven delegates, and so on in geometrical order, but retaining this democratic principle that the delegates from those organizations are entitled to cast one vote only for every 100 members they represent. Therefore, we have a comparatively small number of delegates in the convention, so as to make it a workable legislative body, where discussion may be had upon any question. I might say that at the last convention, and at the convention before that, there was not one delegate who was limited in the time that he desired to discuss any subject before the convention.

Have I answered your question?

Mr. FREE. Yes.

Mr. GOMPERS. Now, the State federations and the city central bodies are entitled to send one delegate and each delegate is entitled to one vote. That is provided for the reason that those members of the central bodies and the members in the State federation are already represented by delegates of their national or international unions, and they cast the vote of those men. The right of representation or the right to cast one vote is such that there is no duplication in the representation, or in the voting powers of these men and women in organized labor unions; so that they may participate in the convention and have a marked influence upon the deliberations and decisions of the convention, by the fact that they are there and have all the rights and privileges of any delegate from any national or international union. I think I might safely say that their influence in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor in determining policies is very marked and that they may know as well as convey, or that they may receive as well as convey, information from the point of view of delegates representing the labor movement of the entire continent.

Mr. FREE. I thank you for your explanation.

Mr. GOMPERS. The American Federation of Labor has nothing to hide.

Mr. SHAW. I think a good deal of this discussion was had because of a misunderstanding of conditions, and it is my purpose to try to work this thing out.

Now, Mr. Wright, you stated in your cablegram, and repeated on Friday, that no labor organization has indorsed this resolution. How did you know that no labor organization had indorsed it?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, possibly the trend of that was misunderstood. What we consider labor organizations are bona fide labor organizations, and among ourselves or in communicating with each other, as I do with Mr. Wallace, it would be perfectly understood by him that I meant any labor organization within our ranks. Whether or not

Japanese have indorsed it or whether Filipinos have indorsed it, I do not know.

Mr. SHAW. Now, is it not a fact that your statement was incorrect, and that three labor organizations actually had indorsed it before the date of your first cablegram?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not think so. I believe there was a subsequent reference by Mr. Dillingham before the committee to the fact that the teamsters had indorsed it. Mr. Dillingham's assertion of that fact was reported in the Honolulu papers.

Mr. SHAW. If you did not know positively, why did you make that statement?

Mr. WRIGHT. I brought that point up prior to the sending of the message and inquired of the delegate to the Central Labor Union present from the teamster's labor union as to whether or not that union had indorsed it, and he said that they had not, and that they had gone on record as opposed to it. Subsequently, however, after the propaganda began to be pretty intense at that end for indorsement, I was advised, and I think it was at the next meeting afterwards, that some arrangements had been made by which a special meeting of the teamsters had been called and an indorsement secured. Now, just how that was worked I do not know, but to my mind it shows economic pressure, because I know that the teamsters are naturally opposed to it.

Mr. FREE. Was this resolution made under the seal of the teamsters' union, and did it go through the matter regularly?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know. I have not seen the indorsement. Mr. Dillingham says that it has been presented to the committee.

Mr. SHAW. It appears that on May 29 the president of the teamster's union, Mr. M. T. Robello, sent the following cablegram:

At a meeting of the directors of the teamsters' union it was agreed to indorse the proposal to amend the immigration laws to allow Chinese to come to Hawaii as agriculturists to relieve the labor shortage.

Mr. WRIGHT. At a meeting of the directors?

Mr. SHAW. Yes. That does not, however, appear as the original indorsement of the organization itself, but that was written for them.

Mr. WRIGHT. All I know is the statement which was made to us by their delegate in Honolulu.

Mr. GOMPERS. The teamsters have no board of directors.

Mr. SHAW. I do not know whose testimony it was.

Mr. WRIGHT. I did not know that they had any directors.

Mr. SHAW. This appears in Mr. Dillingham's testimony.

Mr. WRIGHT. Possibly it is the personal opinion of Mr. Robello. I do not know.

Mr. SHAW. Now, Mr. Wright, the indorsements of three labor organizations have been presented to this committee. The stevedores' union, the teamsters' union, and the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, all appear to have indorsed this proposition. How many members have those unions?

Mr. WRIGHT. Are all those organizations in Honolulu?

Mr. SHAW. That is my impression.

Mr. RAKER. In order that there might not be any misunderstanding, I call your attention to the matter appearing on page 326 of the record. There is printed there a telegram from the stevedores, but it does not indorse this resolution.

Mr. SHAW. This telegram reads:

At a meeting of the members of the Hawaiian Stevedores' Association a motion was unanimously passed favoring immigration. The members also voted that you represent them at such hearings as may be held.

That is signed "McGuire, president."

Mr. GOMPERS. The stevedores' association is an employers' association.

Mr. WRIGHT. The stevedores' association is not a union at all, but it is a sort of beneficial organization of employees of the companies. This association is run by some clerks of the company, and it is what they call a company organization. It is a paternal organization, and the Hawaiian name for it is Hui Poola.

Mr. SHAW. What is the nationality of the members of those three unions or organizations?

Mr. WRIGHT. The nationality of the Hui Poola is pretty nearly all Hawaiian, I believe. So far as the teamsters' union is concerned, I believe they are mostly Portuguese.

Mr. SHAW. What about the others, the marine engineers?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know. That is an organization that has no substantial existence in Honolulu, except that it has a headquarters and a charter there. They are constantly coming and going, and the membership is constantly changing. I will state that they are not affiliated with the local central labor union.

Mr. SHAW. What is the membership?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know. I doubt, however, if there are 20 members of the organization in Hawaii.

Mr. SHAW. My impression was that there were 80 or 90. Are the members of those three unions employed by the Federal Government or are they altogether dependent upon the prosperity of the Territory for their own living?

Mr. WRIGHT. I should say that neither the teamsters nor the stevedores are employed by the Federal Government. However, there are a number of marine engineers who are employed at Pearl Harbor. I would not make any statement as to the number, but so far as their depending upon the prosperity of the Territory is concerned, yes, sir; we feel that we all depend upon the prosperity of the Territory for our living—the stevedores and teamsters as well as the rest of us.

Mr. SHAW. What is the principal industry of the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. The raising of sugar.

Mr. SHAW. Are any of these three unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor? You may have stated that, but I did not get it.

Mr. WRIGHT. The teamsters' union is and the marine engineers are, I believe. Are they, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. Nationally, yes.

Mr. SHAW. Was it really true, as you stated in your first cablegram, that the central labor and affiliated unions all vigorously protest this scheme as a direct blow at the Americanization program?

Mr. WRIGHT. Absolutely true, so far as my knowledge is concerned. If Mr. Robello, of the teamsters' union, had sent any personal information to Mr. Dillingham that had not been reported to us, I do not consider that that was our fault at all. We were speaking absolutely from what we believed to be our personal knowledge.

Mr. SHAW. Does the indorsement of the marine engineers' union change your answer any?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not at all, no, sir; because that is not affiliated with our local body and we were not in touch with them.

Mr. SHAW. You stated in your telegram and repeated it on Friday, that the present condition of the sugar industry is due, among other things, to excessive capitalization and gross mismanagement. Now, I would like to know what you know about this subject. What is the total capital stock of the sugar industry in Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know.

Mr. SHAW. Is it not \$85,105,000?

Mr. WRIGHT. If you are inquiring for statistics upon that point and are in possession of the figures, I would suggest that you submit the statement.

Mr. SHAW. I have some figures and want to verify them. Do you know what is the assessed value of those sugar plantations for tax purposes? My figures are \$117,535,200. Is that valuation greater or less than the capital stock valuation? Is the assessed tax valuation greater or less than the capital stock valuation?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know, because I do not know how your figures are arrived at.

Mr. SHAW. It is not a question of my figures, but I am asking you whether the assessed tax valuation is greater than the capital stock valuation.

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know.

Mr. SHAW. You are not prepared to answer.

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir.

Mr. SHAW. Now, if the Government assessed those plantations at \$117,000,000 and the planters admit that value for tax purposes, do you not think that is a pretty fair estimate of what the plantations are worth; and do you not think that the plantations are not over-capitalized when you know that the capital stock valuation is only \$85,000,000?

Mr. WRIGHT. I can not answer that, because I do not know.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Wright has made the definite statement that those plantations were overcapitalized, and I want to know upon what he bases that statement.

Mr. SHAW. That is what I am trying to get at.

Mr. WRIGHT. I based that statement and all other statements upon reports that were made to our central labor organization. As I said the other day in the discussion of this question, the message was never intended to do anything else than to embody the belief and sentiments of the labor bodies.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. But you made the statement that they were overcapitalized, and that is not stated as a matter of opinion, but as a matter of fact.

Mr. SHAW. The figures I have presented were submitted by the governor of the Territory.

Mr. WRIGHT. In the meeting, when this matter came up, the question of the value of the plantations was discussed at some length by old-timers there who were in a position to know much more than I did, and it was in conformity to their opinion and not to mine at all that this statement was made. If the figures were reported correctly to us, the development of the plantations has been a series

and succession of stock dividends and stock watering processes, or that is the way it appeared to us, in which the capital has increased from the original figure, which was something like \$800,000 in the case of Ewa plantation, I believe, up to its present valuation of several million dollars.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. If the figures submitted by the governor show, based on taxation figures and other responsible data, that the plantations are worth a great deal more than the capitalized value of them, would you accept that statement or would you prefer to accept the statement of the men that you discussed this matter with before you sent your wire?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, as I stated, it is not quite clear to me upon what those figures were based, whether that valuation figure is based upon total tax receipts, figured on income, or whether it is what you call a physical valuation of the property.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That is very plain. The territorial property tax is assessed by the tax assessor on the value of the real and personal property of the plantations.

Mr. GOMPERS. Since this discussion has gotten into this channel, would it not be well to ascertain the actual money invested in these properties?

Mr. RAKER. We will determine that later, that is, whether we can go into that. There have been statistics showing the value, and the witness says that was their discussion and he does not have information upon which to base an answer.

Mr. MEAD. But he makes the direct statement that there has been an overcapitalization of the Hawaiian sugar plantations.

Mr. GOMPERS. We would have to determine as to the amount of money invested in the property.

Mr. WRIGHT. That is the only way it could be actually determined.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not agree with you at all.

Mr. FREE. Then, do I understand that the cablegram you sent was based upon questions of hearsay among yourselves and not after mature deliberation and consideration of the facts? Is that true? In other words, you had not given this any serious consideration?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think we had given it very serious consideration.

Mr. FREE. Are you able to give us any figures? We want facts. We do not care for what somebody thinks; we want facts. From what you said the other day you apparently got together and made some surmises and some guesses. I do not want to waste my time on this kind of stuff, I want some facts. I want to base my judgment on facts and not on surmises. A few of you got together and made some guesses and surmises and then shot this cablegram through as evidence. That is about what happened, is it not?

Mr. WRIGHT. There may have been a few points like the point that had just been brought up, and it was impossible for us to secure the actual data upon which to base an assumption.

Mr. FREE. Even now you do not know whether there is a labor shortage in the islands, do you?

Mr. WRIGHT. Whether or not there is a labor shortage in the islands?

Mr. FREE. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. According to our statistics——

Mr. FREE (interposing). Your guesses.

Mr. WRIGHT. No; statistics.

Mr. FREE. Statistics of whom?

Mr. WRIGHT. According to the statistics that had been gathered and presented to our central body by our committee.

Mr. FREE. Can we have those statistics? They are what we want. Have you them here?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have given them in the course of the testimony. I will tabulate them if it is desired.

(Tabulated statement submitted for record:)

Labor statistics compiled from data collected by the Honolulu Central Labor Union from individual investigators, official survey by labor organizations, and from authentic documents to which reference is made.

	May, 1920.	May, 1921.	Decrease.
Total Japanese laborers on plantations, skilled and unskilled, planters and contractors, male and female.....	1 19, 396	2 18, 950	446
Total Filipino laborers on plantations, skilled and unskilled, planters and contractors.....	1 12, 976	2 11, 000	1, 976
Japanese left plantations since December, 1919.....	4 5, 650		
Japanese left territory since December, 1919.....	4 1, 130		
Balance remaining, who have left plantations since December, 1919, but are still in Territory.....	4 4, 520		
Filipinos on plantations in June, 1919.....	3 10, 354		
Filipinos on plantations in May, 1921.....	4 11, 000		
Increase, approximate only.....	646		

¹ From the report of the governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior, 1920.

² From the report of the secretary of the Hawaii Laborers' Association, 1921.

³ From report of Filipino Laborers' Union, verbally and by memorandum of Pablo Manlapit. Approximate.

⁴ From Hawaii Laborers' Association.

⁵ From Thrum's Annual.

⁶ From Manlapit, as above.

Present shortage on plantations as to unskilled oriental labor (approximate)..... 3, 000

Mr. Hall's statement at conference..... 2, 000

Mr. Dillingham's estimate..... 6, 000

Unemployed Filipinos..... 1, 000

Japanese who have left the plantations since 1919 but still in Territory..... 4, 520

Unemployed and casual other nationalities..... 2, 000

Recruited as strikebreakers, 1920..... 6, 000

Released from Federal jobs by provision of rehabilitation bill, noncitizens..... 5, 000

Mr. FREE. I have been here every minute you have been talking, and you have not given figures yet as to the shortage of labor.

Mr. WRIGHT. They are figures——

Mr. FREE (interposing). The other day you mentioned guesses, but no figures.

Mr. WRIGHT. What are statistics?

Mr. FREE. Facts that are gathered.

Mr. WRIGHT. Gathered how?

Mr. FREE. Why, by survey.

Mr. WRIGHT. By a survey? That is what we want.

Mr. FREE. That is what I want. I want facts; I do not care for guesses.

Mr. GOMPERS. That cablegram was not shot in here before this committee by Mr. Wright.

Mr. WRIGHT. I will state for your information that that message was sent to Mr. Wallace and not to this committee.

Mr. FREE. But Mr. Wallace introduced it as a part of the opposition to this bill. As I understand it, your estimate of the labor

shortage there is a guess; your estimate of the assessed valuation or the capitalization of the plantations is a guess, and I think we are wasting a lot of time; let us get some facts.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Shaw is asking the witness what he knows personally which, I think, is very proper, and the witness is trying to explain.

Mr. SHAW. You say you have been in Hawaii for about four years, and you think you have learned a little bit about the management of sugar plantations. In what way do you consider these plantations grossly mismanaged?

Mr. WRIGHT. You mean personally—my own personal opinion as to the way in which the plantations are mismanaged?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, I think the entire efforts of the sugar planters for securing the class of labor they are trying to secure is in one sense an indication of mismanagement; I believe the planters are mismanaging in the direct conduct of their field operations in that they are not using the best class of workmen in positions where they might develop and improve labor-saving machinery; I believe they are mismanaging in that they are not economizing in cultivation by a more extensive use of the paper-mulching system; I believe they mismanaged very seriously at the time of the plantation strike last year, when they insisted on assuming an attitude which absolutely antagonized their employees, and when they refused to consider the offers of compromise and adjustment developed through the efforts of Mr. Palmer, of the Central Union Church, and a group of representative citizens. I believe that if that attitude had been changed at that time the planters would not now be in the condition they find themselves; that is, in their relations with their employees.

Mr. SHAW. You have stated what you believe and what you actually know from your own personal knowledge?

Mr. WRIGHT. I know that these things occurred, certainly.

Mr. SHAW. You know they occurred, but you do not know what effect they may have had or may not have had on the management of the plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. On the management of the plantations?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Certainly, I know the attitude of the managers of the plantations and the management of the plantation industry.

Mr. SHAW. And you present these facts as showing that the plantations are grossly mismanaged?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think that it is one of the fundamental evidences of mismanagement on the part of any industry when it finds itself confronted with a growing and spreading dissatisfaction or discontent among its workers and takes no means to change that condition, refuses offers of compromise and conciliation, and absolutely maintains an autocratic and feudalistic attitude. It is not a modern attitude, not a modern industrial attitude.

Mr. SHAW. Do you mean it is not modern in reality or it is not modern in theory?

Mr. WRIGHT. It is not modern in theory. Of course, in reality it is taking place.

Mr. SHAW. Now, Mr. Wright, as bearing on that point, do you not know that sugar producers all over the world think the Hawaiian sugar industry is one of the best in the world?

Mr. WRIGHT. One of the best from what point of view?

Mr. SHAW. One of the most efficiently managed.

Mr. WRIGHT. In certain lines, yes; in the line of extraction especially, but so far as the field work is concerned, I still maintain that the plantations in Hawaii are not properly managed.

Mr. SHAW. And you have set out the ways in which they are not properly managed?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not say I have set them all out, no.

Mr. SHAW. Now, about this labor-saving machinery. Is there is existence and in practical use labor-saving machinery that could be used in these islands which is not used?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. SHAW. What is it?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, I can not say it is not used because it is being used on one plantation at the present time.

Mr. SHAW. Why is it not used on all of them?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know why it is not used.

Mr. SHAW. Do you not know it is impossible to use it?

Mr. WRIGHT. No.

Mr. SHAW. Then you are willing to make the statement that these machines could be used on all the plantations.

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I could not make that statement, because I do not know all the plantations.

Mr. SHAW. Then what is your thought in this matter? Is it practicable to use this improved machinery that they are not using? Is that your idea?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; that is not altogether my idea. My idea is that they have been absolutely derelict in not previously developing these machines until they have come to the point where they are absolutely up against the proposition of a shortage of labor, as they claim, whereas if these machines had been tried previously and developed they would now be working in a modern machine age.

Mr. SHAW. Is it not true that they have had a large reward offered for the man who would develop or furnish the idea which would result in the development of a machine to do this work?

Mr. WRIGHT. They claim they have spent considerable money along these lines. I know I saw three machines; one of them was in use but the other two were not.

Mr. SHAW. Do you or do you not know that these machines would be impracticable upon hilly, rolling land?

Mr. WRIGHT. I imagine there are some acreages, I might say considerable acreages, on which this particular type of machine would not be practicable.

Mr. SHAW. Is there any other type of machine that would be practicable?

Mr. WRIGHT. There are types of machines that are being worked upon, as far as I can see, in a desultory way. They may be hurrying things up now; I do not know, but I think they ought to by all means.

Mr. SHAW. You mean they are in process of being built?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; in process of being thought about.

Mr. SHAW. They are just thinking about them but are not making efforts to build them?

Mr. WRIGHT. There is a type that has been suggested for a long time, the conveyer type. I do not know personally what practical means have been taken to work it out.

Mr. SHAW. Is it not a fact that the International Harvester Co. has never been able to solve this problem?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know that the International Harvester Co. has made a particular study of the conditions.

Mr. SHAW. I do not know that they have either, but I have understood that they think it is their business to study these conditions in all countries. Is it not a fact that a considerable number of the managers of sugar plantations in other parts of the world were first employed in the management of Hawaiian plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is to say, they have brought managers from other parts of the world?

Mr. SHAW. That is to say, is not Hawaii the fountain head of knowledge in the sugar business, where Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and other places go to get experienced men, men who are well versed in the latest methods of doing this work.

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, I think there is an interchange among all countries; that is to say, they go from Hawaii to Cuba and study Cuban methods, and from Cuba to Hawaii.

Mr. SHAW. Do not Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines come to Hawaii to employ experts who have learned the business in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is true of the Philippines, because I know the Philippine Islands are just starting in on the expansion of the sugar industry, and they are dependent, of course, upon Hawaii as their natural base.

Mr. SHAW. Is not that true of Porto Rico also?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know that it is.

Mr. SHAW. In your second telegram to Mr. Wallace, which was read on Friday, you retracted your original charge that the planters are intentionally limiting production and planning artificial unemployment in a campaign to lower wages. That is so, is it not? Do you not think they are planning artificial unemployment in a campaign to lower wages?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is a different statement. My statement was that I was convinced that they were not engaged in the curtailment of their present production. As to what is being done as to their future crop is a matter of inference and not a matter of direct knowledge. It is something that can not actually be shown, but it is simply a tendency in all industries, in times like these, to gradually close down until some readjustment takes place. Whether or not this is being intentionally carried out by the planters, I could not say, but it seems to me it would be the intelligent thing for them to do.

Mr. SHAW. Why did you retract your previous statement in connection with that charge and I would like to know on what grounds you made such a serious statement in the first place, knowing it would be presented to this committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. Do not keep saying that I knew it would be presented to this committee, because I did not.

Mr. SHAW. Well, it was presented to the committee.

Mr. WRIGHT. That is right.

Mr. SHAW. It is here for our consideration, and that is one reason I want to know about it.

Mr. WRIGHT. We are considering it now, and I will state that our reason for making that statement was this: That the claim was being

made that sugar was now costing to produce more than the selling price of the product, and that there was an oversupply of sugar; that a campaign was being undertaken in Cuba for the reduction of acreages and future output; that under those circumstances it was absolutely natural for us, with the amount of knowledge we had at that time, to believe that the same tendency was being carried out there as is being carried out in all other industries, the tendency to limit output.

That was the charge and assertion that was made from the beginning, and that it was for the purpose of price control. But the thing was finally presented to us in this way: That the peculiarity about the present sugar crop, the present sugar crop that is being taken off to-day, is that the bulk, in fact, I think eight-tenths or nine-tenths of the cost of sugar is already in the growing crop, and in order to save that major investment it is only natural to suppose that they would take off the crop at a loss rather than lose what is invested. That was why we immediately modified that statement; just as soon as it was presented to us in a way that we could understand and that appeared reasonable to us, then we made that change. That, however, does not affect general conditions in the industry so far as the future is concerned.

MR. SHAW. You stated in substance, I believe, that it is a ridiculous falsehood to say that the Japanese are attempting to gain control of industry in the Territory and that the strike of 1920 was purely economic?

MR. WRIGHT. I believe that was the statement; yes, sir.

MR. SHAW. On February 28, 1920, the Nippu Jiji published the following statement:

As repeated from time to time, the dispute between the planters and laborers is not a question between capital and labor alone. It is a question wherein the entire community is interested. Furthermore, in places like Hawaii, it is a question between aliens and Americans.

On February 8, 1920, the same paper said:

The labor agitation of 10 years ago was strictly between individuals. To-day it has taken on a color of internationalism.

Tsutsumi, an agitator and leader among the Japanese during the strike, made the following remarks in public speeches at various times:

I am working night and day for you laborers in order to show these planters that Japanism will always be successful in any attempt that we Japanese make. Now, bear in mind, my fellow Japanese, Japanism is the only thing that we must look up to in carrying on this strike. When the weeds grow up in the cane fields beyond control and the planters give up the plantations, we will go in and take possession of same and will conduct the plantations ourselves. Don't worry. A Japanese cruiser is coming to take you home. Why deny that the Japanese Government is back of the labor question? Don't deny it. It will surely scare the Americans.

Do you still believe that the strike of 1920 was purely economic and that no national issues were involved?

MR. WRIGHT. I certainly do. That thing has no influence on me because it was evidently just the mouthings of an irresponsible agitator. Of course, it is right along the line of the points that have been emphasized by the sugar planters. At the time of the strike they emphasized the nationalistic character of the movement and tried to make it appear to the public that it was being engineered by the Japanese Government and all kinds of things like that. Those

statements are absurd on the face of them, that a Japanese cruiser was coming there, and all that kind of thing. But those things do happen. We all know that.

Mr. FREE. You understand that is a Japanese statement and not an American statement.

Mr. WRIGHT. I understand that is a quotation from Japanese.

Mr. FREE. Do you believe the Japanese are loyal to this country as against Japan?

Mr. WRIGHT. Oh, that is a very broad question. I believe that some of them are. I think our records at the time of the war show that there were a lot of loyal Japanese. I believe they were prominently identified with the subscriptions to liberty loans and thing-like that, but as to say that all of them are, I would say no.

Mr. FREE. Do you not believe they all pledge their first loyalty to Japan?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I would not say they all do. Of course, I have no use for the Japs any more than the rest of you have, but I know that some of them are Americans, and probably just as good Americans as lots of the rest of us. But that does not touch upon the question of this strike that the gentleman just brought up. That point was answered, I believe, in a quotation from an editorial last Friday that is, I turned in a quotation from an editorial in the Honolulu Advertiser.

Mr. RAKER. May I ask what paper published this?

Mr. WRIGHT. The articles he has just read? He says it was in the Jiji.

Mr. RAKER. A Japanese paper?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, a Japanese paper; but I will say that it is a Japanese paper that I do not know much about.

Mr. MEAD. It was and is the official organ of the Japanese Federation.

Mr. WRIGHT. No; it is not.

Mr. MEAD. It was at that time.

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know that it was at that time either, although it may have been supporting the Japanese Federation.

Mr. SHAW. Who led the strike we are talking about—the laborers or some agitators?

Mr. WRIGHT. That strike? Well, now, I will tell you.

Mr. FREE. I want to hear the testimony on that strike, but it is 1 o'clock and I must leave. Do you not think we had better adjourn until to-morrow? You have quite a bit more, have you not?

Mr. SHAW. Yes; I have quite a bit more.

Mr. FREE. I have another engagement which I must fill; but I want to hear this very much.

Mr. RAKER (in the chair). What is the sense of the committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. Might I be allowed to answer that question first from a quotation, a quotation from the Honolulu Advertiser of June 28, which was read before this committee on Friday?

Mr. FREE. That is the same one you read Friday?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes. I want to call your attention right at this point to the paragraph which states:

As to the strike of last year everyone knows that it was not nationalistic, as Wright puts it. And his stating so in his cablegram was for no reason other than to cause the members of the Immigration Committee to think they are being misled by Walter Dillingham and the other members of the labor committee now in Washington.

This shows how that thing is now regarded in Honolulu by one of the white dailies that is published by Mr. Thurston and is supposed to embody the sentiments of the white community. That is a positive statement that everyone knows that the strike was not nationalistic. Now, if the matter has been presented here as being nationalistic, as we assumed, then I have a right to express what this paper states is the sentiment of the community there in Honolulu, to the effect that it was not nationalistic.

Mr. FREE. Do you still think it was not nationalistic?

Mr. WRIGHT. Personally, as far as I am concerned, I believe it was economic; in fact, I will say that so far as the strike is concerned it was a bona fide economic movement of the plantation laborers, and I call your attention to this fact, that the strike was not started by the Japanese. The strike was started by Filipinos. The Filipino labor union started that strike and the Japanese supported them. That does not look to me like a nationalistic proposition. It was purely economic, so far as I can ascertain.

Mr. FREE. Let us adjourn until to-morrow.

Mr. RAKER (in the chair). The committee will stand in recess until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
Tuesday, August 2, 1921.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

STATEMENT OF MR. GEORGE W. WRIGHT—Continued.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wright, I regret that I had to leave the hearing yesterday, on account of bills on the Calendar in the House, and therefore, I did not hear all of your testimony. In the course of the hearing yesterday did you discuss to any extent the Japanese labor organization in the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was mentioned; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you explain it to the committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not believe there was very much said on that subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you explain anything about the Filipino labor organization?

Mr. WRIGHT. Just what do you mean—as to the form?

The CHAIRMAN. It will be of a great deal of interest to know from you, who are familiar with the American Federation of Labor in the islands, all that you can give us in the way of information, without my questioning you, in regard to those two organizations.

Mr. RAKER. I will say, Mr. Chairman, that he just incidentally referred to them. He has not explained them at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let him take 10 or 15 minutes to tell us all he can about them.

Mr. WRIGHT. So far as the Filipino organization is concerned, I have met personally Mr. Manlipit, who is, or claims to be, one of the heads of the organization, and he has given me statements as to the

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claimed a membership of about
ship is to-day, I can not say.
of the Filipino organization?
Filipino organization.
separate in order that we may not

and I believe, he gave me as the num-
ers, and the other 6,000, I am not in
are probably laborers engaged in the
and other labor work. I know that
removed at Pearl Harbor and there are
other Government work. Whether
an account of the rehabilitation bill, I
where they have been affected, although
They are noncitizens in a certain sense.
a position to state, but that is the way
As to the form of the organization,
with it, although I am under the im-
organization—that is to say, there are
on the different islands and different
under one head or central organization
on originated. I believe, in 1919, in the
were the ones who precipitated the strike
to the plantations, and some three weeks
positive as to the exact time—the Japa-
attention to that particularly before this
strike was not limited to one nationality,
the sense that it was a Japanese national-

me of that strike were considered a pretty
is, they were strong in numbers, but they
book. They stayed out on the strike for
came to town as they were turned off from
established Filipino camps. I believe there
In fact, I will state that I am positive
among those Filipino refugees from the plan-
then, or about the time their organization
threw in or joined hands with the Filipinos
them some assistance.

assistance?
assistance and assistance in the way of
those refugees that were concentrated. Then
to the Filipinos. Nobody knows just exactly
was a report that bribery had been offered, and
that it had been solicited, and concentrated efforts
admit the Filipino leadership. As a result of that,
was broken, and I believe that officially the
strike off. Many of them went back to the

What do you mean by charges and countercharges, or
and discrediting the Filipino leadership?
I mean charges that this man, Manlapit, leader of
offered a bribe by the plantation interests to leave
the plantation interests, I believe, countered with the

charge that Mr. Manlapit had solicited the bribe. The thing was a very hard matter to get the ins and outs of, because it never came out in any definite settlement, so that anyone would be in a position to know exactly what took place.

Mr. RAKER. What became of Manlapit?

Mr. WRIGHT. Manlapit is still there. Manlapit is a lawyer practicing in Honolulu, and he is still on the job and is still at the head of the Filipinos.

Mr. IRWIN. In connection with that matter, Mr. Wright, is not this the fact, or are these not some of the facts, that charges were preferred against Mr. Manlapit as an attorney arising out of the fact that he solicited this bribe; that the circuit court disbarred him; and that upon appeal to the supreme court the disbarment proceeding was set aside upon the technical ground that the misconduct did not arise in connection with his professional activities?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have heard that charges were preferred, but I know that Mr. Manlapit is still practicing.

Mr. IRWIN. You know that he was disbarred by the circuit court, do you not?

Mr. WRIGHT. He is still practicing in some courts.

Mr. IRWIN. You know that on appeal to the supreme court the disbarment was set aside upon the technical ground that the misconduct was not connected with his duties as an attorney?

Mr. WRIGHT. All that is beside the question in that—

Mr. IRWIN (interposing). You know that that is a fact?

Mr. WRIGHT. Do I know that is the fact?

Mr. IRWIN. Do you know that is the fact?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I do not know them to be absolute facts. As I stated, the thing was so involved that, so far as we were concerned, it never came to a definite settlement to establish the truth one way or the other.

Mr. RAKER. What were the charges with reference to bribery, the offering of a bribe, or receiving a bribe? By whom were the bribes offered, and to whom?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was involved with some representative or attorney for the plantation interests, I believe. I am simply developing this as outlined in the course of the strike.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the labor papers encourage the Filipino strike?

Mr. WRIGHT. There was no labor paper at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Filipinos have newspapers of their own in the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. I believe they do; yes, sir. I have seen copies of them and saw them at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Filipino labor leaders make overtures to your organization for amalgamation?

Mr. WRIGHT. At that time; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ask you for assistance?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not officially, or not as an organization, but I believe that assistance was given them as individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. When you referred in your statement to "point of contact," in an effort to help solve the situation, did you mean that the American Federation of Labor representatives might act as a control or guide for the Filipino association and the Japanese labor association?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; when I used the term "point of contact," I was referring to the point of contact between the plantation interests and the American Federation of Labor organization in the Territory with a view to acting as mediator.

The CHAIRMAN. Would acting as the mediator bring you in contact with the Filipino association and the Japanese association?

Mr. WRIGHT. It would bring us in contact with those associations in an effort to secure an understanding which would keep them on the plantations. That was our purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you would be the mediator or business agent for the Japanese association?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not the business agent at all in the sense that that word is used, but simply as a mediator or conciliator between the employes and the employers.

The CHAIRMAN. Has not the Federal Government mediators and conciliators to do that very work?

Mr. WRIGHT. Do you mean in the Territory?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never seen one there?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir. On certain occasions they have appointed residents or resident employees of the Federal Government as conciliators.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they work with any success in this recent strike?

Mr. WRIGHT. In the machinists strike in 1919 their efforts were very successful, I believe, in bringing about an adjustment.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the machinists strike on the Government work?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was outside of that?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Japanese Federation of Labor fraternalize and harmonize with the Filipino Federation of Labor?

Mr. WRIGHT. Fraternalize and harmonize?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; as associations.

Mr. WRIGHT. Do you mean whether there is any connection between them, or any official connection?

The CHAIRMAN. Do they get along well together as labor associations?

Mr. WRIGHT. I would not be in a position to state positively. I can state, however, that there is no official connection between the two organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know, do the Japanese plantation laborers and the Filipino plantation laborers get along well together?

Mr. WRIGHT. On the plantations?

The CHAIRMAN. Anywhere. Is there any feeling between these races? That is what I want to get at.

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not think there is.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there some years ago?

Mr. WRIGHT. There may have been. I will state that immediately after the strike I believe there was a certain feeling between them based upon the economic ground that they had not supported each

other, each side charging that the other side had not supported them as they had reason to expect they would be supported.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Japanese seem to be resentful when additional Filipinos are brought into the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I can not say that they are resentful.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Japanese say anything about this proposal to bring in other orientals, as outlined in this resolution?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Japanese themselves?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know that they have gone on record at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not heard any of them say anything about it?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I think they are simply laying off.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "laying off"?

Mr. WRIGHT. They are simply letting matters go and are awaiting developments.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Japanese newspapers have anything to say about it?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; some. There is only one Japanese newspaper that has anything in English in it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not make any effort to keep up with translations of the Japanese newspapers?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; no effort at all.

The CHAIRMAN. It is important to do that. Did you see those advertisements in Japanese newspapers with pictures of Japanese strikers who had returned to work?

Mr. WRIGHT. Did I see them personally—no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not see the Japanese advertisement where it was announced that they would be denounced in their home towns in Japan?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it talked about in the labor unions at all?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not believe it was at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean that it was nothing to you that the punishment of Japanese strike breakers was to be punishment in Japan? Do you mean to say that that was nothing to you?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was not brought to our attention particularly, although the fact was developed in the daily newspapers—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That was printed in English?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was printed in the English newspapers as a charge against the Japanese that they were using various methods that were not considered lawful in holding their members in line.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not see or hear anything of it yourself?

Mr. WRIGHT. Personally, no.

The CHAIRMAN. We have the advertisements and translations here. The punishment for violating the agreements of the Japanese Labor Association was a punishment in Japan, besides ostracism among their own people in the islands. Are you pretty friendly with the Japanese?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I have practically no acquaintances among the Japanese, with the exception of one or two schoolboys who are schoolmates of my sons in high school.

The CHAIRMAN. You have sons in high school?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have two.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you own property in the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you pay any taxes over there?

Mr. WRIGHT. Only personal taxes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Federal income tax?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not pay the Federal income tax because my income is not sufficiently high to enable me to pay that tax; that is to say, the exemptions take me out of it.

Mr. RAKER. You have not stated, but will you state now, the cause of the Filipino strike, if you know?

Mr. WRIGHT. The cause of the Filipino strike, so far as I have been able to ascertain, was the refusal of the sugar planters to enter into any form of discussion in the matter of wage adjustment.

Mr. RAKER. Could there be any difference between the Filipinos organizing a labor union and striking for better conditions and better wages than there would be for citizens living in continental United States organizing unions and striking for better wages or better living conditions?

Mr. WRIGHT. Absolutely no difference; it is purely an economic question, and that is what we have insisted all along.

Mr. RAKER. Outside of the economic question, the Filipinos are citizens of the United States, and I am hanging to the Filipinos now.

The CHAIRMAN. If that is true, why is it your organization did not combine with the Japanese and Filipinos and support them, advance money to them, lend encouragement to them, and give your intellectual assistance to the strike?

Mr. WRIGHT. How did it come about at that time?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. We were not sufficiently strong.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have done it if you had been strong enough?

Mr. WRIGHT. We had no central labor council at that time that was functioning effectively.

The CHAIRMAN. But you would have done it if you had been strong enough—is that a fair statement?

Mr. WRIGHT. I can not say we would.

The CHAIRMAN. You would, personally?

Mr. WRIGHT. Personally, I would have made a study of it at the time before I determined on my personal action. I will state, however, for the committee, that these strikers were considered by the white organizations as being bona fide economic strikers, and it would have been considered among us to be virtually strike breaking or "scabbing," as we call it, for one of our organizations to go and take the places of these men who were striking. That is purely a case of class psychology.

The CHAIRMAN. You seem to know very little about any efforts of the Filipinos and Japanese to consolidate for a strike, and that is what I am trying to get at, whether they did do it or might do it in the future.

Mr. WRIGHT. Whether they did do it in the past?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Of course, that is the main question.

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, it was evident that there was a consolidation of interests. At the time the Japanese went out on strike the Filipinos were already out, and when the Japanese went out there was that much of a consolidation of interests that they were both on strike

at the same time. However, they submitted their demands, as I understand, separately; they did not combine in the submission of a request for a conference with the sugar planters, but that was taken up separately.

The CHAIRMAN. Then as a result of all that the Filipino labor organization in Hawaii has an application here, properly indorsed, for affiliation with the American Federation, and the Japanese association has not. Is that the way it is?

Mr. WRIGHT. It has not.

The CHAIRMAN. Why is that?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, I do not know why.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the correct statement about it?

Mr. WRIGHT. As to the reason?

The CHAIRMAN. No. Has the Filipino association made an application, through your association, for affiliation with the American Federation?

Mr. WRIGHT. It has.

The CHAIRMAN. And that application has been indorsed by your association?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the Japanese association made a similar application to you?

Mr. WRIGHT. It has not.

The CHAIRMAN. It has never applied to you at all?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not since the strike. As I stated Friday, there may have been, in fact I believe there was some movement on foot at the time of the strike, but I was not in sufficiently close touch with the labor council and the affairs of organized labor to know definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they not change their name and undertake to change their constitution and swing around so that they would be in order for that?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think they did; I think their name was changed to the Hawaii Laborers' Association. Formerly it was the Japanese Federation of Labor and the charge was made locally by the plantation interests that the federation was a purely nationalistic organization.

The CHAIRMAN. That charge was made by your federation?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; that was a charge made by the plantation interests, I say, to the effect that the Japanese federation was a purely nationalistic organization and was working for the Japanese alone as Japanese and, as I understand in order to disprove that or, rather, to accommodate themselves to the feeling, they changed their name and changed their constitution to conform more closely to the aims and ideals of the American labor movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Now we are getting at it a little bit. Then you claim that it was not a nationalistic organization at any time?

Mr. WRIGHT. I said the strike was not a nationalistic strike.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Japanese laborers' organization a nationalistic association?

Mr. WRIGHT. A nationalistic association at the present time? I do not believe it is. That is only my personal opinion, however.

The CHAIRMAN. You are here as a witness and that is exactly what we want to get. You think it is not.

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, before I make that statement I would like to understand just what you mean by "nationalistic."

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if it is an association that is Japanese, has the support of the other Japanese in the Islands, has a punishment for the violation of its agreements, a part of which is in Japan, and has threats in its constitution or by-laws running to Japan, would you not say it was along the line of a nationalistic organization?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is under the old form of organization and I can not say as to that, but the fact that it includes only Japanese I do not believe is sufficient to make it a purely nationalistic organization in the sense that its aims, ideals, and objects are along nationalistic lines any more than I would consider that the hod-carriers' union, which is composed, I believe, almost entirely of Portuguese, is a nationalistic organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that union belong to your central federation?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Portuguese union belongs to your federation?

Mr. WRIGHT. Oh, yes. We might have an organization——

The CHAIRMAN. Just wait a minute. I do not mean to interrupt you, but the Portuguese association is made up of citizens or those eligible to citizenship.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That changes the aspect of it a little bit. Now, are there any Japanese barbers in the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; there are quite a number of Japanese barbers.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they organized?

Mr. WRIGHT. I believe they have an association; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A Japanese organization?

Mr. WRIGHT. A Japanese barbers' association.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of your organization? They are not affiliated with the American Federation of Barbers, are they?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; they are not. Just a moment, before I forget it, on that question of the racial construction of an organization. We have the Hui Poola or Stevedores' Association, which, I believe, is made up entirely of Hawaiians.

The CHAIRMAN. They are American citizens, are they not? They are not aliens, are they?

Mr. WRIGHT. They are American citizens, but I bring that up as a racial proposition. They are of a different race, but I would not consider that a racial organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they affiliated with you?

Mr. WRIGHT. They are not, no; they are a different kind of organization; they are more of an association.

The CHAIRMAN. A society?

Mr. WRIGHT. A society; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have Japanese societies there, too, have you not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Japanese societies, yes, and a Japanese chamber of commerce.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Japanese belong to the Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not believe they do.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not fraternize quite that far?

Mr. WRIGHT. They have their different business interests; but it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that the character of an organization is determined more by its object than by its actual construction.

The CHAIRMAN. We are trying to think along different lines. I was trying to get at the solidarity movement of races and a possible combination of races that are not American races. I do not quite mean that, but I mean white races, not Caucasians, and I was trying to look at that phase of it as to the future control of the islands. You have quite a number of Chinese there now, have you not—20,000?

Mr. WRIGHT. I believe 25,000 or 26,000 Chinese.

The CHAIRMAN. How many on the plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know how many Chinese on the plantations.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it has been shown here that there are about 1,700. You have that many Chinese and you have a large number of Japanese, who have attempted to organize, and then you have Filipinos who have attempted to organize. Now, there are three races outside of your Federation of Labor, and I was just trying to see if we should not look ahead and see what might happen under a consolidation of those races, and whether you would be able to maintain a point of contact and control them at all. I have put it just as plainly as I can.

Mr. WRIGHT. If it is along that line that you are trying to develop information I will state that, of course, it is a good deal a matter of theory and possibilities. No one is in a position to state absolutely as a fact that such an association or drawing together could take place. However, if it could take place there ought to be no question but what the intelligence and initiative of the white or Caucasian elements would dominate intellectually, but it would have to be under some such arrangement as that. There could be no conceivable consolidation without a unification of interests; in other words, they would have to conform to our ideals, to our standards, and to our constitution and by-laws in order to affiliate or to secure our cooperation.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that when this strike was coming on your association, your central labor body, did not look into the matter of these advertisements at all, did not look into the matter of the constitution at all, did not look into the Japanese phase of it at all, and you say that in your opinion it was not a Japanese solidarity organization?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think you are misquoting me.

The CHAIRMAN. If I am I do not want to.

Mr. WRIGHT. I stated that at that time the labor movement, so far as we were concerned, was in its infancy; it was only a matter of about a year that we had been organized at all, and we had been busy with our own strike and our own troubles, and then when this plantation strike came on we had not at that time sufficient solidarity ourselves or sufficient unity to make a concerted study, a definite study, of the Japanese or Filipino organizations, but since that time the Japanese organization, as you have stated, has changed its constitution in an attempt, I believe, to conform more closely to the requirements of the American organization.

The CHAIRMAN. We will drop that phase of it. Leaving out labor organizations of all kinds, did not these strikes occur because the laborers had been receiving large bonuses as a result of high prices for sugar and they saw for a certainty that the bonus would drop to a

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; when I used the term "point of contact," I was referring to the point of contact between the plantation interests and the American Federation of Labor organization in the Territory with a view to acting as mediator.

The CHAIRMAN. Would acting as the mediator bring you in contact with the Filipino association and the Japanese association?

Mr. WRIGHT. It would bring us in contact with those associations in an effort to secure an understanding which would keep them on the plantations. That was our purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you would be the mediator or business agent for the Japanese association?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not the business agent at all in the sense that that word is used, but simply as a mediator or conciliator between the employes and the employers.

The CHAIRMAN. Has not the Federal Government mediators and conciliators to do that very work?

Mr. WRIGHT. Do you mean in the Territory?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never seen one there?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir. On certain occasions they have appointed residents or resident employees of the Federal Government as conciliators.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they work with any success in this recent strike?

Mr. WRIGHT. In the machinists strike in 1919 their efforts were very successful, I believe, in bringing about an adjustment.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the machinists strike on the Government work?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was outside of that?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Japanese Federation of Labor fraternalize and harmonize with the Filipino Federation of Labor?

Mr. WRIGHT. Fraternalize and harmonize?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; as associations.

Mr. WRIGHT. Do you mean whether there is any connection between them, or any official connection?

The CHAIRMAN. Do they get along well together as labor associations?

Mr. WRIGHT. I would not be in a position to state positively. I can state, however, that there is no official connection between the two organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you know, do the Japanese plantation laborers and the Filipino plantation laborers get along well together?

Mr. WRIGHT. On the plantations?

The CHAIRMAN. Anywhere. Is there any feeling between those races? That is what I want to get at.

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not think there is.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there some years ago?

Mr. WRIGHT. There may have been. I will state that immediately after the strike I believe there was a certain feeling between them based upon the economic ground that they had not supported each

other, each side charging that the other side had not supported them as they had reason to expect they would be supported.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Japanese seem to be resentful when additional Filipinos are brought into the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I can not say that they are resentful.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Japanese say anything about this proposal to bring in other orientals, as outlined in this resolution?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Japanese themselves?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know that they have gone on record at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not heard any of them say anything about it?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I think they are simply laying off.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "laying off"?

Mr. WRIGHT. They are simply letting matters go and are awaiting developments.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Japanese newspapers have anything to say about it?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; some. There is only one Japanese newspaper that has anything in English in it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not make any effort to keep up with translations of the Japanese newspapers?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; no effort at all.

The CHAIRMAN. It is important to do that. Did you see those advertisements in Japanese newspapers with pictures of Japanese strikers who had returned to work?

Mr. WRIGHT. Did I see them personally—no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not see the Japanese advertisement where it was announced that they would be denounced in their home towns in Japan?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it talked about in the labor unions at all?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not believe it was at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean that it was nothing to you that the punishment of Japanese strike breakers was to be punishment in Japan? Do you mean to say that that was nothing to you?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was not brought to our attention particularly, although the fact was developed in the daily newspapers—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That was printed in English?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was printed in the English newspapers as a charge against the Japanese that they were using various methods that were not considered lawful in holding their members in line.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not see or hear anything of it yourself?

Mr. WRIGHT. Personally, no.

The CHAIRMAN. We have the advertisements and translations here. The punishment for violating the agreements of the Japanese Labor Association was a punishment in Japan, besides ostracism among their own people in the islands. Are you pretty friendly with the Japanese?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I have practically no acquaintances among the Japanese, with the exception of one or two schoolboys who are schoolmates of my sons in high school.

The CHAIRMAN. You have sons in high school?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have two.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you own property in the islands?

smaller figure and that led them to strike in an effort to get an adjustment? Is not that about it?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, I do not know just exactly what relation the bonus had to that, but it is quite likely they foresaw, as we did, a drop in the price of sugar, and figured that if they were to lose their bonus they would have nothing left, because the base wage at that time was about 77 cents a day, and unless that base wage could be raised the loss of the bonus would mean practically the loss of everything.

The CHAIRMAN. What did the bonus amount to at the highest price of sugar? Did you ever hear?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; I have heard all kinds of statements, but I have not the bonus schedule. It is a rather complicated proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think it amounted to for a day laborer on the plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. The day laborers made as high as 200 per cent of their base wage.

The CHAIRMAN. Two hundred per cent a day?

Mr. RAKER. That would not be very high.

The CHAIRMAN. What would it be?

Mr. RAKER. To find out you would have to multiply 77 cents a day by 200 per cent.

Mr. WRIGHT. Of course, at the extreme peak of the sugar prices the bonus may have been higher. These gentlemen ought to have definite statistics.

The CHAIRMAN. We have the statistics, but I wanted to know whether you had general knowledge of them. You were watching this strike, but I do not know whether you have said you were in sympathy with it or not, and I just wondered whether you knew what the wages of the plantation laborers were at about that time.

Mr. WRIGHT. I know they were getting high wages at the time sugar was high.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they getting as much as \$4 a day?

Mr. WRIGHT. The contractors might have been, or something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. And they had their houses and other things furnished. What is the average house rent in Honolulu?

Mr. WRIGHT. The rentals over there, for a decent house for an American to live in, run about \$40 or \$50.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you have to pay for car fare?

Mr. WRIGHT. The car fare in Honolulu is still 5 cents. That is practically the only thing that has not been raised.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you have to pay for ice?

Mr. WRIGHT. The price of ice has been raised since the first of the year. We pay 10 cents a day for ice.

Mr. WRIGHT. I think we are supposed to get 7 pounds—7 or 7½ pounds.

Mr. RAKER. Are there any American Japanese in these organizations, American citizens?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know, definitely.

Mr. RAKER. There are a lot of young men there from 14 to 25 or even 40 years of age who were born in Hawaii, and some were born in the United States and have gone to Hawaii. I want to know whether or not any of these Japanese, who are American citizens, belong to any of these Japanese labor organizations, if you know?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not that I have personal knowledge of.

Mr. RAKER. So that I may intelligently ask Mr. Wright a few questions, may I ask Mr. Gompers a couple of questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Gompers, does the American Federation of Labor permit Negroes to affiliate with that organization?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. In the United States?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Does it permit any alien race, that possesses the qualifications as named by one of your gentlemen the other day, to become a part of the unions?

Mr. GOMPERS. All except Chinese and Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. But the Japanese are members of certain unions in Seattle, are they not?

Mr. GOMPERS. I would like to answer this question first, if I may. The American Federation of Labor has on repeated occasions declared the necessity for the organization of workers, of all wage earners, without regard to nationality, sex, race, or political affiliations of any character, and yet at the first convention of the Federation in 1881 it declared for Chinese exclusion and has carried along that policy all through. It helped to prevail upon the Government of the United States for the enactment of the Chinese exclusion law and for the renewal of the treaty between the United States and China by which that principle has been internationally maintained. In regard to the Japanese, it has declared against the affiliation of the Mongolian race with the American labor movement. I may say, if I am permitted, that we have had applications from Japanese workers in the United States for a charter from the American Federation of Labor, but the Federation has declined to issue it.

Mr. RAKER. Would it be impertinent upon my part if I asked you upon what theory, after having answered the question as you have, that all aliens can join the Federation if they have the qualifications—what are the words? If they are workers?

Mr. GOMPERS. Wage earners.

Mr. RAKER. And sober and industrious.

Mr. GOMPERS. Well, the machinists have that in a part of their constitution or their obligation, but the American Federation of Labor assumes all workers to be sober and industrious.

Mr. RAKER. If they are in the United States legally and lawfully, upon what theory do you exclude the Chinese and the Japanese from the organization?

Mr. GOMPERS. The Chinese are excluded by law, and we believe that the intermingling of the Mongolian races is prejudicial not only to the economic interests of the working people but to the institutions of our Republic and against our progress in civilization. I would also like to say this in connection with a subject which was discussed yesterday; that is, why machinery of a proper type and character has not been applied to the sugar plantations. The fact is that it is a universal law of industry that wherever men are cheap labor-saving devices, tools, and machinery are checked and held back, and that does not apply to China, it does not apply to Japan, it does not apply to India, it does not apply alone to any other country, but applies to the conditions in our own country. Wherever workers and wage

earners are cheap it has retarded or prevented the introduction of the highest types of machinery and tools of labor.

Mr. RAKER. While your views have been expressed, there is no opportunity now for reiterating my own, and I will not do so in the questions I will propound to this witness; but, as a matter of fact, when the Government of the United States permits Chinese and Japanese to be in the United States, they ought to have the right to be treated as human beings and should receive a fair wage for their work?

Mr. GOMPERS. Indeed; and I might say this, that whenever there has been a movement on the part of any of those races for their economic betterment, the American Federation of Labor has given them its moral support.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, instead of trying to discriminate against them while we have them here, the thing to do is to exclude them from our country so as to avoid this complication?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. I think I will forego any further examination now.

Mr. GOMPERS. If I may have a moment, I will say this, that the American Federation of Labor has endeavored by every means within its power or influence to organize the colored workmen in the United States or any of its possessions. It does not recognize social equality, but it does recognize the identity of interest of colored workers with those of the Caucasian race. There are some organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that discriminate against colored workers becoming members of their organizations. In principle, the American Federation of Labor has discouraged that thought and idea, and has, on the other hand, endeavored to use its influence with the organizations in order that they would eliminate whatever discriminatory provisions there were in their laws and constitutions.

As a recent instance of that, I call attention to this fact, that we have about 75 or 80 local unions of colored workers in the freight-handling department of railroads, including station porters, composed completely of colored workmen. We have a national organization affiliated with the Federation called the Brotherhood of Freight Handlers, Shipping Clerks, Station Porters, etc., but that organization does not admit unions of colored workers or colored workers as individuals. At our last convention at Denver, which closed a few weeks ago, we adopted a resolution directing that every effort should be made by this national organization to admit those colored men, and upon the floor it was declared that every effort would be made before the convention to be held in 1922, and that organization has requested that such efforts be made, to break down that bar, and they have declared that unions of colored workers should be admitted. They have declared that in the meantime every effort should be made by the brotherhood, by those colored local unions, and by the president of the American Federation of Labor to see to it that in the interim between our convention and the brotherhood's convention, when the question is to be decided, the injustice done to those colored freight handlers should be rectified; the injustice being that the Railroad Labor Board has adjudged and decided upon a basic hour wage for that character of work performed by those colored workmen and by the white workmen who are doing the same class of work, and the railroads arbitrarily and in conflict

with the decision, and in violation of the decision of the Railroad Wage Labor Board, has reduced the wages of those colored workmen 10 cents per hour.

At a recent conference called by me, at which the brotherhood was represented and at which all these colored local unions were represented, we reached an agreement by which there will be cooperation in order to have restored the rates of wages instead of those arbitrarily and unlawfully imposed by the railroad companies upon those men. That is an indication of the character of work that we are doing upon that line.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. May I ask Mr. Gompers a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Gompers, I was very much interested in your statement in regard to the question of introducing labor-saving machinery on the sugar plantations. I have understood that the Painters' Union of San Francisco endeavored to secure legislation in the State of California which would prevent the use of paint-spraying machinery. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know, and it may be true. As a matter of fact, the Lancastershire, England, textile workers broke the first textile machines that were placed in the factories, because they were under the impression that if they would destroy those machines they would save their jobs.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That was the revolution of 1700?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. They failed to bear in mind the fact that when they broke the machines there were possibly blue prints available, and that even if they destroyed them the man who invented the machines was living, and he could with the assistance of others produce other machines. While here and there there may be small groups who have antagonized the introduction of machinery, generally speaking, and I might say that it is almost unanimously so, we say "Bring in your machinery as much as you can." But as a result of that the hours of labor should be reduced, so that the introduction of machinery shall not entirely wipe out the wage earner.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That was demonstrated in that revolution in England, which showed that skilled artisans were necessary in the handling of machinery.

Mr. GOMPERS. I have read of one instance in Egypt with much interest where the water carriers protested against the laying of mains and pipes because it would take away their jobs. It is simply a matter of the concept of self-protection.

Mr. RAKER. Was not that same sort of protest made against the English Government when they took Jerusalem? When they took that country, they put in water pipes and mains, and, as I understand it, the water carriers protested against the putting in of the pipes, so that they could have the work of carrying the water.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Gompers, I do not want to misquote you, but my impression was very definitely obtained last Friday, I think it was, that you stated in effect that cane in Porto Rico was loaded by machinery. Was that correct?

Mr. GOMPERS. Quite correct; I have seen it.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I was very much surprised at that fact, because my experience in the sugar country is not limited to a few years but

represents practically all the years I have been in business, and I have taken a very considerable interest in the matter of labor-saving machinery. I made inquiries in New York to find out just what labor-saving machinery has been developed, and I have this morning two letters sent to me through the American Factors (Ltd.), of Wall Street, New York, which bear on this subject. The first letter is from the Cape Cruz Co., which operates one of the most successful plantations in Cuba, producing this year about 125,000 bags of sugar, weighing 125 pounds to the bag, which would be slightly over 20,000 tons. There is a paragraph in this letter from Mr. Charles Welch, that I would like to read. After stating that they have stumps on their plantations which have made it difficult to operate any machines there, the letter ends as follows:

As a matter of fact, we do not know of any mechanical cane cutter or mechanical cane loader that has proved efficient and economical. With the high rates of wages that have been prevailing in Cuba from the start of the war until this year, and the difficulty in getting any kind of labor, there never was a time when there was more necessity for such machines.

We have been following up the matter of these mechanical means of harvesting the crop for the last 20 years, and while from time to time reports come out that the problem has at last been solved, and that such and such a make of machine is operating successfully, we never hear that any machine has been generally or even largely put to use, or even manufactured. If there is any extensive use of any cane harvester or cane loader in Cuba or Porto Rico, we must confess that we do not know of it, and we shall be very much surprised to hear of it. We do know that attempts to solve this problem of cutting cane by mechanical means are constantly being made, and there is usually an experimental machine being tried out at some place in Cuba, Porto Rico, Louisiana, or Hawaii. We hope, some day that a practical and efficient machine will be found.

That is from Cuba. I have also a letter from Mr. John Farr, vice president of the Central Aguirre Sugar Co., as follows:

In reply to your inquiry, we beg to say that our cane at Aguirre, in Porto Rico, is loaded into carts and cars entirely by hand labor.

Mr. GOMPERS. You have one from Porto Rico?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. This second one refers to Porto Rico.

Mr. GOMPERS. I want to say that if what I said on Friday or the other day conveyed that idea, it was not intended, or I did not intend to convey the idea that the sugar cane was cut by machinery or in any other way than by the machette. If I conveyed any such idea as that, I did not intend that it should be so conveyed. In the second place, as to the bringing of the cane to the carts, I did not intend to convey the idea that that was done by machinery. What I intended to say was that when the cane was placed in the carts, there were chains under each end of the length of cane, and then something else, I do not know whether it is a chain or not, but those carts or steam cars were hauled from the field to the grinding place, and the cane was there hauled up at one time and dropped into a hopper, where the cane is ground or crushed and the extract taken from it. I think there was one gentleman sitting at this table at the time who made the remark that they were hauled by oxcarts. I think I said that was true on the smaller plantations, but that so far as the larger plantations of Porto Rico were concerned, the method that I described was in vogue 50 years ago.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The question under consideration at that time was the question of packing cane in bundles and carrying them by a duck board onto the cars, and Judge Raker introduced some compli-

mentary reference to the antiquated methods pursued in Hawaii. You then interjected the statement that in Porto Rico cane was loaded onto cars by this general method that you have described. Now, as a matter of fact, all of the cane in Porto Rico is loaded on oxcarts by hand, and that was the difficult operation which was being criticized by Mr. Wright.

Mr. GOMPERS. If I conveyed that idea, it was unfortunate.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It was not quite clear. As a matter of fact, all that you described in the matter of unloading cane has been done in Hawaii ever since I can remember, and by an even more advanced method than the one you described, because by the method we employ one man can unload more cane than 250 men could by hand. Those improved methods are improved on in Hawaii, and the point that was raised was one that I was anxious to find out, because if there is such a thing as a successful mechanical loader we want to know it.

Mr. MEAD. I want to say that Mr. Gompers's idea, as he has explained it, is right—that is when the cane is loaded on the big cars to go to the mill, it is put in slings, or in chain slings, and it is lifted out and dropped into a conveyor that takes it to the crusher. Now, in Hawaii we do not have any such antiquated method as that, but we have cars so equipped that when they get to the crusher they are dumped at one operation. There is only one handling of the cane from the time it is loaded in the cars until it gets to the mill, and when it gets to the mill it is dumped right over by a contrivance designed for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. I presume that plantations of any size anywhere with the competition as close as it is, would make use of every device that has been perfected, just as is done in other industries.

Mr. GOMPERS. May I ask Mr. Wright a question, or will you put it for me?

The CHAIRMAN. Ask it directly.

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Wright, when you spoke of the wages paid to the Japanese and the bonus, just what did you mean? That question was asked of you by some member of the committee, I do not recall whom, as to the wages being 77 cents with a bonus of three times that amount. You were further asked whether some of them were not paid \$4 per day, and you answered by saying that those were not wages but were payments to contractors. Will you explain what you meant by the term "contractors?"

Mr. WRIGHT. I did not state definitely that that was the case, but that probably those were wages received by contractors, because by no possible computation of 77 cents could you get an increase to \$4, or it could not be increased to \$4 by the percentage of bonus that was given.

The CHAIRMAN. I used \$4 as an illustration. I was trying to get his estimate of what a man would get with the bonus.

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Wright answered that that might be paid to the contractors, and I would like to have him explain what he had in mind by the term "contractors."

Mr. WRIGHT. As I understand it, there are two different methods—that is to say, there is the method of hiring the laborer to work for so much per day as a base wage, and paying him for the actual time that he puts in, and there is another method of letting out certain

areas under contract for the cultivation and raising of the cane; and those areas are usually let out, or they have been in the past, to groups of workers as little companies, contracting with the plantation owners, to care for the cultivation and irrigation of the cane. When those contracts are all filled, the cane is harvested and weighed. I believe the contracts go on the basis of the tonnage of cane produced. When that cane is weighed and ground and the purity of the juice is ascertained, the contractor eventually is paid a certain amount per ton for clean cane of a certain purity that is produced on the acreage of that little group. In that way, under favorable conditions, some of the contractors are able to earn considerably more than by the method of common day labor. On the other hand, some of the contractors were able to earn very little, if anything, for the reason that the losses due to unavoidable causes had to be sustained by the contractors. The plantation owner was clear, so far as that was concerned. If the contractor has good luck and if everything turns out all right, he will make a little more than he could by working by the day.

Mr. GOMPERS. Those contractors provide certain employees, or do they pay the wages of certain employees?

Mr. WRIGHT. The men themselves under this system I have described are the contractors. They are a group of men. They usually choose some one, I think, to represent them.

Mr. RAINEY. Do the contractors have laborers under them?

Mr. WRIGHT. Sometimes it becomes necessary for them to have additional laborers, but sometimes they handle it themselves.

Mr. RAINEY. The contractors pay those laborers when it is necessary to employ them?

Mr. WRIGHT. I believe so.

Mr. RAINEY. You mean to say that the contractors would not necessarily employ laborers, but, of course, when they do, the contractors pay the laborers themselves, do they not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; I presumed they do.

Mr. FREE. They are Japanese, are they not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not necessarily Japanese or Filipinos.

Mr. FREE. As I understand it, a group of them get together and take a contract?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; or that is the system I have in mind. Of course, there may be variations of it.

Mr. FREE. They divide the profits?

Mr. WRIGHT. Whatever profits are made from the contract, they divide.

The CHAIRMAN. The Japanese beg for those contracts, do they not?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; not any more.

The CHAIRMAN. They used to.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; they used to, and when sugar was high they were able to make considerable that way, but I am informed that at the present time the Japanese have been unable to make the contracting end of it pay, and that, as a matter of fact, the Japanese and Filipinos are not now contracting to the great extent that they did previously.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "previously" you mean something about the time you went to the islands and had knowledge of the thing?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not know anything about this prior to that time?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Just one question in the interest of expediting and the saving of time: We have been conducting these hearings for three weeks, and it would greatly expedite the hearing if they would bring one of those contracts here and submit it to the committee. We have gone into that question at great length, asking what these men would get and what would be the basic wage.

(The following sample contract asked for by Judge Raker is herewith submitted by Mr. Wright:)

CANE CONTRACT.

This agreement, made and entered into this 9th day of March, A. D. 1921, by and between the Oahu Sugar Co. (Ltd.), a corporation organized and existing under and by virtue of the law of the Territory of Hawaii, party of first part, hereinafter called the "company," and the several contractors subscribing their names hereto, parties of the second part, hereinafter called the "contractors,"

Witnesseth, that the said company for and in consideration of the promises and agreements to be kept by the said contractors, hereby covenants and agrees as follows, to wit:

1. To permit the said contractors to enter into and occupy for the purpose of cultivation of sugar cane, on the system hereinafter set forth, that section of land described in the company's maps as field No. 20, covering in all about 158.50 acres, now planted with sugar cane by the said company, and standing debited therefor on the books of the company with the sum of \$483.79.

2. To loan and advance for the term of said contract, for the living expenses of said contractors, money at the rate of \$26 for men and \$19.50 for women per month of 26 days' service of 10 hours each day, performed by each of said contractors, while said contractors faithfully perform the terms, conditions, and covenants herein set forth by them to be kept and performed. Any work on Sundays to be computed at the rate of time and a half.

3. To furnish without charge lodgings sufficient for contractors' use and to keep the same in ordinary repair, on contractors' careful and proper use thereof.

4. To furnish fuel for the domestic use of the contractors, to be cut and gathered by the contractors at such place or places as the company shall designate.

5. To furnish tools, in the first instance, for irrigating purposes.

6. To furnish water in main plantation ditches for irrigation purposes.

7. To furnish such fertilizer as the said company may deem necessary to be used on the said premises.

8. To pay within one month after the termination of this contract the sum of \$1.12 for each ton of 2,000 pounds of clean cane, grown and cultivated as herein set forth, on said premises, and should said contractors also cut and load said cane by direction of the company, then the further sum of 46 cents per ton of 2,000 pounds of clean cane grown, cultivated, and cut on said premises and loaded on railroad cars or other means of transportation, and each of said contractors shall be entitled to receive as his share for all services by said contractors done and performed hereunder, such proportionate part as his labor bears to the entire amount of labor and services rendered on said clean cane to be determined by the weight thereof as delivered at the mill of said company.

And the contractors, for and in consideration of the promises and agreements to be kept and performed by the said company as herein set forth, do hereby covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said company as follows, to wit:

I. That they will cultivate thoroughly and well and properly irrigate the cane growing and to be grown during the term hereof on the section of land mentioned herein until said cane shall be matured and ripe, and until the said cane shall be cut and harvested; the said term of cultivation, however, shall not exceed the term of 18 months from the date of beginning work under this contract, to wit, July 15, 1920.

II. To conduct to and throughout the cane fields the water furnished by said company, and there carefully and economically to use the same for the purpose of irrigating said cane.

III. To clean and strip the said cane along the side of all roads and railroads for a distance of 30 feet, and along both sides of all main ditches, level ditches, and water courses for a space of 5 feet.

IV. To keep the edge of said premises, the field itself, and all roads and ditches on said premises, clean and free from weeds, and to keep at all times all water courses clean and free from leaves.

V. To carefully apply such fertilizers as may be furnished for said premises in the manner directed by the said company.

VI. To keep in repair or replace all tools and ladders furnished by the company to the contractors, and to return the same at the termination of this contract.

VII. To permit said company to deduct and said company is hereby authorized and empowered to deduct from the amount due the contractors, under the terms hereof, all loans and advances made to the said contractors for living expenses.

VIII. To permit said company to deduct, and the said company is hereby authorized and empowered to deduct, from the amount due the contractors, under the terms hereof, the sum debited against said premises on books of the company at the time of the execution of this contract, and the actual cost of all labor procured and furnished by the company under the terms hereof, in order to well and properly cultivate and irrigate said cane, when said labor shall have been procured and furnished by the company.

IX. To cut and load on cars or place in flumes or other sufficient means of transportation furnished by the company the sugar cane grown on said section of land whenever said company shall direct contractors so to do.

It is mutually agreed by and between the parties hereto as follows, to wit:

A. That all work, labor, and service to be performed by the contractors under this agreement shall be subject to the supervision of the company in all cases; that the company shall have the right at any and all times to direct in what manner the same shall be performed and employ extra labor to do any of the work herein specified; that the cost of the employment of such labor shall be charged to and deducted from the contractors' share.

B. That the right is hereby reserved to the company to enter upon said premises, or any part thereof, at any and all times for any purposes.

C. That the company shall have the right, in its discretion, to burn off the field to facilitate harvesting, before cutting the cane, but any field so burned shall be cut and ground with the least possible delay.

D. That this agreement may be terminated at any time by the company for failure on the part of the contractors to carry out any of the terms hereof, or upon such interference by the said contractors with the work on said premises as shall prevent the proper and efficient cultivating or harvesting of said cane; and by the contractors upon giving two months' notice to the company. When this agreement shall have been thus terminated the contractors shall be entitled to wages at the rate of \$20 to November 1, 1920, and \$30 from November 1, 1920, for men and \$15 to November 1, 1920, and \$22.50 from November 1, 1920, for women per month of 26 days labor actually performed, less all advances made under the provisions hereof.

E. No contractor or contractors shall have the right to transfer or assign his share to any other without the written consent of the company, and in case of any such transfer it shall not be recognized, and all settlements shall be made with the original contractor, his heirs or legal representatives in case of death.

F. The contractors shall agree on the appointment of a representative who shall have the right to inspect the weighing of cane grown on said premises, and the cleaning and reweighing of the cane and refuse from all sample cars hereinafter referred to.

G. The company shall in no way be held liable for damages to said crop or any portion thereof by fire, storm, or unavoidable delays in the mill, pumps, or for delays caused by strikes of workmen on plantation, or from any accidents or delays which are beyond the control of the company.

H. In case of the death of a contractor during the term of this agreement, the estate of said contractor shall be entitled to immediate settlement at the rate of \$20 to November 1, 1920, and \$30 from November 1, 1920, for men and \$15 to November 1, 1920, and \$22.50 from November 1, 1920, for women per month of 26 days of labor actually performed, deducting advances as aforesaid, or settlement may then be given by said contractor hereunder. In case of accident to or sickness of said contractor, whereby said contractor is prevented from performing the labor under this agreement, said contractor may, with the consent of the company, supply the labor in place of his own, failing to do which the company may supply labor in place of said contractor, and receive and deduct such proportion of the entire amount due said contractor as the labor substituted by the company and performed in the place of said contractor shall bear to the entire amount of labor performed hereunder and according to the terms hereof.

I. It is agreed that for the purpose of this contract, the term "clean cane" shall be understood to be the actual net weight of the cane after all refuse, including green and dry leaves, dead and rotten cane, shall have been removed from the said cane, and to ascertain this an average sample car shall be cleaned and weighed each day at the expense of the company, and the percentage of refuse from such sample car shall be accepted as the basis for the deduction to be made from the gross weight of all cane from the said premises weighed each day at the mill of the company.

J. This agreement, in so far as cultivation is concerned, shall terminate and be considered at an end 18 months from the date of beginning work under this contract; and in so far as harvesting is concerned, it shall terminate and be at an end when the last cane upon the field shall have been placed upon cars and weighed. Settlement shall be made not later than one month thereafter. It is also agreed that should the company desire it, the contractors shall perform any necessary work in the field hereinbefore mentioned before the field is harvested and after the termination of their contract for cultivation, and receive remuneration therefor at ruling rates of pay for the work they may be called upon to perform.

K. It is agreed that in all cases where the company is concerned its manager, or such person as by him may be designated, shall be its representative and shall be so recognized and treated by the contractors.

In witness whereof the said parties hereto have caused these presents to be duly executed in duplicate, the day and year first above written.

OAHU SUGAR CO. (LTD.),
J. B. THOMSON.

(Signature of contractors.)

Interpreted and explained by:

Witnessed by:

FIELD NO. 20, CROP 1922.

Attached to and made a part of field contract No. 20, crop 1922.

Ditchman, Y. Kusunoki.

12004. Jose Cariclo.
12005. Francisco Talito.
12010. Belyno Manatad.
12015. Juan Bulocbuloc.
12016. Victoriano Laoc.
12017. Vidal Laoran.

12018. J. Aihara.
12019. K. Mashisaki.
5515. Sigundo Joscoid.
5776. Sebastian Gilandone.
5782. Fremo Bagundol.
22001. M. Kusuneki.

Field No. 20; crop 1922; kind of cane, Lahaina; acres, 158.50; price, \$1.20 number of men, ———; begun work, July 15, 1920.

MR. MEAD. Mr. Wright, you stated that the contractors were paid upon the final adjustment, and that that adjustment was made upon the basis of the purity of the juice. You stated that the settlement with the contractors was made upon the basis of the purity of the juice, and I want to know from you what proportion of the planters make contracts on that basis?

MR. WRIGHT. I do not know what proportion. I have said that it was sometimes made upon the basis of the tonnage of the cane and sometimes upon the basis of the purity of the juice.

MR. MEAD. Referring to this proposition of the purity of the juice, as a matter of fact, are not those contracts based along these lines entirely with homesteaders, and not with plantation contractors?

MR. WRIGHT. It may be, in a different form.

MR. MEAD. Is it not a fact that those contracts are made with homesteaders, instead of with plantation workers?

MR. WRIGHT. I do not know.

MR. MEAD. I know that it is.

MR. FREE. What is the basic wage now?

MR. WRIGHT. I believe that it is about \$30 for 26 days work.

MR. RAKER. How many hours per day?

8. Change in the cane contract system to provide for a division after deducting marketing expenses, of 60 per cent to the contractor and 40 per cent to the companies of the gross value of the sugar, under a contract similar to that of the homesteaders.

9. Increase in the price paid to growers corresponding to the increase in base pay and bonus provided for laborers.

10. Improvement in the sanitary and housing conditions and provision for recreation and amusement.

(This is not a literal presentation of the formal resolution or the letter by which it was transmitted, but is in substance the correct expression of the demands that were made.)

Mr. SHAW. Where was this strike called? Where did it start?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was started on the plantations on Oahu, the island of Oahu. That is the island on which Honolulu is situated, and whether it was simultaneous on all the plantations, or whether it was a successive development, I can not state positively, but I am under the impression that it was all practically consummated within two or three days. I believe some effort was made on certain of the plantations by the employees in their individual groups to secure an adjustment with the plantation management, and I am informed that those representations and those requests were also turned down. In other words, the two organizations, as centralized bodies, took the matter up with the planters and endeavored to secure a general adjustment. Then, failing in that, prior to the calling of the strike individual groups on the different plantations made representations to their local management, presenting practically the same requests that had been made to the association, but these requests were also turned down. Having failed in the two requests made to the planters and the local attempts at adjustment, a conference was held and a strike called on the plantations.

Mr. SHAW. Did you approve of the strike?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, it is a difficult question to answer. Do you mean, did I approve it at that time?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. I will state that at that time I did not give the matter sufficient study to have determined absolutely, but within a month, I feel I can state to this committee, the strike, in my opinion, was justified.

Mr. SHAW. You mean that within a month after it started you decided it was all right?

Mr. WRIGHT. Very shortly after it started, after I found out what had been done.

Mr. SHAW. You did not have anything to do with starting it?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; in fact, to tell the truth, I was very busy myself; I was working and was not giving the labor situation the thought and study that I did later.

Mr. SHAW. Did you have anything to do with the strike? Did you decide it was the thing to do?

Mr. WRIGHT. Personally I had nothing whatever to do with it.

Mr. FREE. Did the labor organizations? The American Federation of Labor, the central labor council, or any of these different unions?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; they took no official action.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they discuss it at the central labor council meetings?

Mr. WRIGHT. I believe it was discussed, but I was not at that time a delegate, and, as I stated at the first hearing, there was some talk

Mr. WRIGHT. Will you repeat your question?

Mr. SHAW. I asked what was the cause of the strike.

Mr. WRIGHT. The cause of the strike was the refusal of the plantation managers to enter into any sort of conference with the employees or the representatives of the employees.

Mr. FREE. Is it not a fact that no demand was made upon the planters for a conference before the strike was called, and is it not a fact that they struck before they made any demands?

Mr. WRIGHT. No. It is a fact of record, I believe, that two letters were written to the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association previous to the calling of the strike.

Mr. FREE. By whom?

Mr. WRIGHT. To the first letter——

Mr. FREE (interposing). By whom?

Mr. WRIGHT. By the representatives of the organized employees.

Mr. FREE. Do you know who they were?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know their names, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they Japanese?

Mr. WRIGHT. There were Filipino representations made and there were also Japanese representations made. The matters were taken up separately.

Mr. SHAW. Were they laborers?

Mr. WRIGHT. So far as I know they were laborers.

Mr. FREE. Have you those letters with you or copies of them?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have no copies, no.

Mr. FREE. Could you get them?

Mr. WRIGHT. Those copies are in the possession of the sugar planters.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the letters in English?

Mr. WRIGHT. Unquestionably.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the contents were?

Mr. WRIGHT. I can secure that information, I believe, for you, but I do not have it with me.

Mr. FREE. Will you do that, Mr. Wright?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; I will do it.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

GENERAL OUTLINE OF DEMANDS MADE ON THE HAWAIIAN SUGAR PLANTERS ASSOCIATION BY RESOLUTION OF BODY OF REPRESENTATIVES OF JAPANESE PLANTATION LABORERS AND PRESENTED TO THE PLANTERS BY LETTER ON OR ABOUT THE 4TH DAY OF DECEMBER, 1919, BY A COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF ONE REPRESENTATIVE FROM EACH ISLAND.

1. Increase basic wage from 77 cents a day to \$1.25 a day for men and from 58 cents to 95 cents a day for women, with proportionate increase for higher ratings.
2. Changes in the bonus system so that employees might be able to claim the bonus as of right instead of as a gratuity in courts of law.
3. Establishing 15 days a month for men and 10 days for women as the minimum working month for bonus purposes, and providing that contractors employed by plantations as laborers be allowed bonus regardless of the number of days worked.
4. Payment of 75 per cent of the bonus each month and 25 per cent at the end of the bonus year, with provision for the payment of the bonus due for a less period when the employee shall leave the plantation either of his own accord or by reason of being discharged.
5. Establishment of an eight-hour day.
6. Women workers to be allowed two weeks before and six weeks after childbirth as leave of absence with ordinary pay.
7. Double time for Sundays, legal holidays, or overtime work.

chosen were people connected with the newspapers or not I can not say, but the chances are they picked the best brains they could find.

Mr. FREE. Yesterday you read from a newspaper in English?

Mr. WRIGHT. I read from what?

Mr. FREE. From the Advertiser. Is it not a fact that during this whole strike that paper editorially claimed this was a nationalistic issue and not an economic one?

Mr. WRIGHT. I can not say that that paper claimed it editorially, but I know that articles which appeared in the papers tried to develop something like that.

Mr. FREE. Is it not a fact that the entire American press of Hawaii during that period claimed it was nationalistic and not economic, all the papers, unless it happened to be your labor paper?

Mr. WRIGHT. We had no paper at that time. As I say, an effort was made——

Mr. FREE (interposing). Please answer the question I asked. Is it not a fact that in their news columns and editorially all of the papers in Hawaii, all American papers, stated and claimed that this strike was a nationalistic movement for control of the islands and that it was a question of the preservation of Americanism in Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know that they claimed that editorially, but I know the papers contained articles day after day trying to develop that as a fact.

Mr. FREE. You quoted a paper yesterday, the Advertiser, to the effect that it was not nationalistic?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREE. I have not the papers now, but I have seen them from time to time, the papers that were issued during that time, and that paper claimed absolutely that it was a nationalistic issue, and in very vehement language, too. That is a fact, is it not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; at that time, and for the evident purpose of discrediting the strikers.

Mr. FREE. I can hardly get your attitude. You said a minute ago that your union opposed this language bill that was introduced in the legislature there?

Mr. WRIGHT. You misunderstood me entirely. We made no opposition to the language school bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you support the language school bill?

Mr. WRIGHT. We took no official action on it whatever, but we were in favor of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in favor of it?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you there when the first agitation began in regard to American teachers in the schools?

Mr. WRIGHT. That was at the special session.

The CHAIRMAN. Two or three years ago?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; I was there at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you interested?

Mr. WRIGHT. I was interested simply in following it as it appeared in the papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your unions take any part in the effort to get alien labor off of the Federal works? Did the labor unions of Honolulu ever do anything in connection with the effort to get alien laborers off of the Federal works?

of what was then the Japanese Federation making an application for affiliation or cooperation, but nothing came of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Tyson pretty active at that time?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I think Mr. Tyson's time during that period was pretty well taken up with his activities in behalf of the electrical workers.

The CHAIRMAN. The machinists struck, then the electrical workers struck, and then the plantation men struck, and I believe the Japanese fishermen struck in along there somewhere, did they not?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know. That is not really a labor organization and I do not think you would call that a strike. It was just that they would not catch fish any more.

Mr. SHAW. If the labor unions did not have anything to do with this strike, who was at the bottom of it?

Mr. WRIGHT. You misunderstood what I said. The labor unions of the employees on the plantations were the ones who went on strike, and when you asked me about the unions you asked me about those affiliated with the American Federation.

Mr. SHAW. And they had nothing to do with it?

Mr. WRIGHT. Nothing, except to see to it or endeavor to see to it that their members did not do any strike breaking. That was taken up in some of the organizations; it was taken up in the machinists' organization, I know, and a resolution was passed, I believe, declaring that any member taking the place of a striker on a plantation would be considered as a strike breaker.

Mr. FREE. Let me understand. You say that resolution was passed by your unions?

Mr. WRIGHT. I say that matter was brought up in our organization.

Mr. FREE. And a resolution adopted declaring that anybody who took the place of one of these strikers would be considered a "scab" or strike breaker?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. SHAW. Were not the Japanese back of this strike?

Mr. WRIGHT. Back of the strike?

Mr. SHAW. Was it not a Japanese movement?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I can say that it was not a Japanese movement; it was a labor movement, a movement of the laborers on the plantations. The Filipinos were the ones that came out first and the Japanese came out afterwards. The demands, as I say, were submitted separately, and I believe the Japanese had a request to the sugar planters pending when the Filipinos went out. The Filipinos tried to secure an adjustment but failed and they went out, and as soon as the Japanese found their efforts failing they went out too.

Mr. SHAW. What was the result of the strike?

Mr. FREE. Pardon me just a minute to clear up something. Is it not a fact that those first demands were not made by the laborers at all but by newspaper men, Japanese newspaper men who were not workers?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I think that is not a fact. I think it is a fact that those requests or demands, as you call them, originated with the laborers themselves on the plantations through their democratic action in choosing representatives to a general conference in which the resolutions were finally drawn up. Whether the representatives

chosen were people connected with the newspapers or not I can not say, but the chances are they picked the best brains they could find.

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The CHAIRMAN. Did your unions take any part in the effort to get alien labor off of the Federal works? Did the labor unions of Honolulu ever do anything in connection with the effort to get alien laborers off of the Federal works?

Mr. WRIGHT. They have made efforts all along to prevent the employment of noncitizens on Federal works, in fact, at practically every meeting of our labor organization, of our central body, there are reports from the delegates that Japanese are employed on such-and-such a job, and the matter has been taken up by our central body with Mr. Davis, I believe, Secretary of Labor, and I recollect that a communication was received from him stating that he had no jurisdiction over the Federal work being done by the Army, but that if we would notify him as to contracts about to be given or jobs about to be started he would see whether anything could be done at this end to prevent the employment of noncitizens.

The CHAIRMAN. Did these discussions with reference to alien labor being employed on Federal works cause any feeling in the meetings?

Mr. WRIGHT. Why, yes; they caused this much feeling, that the aliens and noncitizens were crowding themselves up into work that we felt they ought to be excluded from, and severe criticisms were made of different contracting firms for their disposition to employ noncitizens and orientals in preference to citizens. The feeling was that this was solely a matter of wages and that they were able to secure cheaper workmen by employing orientals.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that lead to bad feeling against the Japanese in the streets of the town?

Mr. WRIGHT. Why, I can not really say that it does lead to bad feeling in that way; it is simply a feeling that the Japanese are not to be blamed so much as the men who employ the Japanese. I believe I voice the sentiment of organized labor in Hawaii when I state that organized labor blames more the employers, who debate the standards of living by the employment of orientals in these skilled and semiskilled trades, than it does the orientals themselves, because it believes that if these jobs were filled by citizens then those orientals would be kept on the plantations, where they were originally brought in to do their work, and that, I state again, is the position of organized labor and what we are striving for.

The CHAIRMAN. Organized labor does not object to the orientals there now as long as they stay on the plantations?

Mr. WRIGHT. Just as long as they are kept there.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood you say a while ago that organized labor does not object to Filipinos coming into the islands.

Mr. WRIGHT. Coming into the organizations?

The CHAIRMAN. No. We have gotten it pretty straight that organized labor does not want orientals on the Federal works, crowding out the skilled labor and crowding wages down, I suppose, but they want them put back on the plantations.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; back on the plantations.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not object if they stay there, but they do not want any more of them, I take it.

Mr. WRIGHT. No more of them.

The CHAIRMAN. How about Filipinos?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Filipinos, in one sense, are in the same class with those who should be on the plantations; those that are on the plantations should be kept there, but as far as bringing more Filipinos in, organized labor takes this position, that if, as a last resort, it is found to be necessary to bring in additional workers, additional laborers

for the plantations, then, it believes, the Filipino is the one who should be brought in, rather than to bring in Chinese or Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not have any objection to the Porto Ricans? Organized labor would have no objection to the Porto Ricans being brought in?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, what is the status of the Porto Ricans? The same as that of Filipinos?

Mr. RAKER. Irrespective of their status, what would be your answer?

Mr. WRIGHT. I could not answer that question for organized labor, because it has never been acted upon.

Mr. RAKER. What is the matter with the Porto Rican? Is there anything wrong with him?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, so far as the plantations are concerned, the Porto Rican is a desirable laborer, but he is in the same status, I believe, as the Filipino, and I imagine organized labor would have no more objection to Porto Ricans than to Filipinos from an economic point of view.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. You stated a little while ago that the Federal Government allowed aliens to work in positions under contract or under the Federal Government.

Mr. WRIGHT. On Federal work?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; especially in Honolulu.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Do you know whether the Territorial government has a law prohibiting aliens from working on any work that the Territorial government gives out?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; there is a law prohibiting the employment of noncitizens on Territorial work.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Then you will admit that the Territory is doing something to get the right kind of labor for those islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. Absolutely, yes.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. And the Federal Government is not?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Federal Government has through the passage of the Hawaiian rehabilitation bill.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That bill was passed because the people of Hawaii knocked at the doors of Congress and asked Congress to do something toward Americanizing the Territory.

Mr. WRIGHT. That was through the passage of this rehabilitation bill.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Did the American labor organizations, which attacked this bill when it was before Congress, appear before Congress to help pass that bill?

Mr. WRIGHT. The labor organizations did not attack that rehabilitation bill.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Because it was not important enough?

Mr. WRIGHT. It was important enough, yes; and as I stated yesterday, although they absolutely indorse the idea of employing only citizens on Federal work, yet the disadvantages of that bill absolutely outweighed, in their minds, the advantages.

Mr. RAKER. What were the disadvantages?

Mr. WRIGHT. The disadvantages, as the common working people regarded them, were the elimination of the 1,000-acre clause and the

giving up of the valuable cane lands, which efforts had been made to homestead—the giving up of these lands to the plantations.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Do you not know that there was a provision in that bill to turn back these lands to the plantations so that they could be rented under a lease and that the money derived therefrom was to help the Hawaiians rehabilitate themselves, and that if the bill did not provide that, the Hawaiians would not have had any money with which to rehabilitate themselves?

Mr. WRIGHT. We took no official action on that bill.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. This is the point I want to make: If it is of such importance for the labor unions to come here at this time, why was it not of as much importance for the labor unions to come at that time and back up the Delegate who was working for the benefit of the laboring men?

Mr. WRIGHT. Because the bill we were asked to work for contained something we absolutely could not indorse, and for that reason we took no part, no official part, in the fight, because the advantage we might have gained was outweighed by an equal disadvantage.

The CHAIRMAN. You live in Hawaii, and you have stated you are interested in the future of the islands. Were these homesteads falling into the hands of Japanese or not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Some of the homesteads were taken up by the Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. In about the proportion of the Japanese population?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not even know that it was in as high a proportion as that; in fact, I do not think it was. You understand that the method of allotting those homesteads is by lottery.

The CHAIRMAN. I am familiar with that; and then there is the selling-out privilege. Now, what about Hawaiian pineapple plantations? Are the Japanese getting those to any extent?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have not gone into pineapples to any great extent, but I have been informed that the Japanese are cultivating new lands for pineapples and are developing the pineapple industry. Whether it is under leasehold or how it is arranged I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, the pineapple industry was developed as a homestead proposition for citizens some years ago, and big efforts were made to attract American homesteaders to the islands. That went along for a few years, but now the Japanese are edging in on the pineapple industry exactly the same as they are on the fruit ranches, and so on, in California. I was wondering whether you were pretty familiar with that.

Mr. WRIGHT. Not from a personal study.

Mr. RAKER. I take it for granted, Mr. Chairman, that no Japanese could get any of these homestead lands unless he were an American citizen.

Mr. WRIGHT. Certainly not; he can not get homestead lands unless he is on an absolute political equality.

Mr. RAKER. I imagine the rehabilitation bill does not eliminate an American citizen from having the same rights as anyone else in the islands.

Mr. WRIGHT. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. There are a lot of Japanese American citizens in California and they seem to make as much trouble as the others.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Wright, do you know Pablo Manlapit, the president of the Filipino Labor Union of Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. He is the one to whom I referred.

Mr. FREE. He is the man that made the request of the Filipinos upon the planters?

Mr. WRIGHT. He is the man; yes, sir. He is the man who was the representative or head of the Filipinos. He is the man who made the request on the sugar planters.

Mr. FREE. He represented the Filipinos in that strike?

Mr. WRIGHT. He was the head of their board of directors.

Mr. FREE. He was the president of the Filipino Labor Union, was he not, and could speak for the Filipinos?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREE. You would take any statement that he would make as president of the Filipino Labor Union of Hawaii as speaking for the striking Filipinos, would you not?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I would not.

Mr. FREE. Why not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Because he might have made the statement personally, and not authoritatively.

Mr. FREE. If the statement was signed by the local president of the Filipino Labor Union, it would be taken as the statement of the union, would it not?

Mr. WRIGHT. It would be taken either as the actual statement of the organization, or as an expression of policy on his part, or as an expression of his personal opinion, which might not have been indorsed.

Mr. FREE. He was active in the strike, representing the Filipinos?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; I think he was.

Mr. FREE. I would like to insert in the record an article that appears in the Honolulu Pacific Commercial Advertiser, of Honolulu, of the issue of Tuesday, February 10, 1920. I will simply read a part of the article, but would like to have all of it inserted in the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

ADMIT DEFEAT OR CALL ISLAND-WIDE WALKOUT JAPANESE ONLY COURSE.

RETURN OF FILIPINOS TO WORK PLACES NIPPONESE IN SERIOUS FLIGHT—AGITATORS FROM OTHER ISLANDS ARRIVE—HAND OF TOKYO IS SEEN—MANLAPIT CHARGES CONSPIRACY.

Placed in a critical position by the collapse of the Filipino cane-workers strike and accused by the Filipino leaders of deserting them, the Federation of Japanese Labor in Hawaii had just two alternatives before it, according to those close to the local situation—either it must give up the fight and acknowledge itself beaten, or throw strategy and caution to the winds and make a last desperate bid for victory by attempting to enforce the all-island strike call authorized a week ago last Sunday and, for some reason unknown, not made effective.

For two days the officials of the federation have been in almost continuous session, but they have not given out a word as to their intentions. Last night, however, Secretary I. Goto made a definite statement to the effect that the Filipino defectors would have little or no effect on the Japanese plans, adding, however, significantly and with much emphasis, that it would, on the contrary, "aid the Japanese strikers in making their determination firmer."

This was taken by many Japanese as meaning that the federation was about to take the more radical course.

On the other hand, there are evidences that the Japanese leaders are pretty badly scared. Messages have been sent to outlying islands to sound out the sentiment

workers there and to stimulate strike contributions, which have been coming in very slowly. Besides the two commissioners from Hawaii who arrived Saturday other leaders have been summoned for conference.

SEE JAPAN'S HAND.

The hand of the Imperial Japanese Government is again seen in the summoning by the federation for conference of a man named Tsumi, a Japanese leader in Hawaii, who claimed on his arrival here recently that he had been sent to Hawaii by the Japanese Government to look into the labor situation of the islands as affecting the Japanese. He is said to have been a Japanese language school principal at Hilo.

Close connection between the Japanese language schools and the Japanese conspiracy to control industry in Hawaii is seen in the actions of E. Matsumora, principal of the Haleiwa Japanese school. According to Attorney Frank Thompson, this man came to him before the strike and offered to aid the planters against the agitators, declaring that the strike was being called so that a few agitators might profit financially by it. Now he is reported as making speeches to the strikers, inciting them to further resistance and declaring that they can not be put off the plantations. He is also the person who offered to open his school building to strikers.

MANY FILIPINOS BACK.

Reports from the various plantations last night indicated that about two-thirds of the Filipino strikers returned to work yesterday, the proportions differing on the various plantations. Pablo Manlapit made the rounds yesterday informing his followers of the ending of the strike and it is expected that there will be an almost complete return to-day, many Filipinos remaining away from work yesterday because they had not yet received the official order to return.

Charges that failure on the part of the Japanese to carry out their agreement to back the Filipinos were hurled at the former by Manlapit and his associates yesterday while the Japanese declared that their fight would not be affected.

"The calling off of the strike of the Filipino workers on the six plantations on Oahu by the Filipino organization will have little or no effect on the Japanese cane workers who are now out on strike for higher wages and other improvements in working conditions on the sugar estates in the islands," declared I. Goto, secretary of the Federation of Japanese Labor in Hawaii, yesterday afternoon. "The action of the Filipino leaders in calling off the strike will, on the contrary, aid the Japanese strikers in making their determination firmer. We are in the fight and will fight to the finish."

The action taken by the Filipino labor organization through Pablo Manlapit, president, in calling off the strike of the Filipino cane workers "temporarily" is being viewed with little concern, according to federation officials who, after a silence of two days were rather talkative yesterday. They said that the latest development in the strike situation was not the collapse of the Filipino strike but the collapse of the Filipino labor body.

The Nipu Jiji, one of the Japanese papers, agrees with the federation officials in their view of the termination of the Filipino strike. "The majority of the Filipino laborers who are out are decidedly in favor of continuing the strike," the Japanese paper says, "they are preparing to get out of the plantation quarters. The Federation of Japanese Labor has decided to aid these strikers in every possible way."

The Hawaii Hochi sees danger of the failure of the strike in the action taken by the Filipino leaders. The paper says that the Japanese strikers must now choose whether they continue the strike alone or take the lead of the Filipino strikers and call off the strike.

Pablo Manlapit issued an official statement yesterday giving his side of the dispute with the Japanese federation and charging them with a conspiracy to cripple the industries of Hawaii so that they may be taken over by an "unscrupulous alien race." He calls on the Filipinos "as Americans" to help the people of Hawaii to break the strangle hold the Japanese community is trying to obtain. Manlapit's statement is as follows:

"The above official order of February 8 calling off the strike of the Filipino plantation laborers, was issued by me in pursuance of a resolution to that effect unanimously passed by the board of directors and unanimously approved in a subsequent meeting by your representatives. It was deemed necessary because of the following reasons:

CHARGES OF CONSPIRACY.

"When the representatives of the union decided to strike they believed the statements of the representatives of the Japanese Labor Federation, that it was an industrial strike for the purpose of increasing laborers' wages, and they also believed that

the Japanese federation would carry out its often-repeated promise to support the Filipinos during the time they were on a strike and until Japanese funds could be secured. I now believe that instead of being an industrial strike for the purpose of raising wages, that the real object of the Japanese in declaring a strike is to cripple the industries of the Territory of Hawaii in the hope that they may be taken over by an unscrupulous alien race. As Americans we can not be parties to any such a program, and it becomes our duty as citizens of the United States to help the people of Hawaii to break the strangle hold which the Japanese community is trying to obtain upon it.

"When this question of Japanese control first came to our minds, I wrote Aguilan, director of labor at Manila, and received a cable from him saying that he did not consider a strike advisable.

"Because of the bad faith of the Japanese in failing to support us as they promised before we struck and because of their neglect in carrying out their agreement to provide houses and food for our people, those of you who were evicted from the plantations were huddled together without food or covering in such places as we could temporarily find, a condition which the government of the Territory and the president of the board of health said was a menace to the public health of the Territory and would not be tolerated, and for that reason, too, in order that our people might not suffer, I deemed it imperatively necessary to ask, and I do ask, all Filipinos to return to work.

"PABLO MANLAPIT,

"President Filipino Labor Union of Hawaii."

"FEBRUARY 9, 1920."

Juan B. Sarminento, one of the directors of the Filipino organization, declared yesterday that failure on the part of the Federation of Japanese Labor to make good its promise and support the Filipino strikers was largely responsible for the early end of the strike. He said that when Pablo Manlapit, president of the Filipino labor organization, met with the Federation officials prior to calling a strike of the Filipino laborers on January 19 last, Manlapit was assured by the Japanese that the federation would give the Filipinos every assistance in case the latter walked out. This promise, Sarminento said, has not been fulfilled, thus forcing the Filipino leaders to call off the strike.

A sudden change in the strike situation so far as it concerns Filipinos, took place last Saturday night, when 380 striking Filipinos and their families were brought to the city from Puuloa, a part of the Honolulu plantation, by Manlapit. These strikers were taken to the Filipino Club on Smith Street to be housed, but owing to the number many of them were compelled to sleep on the sidewalk.

SEEK JAPANESE HELP.

Admitting that the Filipino labor body was almost powerless in aiding the strikers because of lack of money, Pablo Manlapit called at the Federation of Japanese Labor asking for help. K. Miyazawa, one of the secretaries at the federation, was invited by Manlapit to go over to the Filipino Club to see the strikers in a helpless condition.

Miyazawa, according to Manlapit, agreed to accompany him to the Filipino Club but refused to give substantial aid to the Filipino strikers. He is said to have declared that it was entirely up to the Filipino leaders to take all necessary measures, asserting that the federation had absolutely nothing to do with the Filipino strikers. It was this attitude of the federation that caused the Filipino leaders to reconsider their action regarding the strike, Manlapit said.

The editorial suggestion by the Advertiser, that some action should be taken to control the foreign-language press in Hawaii, is being vigorously contested by the Nippu Jiji. The Japanese paper brands the suggestion as "one of the most desperate suggestions ever made in Hawaii since the English press began to exist," and said that the Jiji editor was regretful "to have such suggestion made, for the sake of Hawaii's honor and for the sake of Americanism as well."

The Hawaii Hochi declares that the planters are using "Americanism" as a tool in crushing the strike of the Japanese laborers. The paper said that "when the rest of the community comes to know the wily trick of the planters the latter then will find that they have made a sad mistake."

The first meeting of the members of the finance, campaign negotiation, and correspondence committee of the Strike Supporters' Association was held last night at the Japanese language school on Nuu-anu Street. The association was organized last week by representatives of various associations and institutions in the Japanese colony here. It was decided at last night's meeting to aid the strikers who are already in the city by raising a large fund through popular subscription from among the Honolulu Japanese.

The mass meeting which is proposed for the discussion of the situation is not being pressed from any suggestion of the sugar planters, who have had no connection with the idea, but is urged by citizens who feel that the present crisis is no mere capital and labor dispute but due to a deep-laid conspiracy on the part of alien interests to control the Territory of Hawaii and its industries.

In accord with the suggestion of the Japanese paper that a pro-Japanese propaganda in English be launched, the Honolulu Japanese Merchant's Association has issued a series of resolutions declaring that the present dispute is purely an industrial one and does not involve any race question. The resolution calls on both sides to negotiate a prompt settlement.

Mr. FREE. Now, Manlapit is a man who would be in pretty good position, being one of the strikers and representing the Filipinos, to express his views as to the nature of the strike.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir. If I may make a statement, I will say that to me it sounds very much like an inspired statement.

Mr. FREE. I think it is inspired by good Americanism.

Mr. WRIGHT. I think not. I think it is inspired by resentment and dissatisfaction over the failure of the Japanese to support the Filipinos in the way that they should have been supported and this view is sustained by Sarminento's statement.

Mr. FREE. You are on pretty friendly terms with the Japanese, are you not?

Mr. WRIGHT. On good terms?

Mr. FREE. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Not on particularly good terms or bad terms.

Mr. FREE. You talk over their problems with them?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir.

Mr. FREE. Of course, we must have misunderstood each other a while ago when I asked you about the language bill. What I meant to refer to was the foreign language press bill. As I understand it, that is a bill that provides that in case certain un-American statements were made in foreign-language papers, then translations would have to be had of the articles in the papers. Those are about the terms of the bill, are they not, in a rough way?

Mr. WRIGHT. That was the original press bill, I believe. It was modified and redrafted by Mr. Warren, who, I believe, is attorney for the sugar planters, and the final form in which it came before the House was such that labor could not conscientiously indorse it.

Mr. FREE. Why? The first section of the bill provides that—

Any person who shall print, sell, distribute, or circulate, in the Territory of Hawaii, any written or printed article or matter, in any form or language which shall advocate or incite or be intended to advocate or incite the commission of any act of violence, such as sabotage, incendiarism, sedition, anarchy, rioting, or breach of the peace, or which shall indirectly advocate or incite or be intended to advocate or incite the use or exercise of force, fear, intimidation, threats, ostracism, or blackmail, for the purpose of restraining or coercing or intimidating any person from freely engaging in lawful business or employment or the enjoyment of rights of liberty or property, or which by deliberate misrepresentation shall be designed and intended to create or have the effect of creating distrust or dissension between peoples of different races or between citizens and aliens, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon the first conviction shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, and upon a second conviction for again violating this section within five years of the first conviction, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment of not more than one year or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Section 2 provides that—

Any person or persons who shall publish in a foreign language any newspaper or prints of like nature for the dissemination of news or information, shall file a full and true copy of each and every such newspaper or print in the office of the attorney general of the Territory forthwith upon the publication thereof.

the Japanese federation would carry out its often-raised promises to the Filipinos during the time they were on a strike and secured. I now believe that instead of being an end in itself, the raising of wages, that the real object of the Japanese in the industries of the Territory of Hawaii in the hope of an unscrupulous alien race. As Americans we can recognize this, and it becomes our duty as citizens of the U. S. of Hawaii to break the strangle hold which the Japanese have upon it.

"When this question of Japanese control first came before the director of labor at Manila, and received a cable from Manila, he considered a strike advisable.

"Because of the bad faith of the Japanese in failing to keep their promise and because of their neglect in providing houses and food for our people, those of you who were huddled together without food or cover for several days, a condition which the government of the board of health said was a menace to the public health, and for that reason, too, in order that it might not be tolerated, and for that reason, too, in order that it might be deemed it imperatively necessary to ask, and I do ask,

"President F.

"FEBRUARY 9, 1920."

Juan B. Sarminento, one of the directors of the Federation, yesterday that failure on the part of the Federation to carry out its promise and support the Filipino strikers was the cause of the strike. He said that when Pablo Manlapit, president of the organization, met with the Federation officials prior to the strike on January 19 last, Manlapit was assured by them that they would give the Filipinos every assistance in case the Federation failed, as Sarminento said, has not been fulfilled, thus forcing the strike.

A sudden change in the strike situation so far as the city from Puuloa, a part of the Honolulu plantations were taken to the Filipino Club on Smith Street to sleep on the side of the road, many of them were compelled to sleep on the side of the road.

SEEK JAPANESE HELP

Admitting that the Filipino labor body was almost helpless because of lack of money, Pablo Manlapit called a meeting of the Federation yesterday afternoon at the Filipino Club to ask for help. K. Miyazawa, one of the secretaries of the Federation, was asked by Manlapit to go over to the Japanese Club to see if they could be of any assistance.

Miyazawa, according to Manlapit, agreed to do so, but refused to give substantial aid to the Filipino strikers, saying that it was entirely up to the Filipino leaders to take care of themselves. Manlapit said that the federation had absolutely nothing to do with the strike, and that the attitude of the federation that caused the strike was entirely up to the Filipino leaders to take care of themselves.

The editorial suggestion by the Advertiser, to control the foreign-language press in Hawaii, is being taken up by Nippu Jiji. The Japanese paper brands the suggestion as a "suggestion" ever made in Hawaii since the English language was introduced. The Jiji editor was regretful "to have such suggestions made in Hawaii for the sake of Americanism as well."

The Hawaii Hochi declares that the planters are crushing the strike of the Japanese laborers. The community comes to know the wily trick of the Japanese that they have made a sad mistake.

The first meeting of the members of the finance committee of the Strike Supporters' Association was held yesterday at the Japanese language school on Nu-u-anu Street. The meeting was attended by representatives of various associations and individuals. It was decided at last night's meeting to aid the strikers by raising a large fund through popular subscription.

ARTY,
of Hawaii.

Mr. FREE. Why is your organization opposed to that bill?

Mr. WRIGHT. Inasmuch as you have placed the entire text of the bill in the record, I would like to submit for the record copies of the statements in the Labor Review which contain in full our objections to the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that matter has been placed in the record.

Mr. WRIGHT. If that matter has been placed in the record, there is no use going into the matter any further.

Mr. FREE. I am asking you for your reasons. You are the witness before the committee, and I am asking you why your organization opposed this bill.

Mr. RAKER. He says that it is explained fully in those statements.

Mr. FREE. He has not explained them. Did he write them?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write the articles explaining the reasons for opposition to the bill?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; I wrote some of the articles and editorials that the Labor Review produced. All of it is in that copy of the paper; and also in that copy of the paper, or the next copy, is the substitute bill proposed by labor and submitted to the House committee which had the bill under consideration, which was labor's proposal for an effective press control bill, but which was not accepted or reported out.

Mr. FREE. In other words, your organization opposed this bill that would keep all papers being published in a foreign language——

Mr. WRIGHT (interposing). Not at all.

Mr. FREE (continuing). From destroying Americanism?

Mr. WRIGHT. We opposed that bill upon the ground that it was aimed, through the language used, directly at labor organizations, providing a weapon which could be used against us and prevent any possible form of propaganda or organization or agitation in times of industrial disputes. You say that a copy of that paper has been placed in the record, and if so, all of it is a matter of record now.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is in the record. Mr. Wallace read one clipping.

Mr. WALLACE. It did not apply to that at all.

The CHAIRMAN. We had a long discussion about the press-control bill.

Mr. RAKER. You had better let Mr. Wright get both articles.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think it is directly at issue.

Mr. WRIGHT. If it is not in issue, then the whole matter should be stricken from the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We will assume that the legislature settled it out there, and we all know that in that community of 255,000 people, divided among four islands, interest in all these matters must be intense, and they are settled out there. In my opinion, that is somewhat aside from the problems that we have here. The Japanese newspapers now print English translations, do they not?

Mr. WRIGHT. They do not. The bill will have absolutely no effect upon the Japanese newspapers as to their furnishing translations.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not do that?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; they do not do that. They do not have to do it under the terms of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. So that if the Japanese newspapers have had something offensive to say about you in the last few days, you would not know it unless we showed it to you or your friends showed it to you when you got home?

Mr. WRIGHT. Probably not.

Mr. GOMPERS. Inasmuch as this bill has been read into the record, is it not your opinion, sir, that the position or the justification for the position of labor in Hawaii should also go into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. I have no objection if anybody wants it in, but I am not going to give blanket authority to insert newspaper articles as they please in the record.

Mr. RAKER. Have you the articles?

Mr. WRIGHT. They are here. I ask that they be inserted in the record.

(The articles referred to are as follows)

[From Labor Review of April 26.]

LABOR'S ARGUMENT AGAINST AMENDED PRESS CONTROL BILL.

To the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, *Per favor of the Minority Members of the Committee on the Judiciary.*

This bill, as amended by the majority recommendation of the Judiciary Committee, still contains the objectionable features to which such emphatic objection was made at the public hearing before the committee.

In its amended form the true intention of the bill becomes still more apparent, for it fails absolutely to place any additional restraint upon foreign-language newspapers. There is no translation required of any subject matter appearing in such papers, the only regulation being the filing of a copy of each issue.

Under the penalizing section even unintentional neglect or failure to file such a copy is punished with exactly the same penalty as is the first violation of section 1, which in itself constitutes an excessive and unjust punishment out of all proportion to the seriousness of the offense. One who merely fails to file a copy with the Attorney General is as guilty under the provisions of this law as one who maliciously stirs up riot and anarchy.

In section 1 the language of the text from line 7 to line 12, inclusive, as appears in the typewritten report of the majority of the committee on page 2, is capable of so great a variation of interpretations as to make it practically unlawful to carry on any industrial dispute, especially if the question of a strike is involved, for the ideas of fear, force, intimidation, threat, or ostracism could be attributed to form of address, advice, or instruction designed to develop solidarity among the workers and encourage them to hold firm for their rights.

These are all loose words, which should have no place in the law, for there are many kinds of force aside from brute violence—the force of conscience, moral suasion, of example, of circumstance, and the compelling force of right and justice. Under the proposed law none of these forces could be appealed to for the settlement of a dispute. The same holds true of fear; there is the fear of merited censure, of poverty, of losing a job, even the fear of God is outlawed by this act. And what is intimidation except causing one to be afraid? And is there not such a thing as being afraid to do a wrong act? There are other kinds of threats beside the threat of physical injury or personal harm. one might be threatened with just retribution or with the exposure of some questionable practice, or even with punishment under the law; and are such threats to be made unlawful? It is an absurdity. And the idea of ostracism is identified with all kinds of evil doings which have always been regarded as justifying the cutting off of an offender from cordial relations with his own fellows. In industrial disputes one who betrays his own fellows or spies upon them justly merits ostracism, in much the same way as a traitor or a spy against his country would be ostracized from the society of all decent people in the case of international disputes.

In the clause immediately following, on line 10, the amended text makes the law apply to only one side of an industrial dispute, to activities tending to prevent men from engaging in certain employment; it does not restrain the employer from using any or all of these tactics to induce men to continue in their jobs. Is that a square deal?

In conclusion we urge that the minority report be accepted and the bill tabled, and in doing so we can say that we are taking a stand for the honor of Hawaii, upon whose great seal are inscribed the greatest argument against such bills as this:

"Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono."

GEORGE W. WRIGHT,
President Central Labor Council.

[The Labor Review of Hawaii.]

THAT POOR OLD PRESS BILL.

It is rather amusing to those of us who have seriously studied the provisions of the press gag bill in its amended form as it finally passed the house and was honored by the governor's signature to find it still defended by certain elements in this community which, however prejudiced and reactionary they may be, we had given credit for the possession of some slight degree of intelligence.

As pointed out by the attorney general the bill carries no appropriation for its enforcement as a regulatory measure. It does not provide in any way for the translation of any matter appearing in any foreign-language newspaper, unless that paper shall have been previously convicted of violating this particular law. It does, however, require translations from periodicals and magazines printed in a foreign language whenever they treat of political, economic, or industrial questions, and the effect of this provision is to practically close the columns of these conservative publications to the discussion of such subjects, leaving the unregulated newspapers as the sole medium for the exchange of ideas and the spread of propaganda which it was the intention of the act to restrict.

The law provides the same penalty for the failure to file even a single copy of an innocent paper as it does for the open preaching of anarchy and sedition or the incitement to riot and violence, thus inflicting a punishment out of all proportion to the offense.

Section 1, around which the principal discussion has centered, is so transparently aimed at the suppression of labor activities in the case of industrial disputes that the advocates of the bill merely render themselves ridiculous by denying it. And the law is directly worded so as to punish those who try to keep men from working during an industrial dispute or strike, while it allows employers to use all kinds of threats, of force, fear, intimidation, etc., to coerce men into staying on the job.

However, the press gag act has become a law, and the fact does not worry us in the least. It will take its place with the other fool laws which our legislatures have passed, and will presently be forgotten, very much as the Rice criminal syndicalism law was forgotten. So far as we are concerned we shall continue to teach the truth as we see it and to advocate the things which we believe are just and proper means to the securing of the ends we have in view, basing our defense and our justification upon that underlying principle of American law which distinguishes between right and wrong, justice and injustice, in the interpretation of words and phrases which have too broad and general a meaning, and relying upon the honesty, fair-mindedness, and common sense of the average American jury.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OFFERS SUBSTITUTE PRESS BILL—SUGGESTIONS OF ORGANIZED LABOR TO JUDICIARY COMMITTEE OF HOUSE.

In an effort to bring about a settlement of the press-bill dispute and demonstrate the constructive policy of the Central Labor Council the legislative committee presented to the judiciary committee of the house the following suggestions for the control of the foreign-language press:

Hon. LORRIN ANDREWS,

*Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives,
Territory of Hawaii.*

GENTLEMEN: At the public hearing before your committee on Monday night, April 18, 1921, the representatives of organized labor were requested to make some "constructive criticisms or suggestions" relative to senate bill 111. We felt at the time that the criticisms we had offered were sufficiently constructive to condemn the measure in its entirety, and we call your attention to the fact that in the argument against the bill presented by the Central Labor Council to the house and made public

in the afternoon paper just prior to the hearing there was the suggestion for an "honest law which would simply provide that 'no person shall write, print, publish, or circulate any matter which openly advocates, incites, or encourages the violation of a law or the commission of a crime.'" This, of course, would require some elaboration as to the addition of the penalizing clause, but it would be a very simple law and one that could not easily be misconstrued.

It seems, however, that such a law alone would not be acceptable to the gentlemen who represent the American Legion, who believe that the Japanese press requires some additional measure of control. Might we be permitted, then, to suggest the following solution:

Let there be passed "An act creating a territorial bureau of translations under the supervision of a commissioner of foreign languages, defining the duties and providing an appropriation for the carrying on of the work of the said bureau."

The work of this bureau should be the examination of the subject matter of all foreign language publications of local origin or otherwise as might seem advisable and the translation into "American" of all articles, editorials, etc., relating to the subjects referred to in section 3 of the present bill (S. 111). Such translations should be filed at once with the attorney general and be open to public inspection from the date of filing.

If the defenders of the original bill are as sincere in their desire to Americanize the Territory as their protestations would have us believe and as sincerely desiring to avoid anything "creating distrust or dissension between peoples of different races or between citizens and aliens," as the text of the Warren bill assumes, then they could have no valid objection to the enactment of such a law and should be satisfied with the reasonable restraint which it would exert upon any foreign language publication which might otherwise overstep the bounds of propriety in discussing political, social, or economic questions.

Such a bureau might be considered as an educational factor in the development of harmonious relations between the various racial elements in the Territory, or it might be regarded as a detective bureau authorized under the general police powers of the Territory. In any case it would relieve the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association of the expense of hiring expert translators and reviewing the contents of the Japanese press, an expense which, in all justice, ought to be borne by the public at large which benefits in the end from the activities of such an institution as the bureau translations would become.

Trusting that our suggestions will be given due consideration and that a solution will be found which will not impose unjust or unreasonable restraint upon any press we have the honor to remain,

Very sincerely, yours,

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL

NOTE.—We might point out that authorized translations under the seal of the bureau would form the evidence upon which to prosecute the publishers of matters already prohibited by law, as, for example, libel, blackmail, incendiarism, criminal syndicalism, etc.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wright, I want to ask you if you visited any Japanese before you came on here from Honolulu?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; I have seen Japanese with regard to information that I was instructed by the labor council to secure if possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you secure it?

Mr. WRIGHT. I secured some information; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you present it to the committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. Some of it I have given to the committee. That is information in regard to the number of Japanese who had left the plantations and the number of those who had left the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell them that you were coming on here?

Mr. WRIGHT. They knew that we were coming on; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a matter of general knowledge, was it? Did you tell any of them particularly about it?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think not, but I am not positive. Yes, sir; I did have a conversation with one Jap, or a part Jap, who is the editor of a Japanese paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was he?

Mr. WRIGHT. That was Fred Makino. He met me on the street.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you talk about?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, we talked mostly about this coolie proposition. I will state that I made every effort possible to get the different viewpoints. In making this effort, I came in contact with some Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you interest them in your viewpoint?

Mr. WRIGHT. I did not make any particular effort to interest them in my viewpoint, but I wanted their viewpoint.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they interested?

Mr. WRIGHT. Some of them were and some of them were not.

The CHAIRMAN. How about this editor?

Mr. WRIGHT. This editor was interested.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he say?

Mr. WRIGHT. He said, as near as I can recollect, that he did not believe that Chinese coolies were required at all for the reason that, although the plantations were short to a certain extent, he believed that other means could be secured without bringing in Chinese coolies.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he talk to you about another strike?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; he did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say anything about the advisability of your coming on here?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not recollect that he did. I believe at the time I spoke to him it had been decided on. I met him casually on the street.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Japanese association discuss the matter of your coming on?

Mr. WRIGHT. They may have discussed it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they did or not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Among themselves—I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they offer you any support in any way, or financial support?

Mr. WRIGHT. What do you mean by that?

The CHAIRMAN. Did they offer you any financial support for the expenses of the trip?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir.

Mr. FREE. Is it not a fact that some Japanese put up at least \$500 for the expenses of either yourself or your associate, Mr. Chilton?

Mr. WRIGHT. I say that they had offered me no support. Now, I will make this thing absolutely clear to this committee, because there are certain things in connection with—

Mr. FREE (interposing). Let us have an answer, yes or no, to the question, and then you may explain. Is it a fact that the Japanese are paying for a part of the expenses of either you or Mr. Chilton, or both of you?

Mr. WRIGHT. As I told you, personally I do not know. Money has been raised from individual contributors who absolutely do not want to go on record. Money has been contributed in that way in confidence, and we are not at liberty to divulge the names of the contributors. As to that, we do not consider that it is anybody's business as to who did or who did not contribute.

Mr. FREE. We consider it our business. I will tell you right now that I consider it my business, as a member of this committee, to

know whether Japanese contributed to the expense of your coming here.

Mr. WRIGHT. I might say this, that money was collected. Part of it was collected by committees delegated by the Central Labor Council to make collections and the central labor body went on record as requiring officially for the record only contributions from bona fide labor organizations; but they gave permission to the committeemen who had the work in charge to collect funds from whatever source they saw fit, and a certain member of this committee made it a point, I believe, to interest himself among the Japanese.

Mr. FREE. That was your associate, Mr. Chilton?

Mr. WRIGHT. That was a man by the name of Papke.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the members of the committee who solicited those funds?

Mr. WRIGHT. A gentleman by the name of Pasco.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his first name?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know. Pasco is the representative of the street car employees; and there was Clarence Ruh; another was Vickery, and another was Webb Johnson. I believe that Charles Herring was furnished with a list, and also Henry Papke. If there are any others, Mr. Chilton can give the names.

The CHAIRMAN. Did those lists that were furnished have the names of the people who were to be seen?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; they were simply blank lists.

The CHAIRMAN. Subscription lists?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir; subscription blanks.

The CHAIRMAN. They were passed around or carried into the Japanese quarter?

Mr. WRIGHT. I heard that this man Papke made a special effort to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you object to that in any way?

Mr. WRIGHT. I can not say that I did; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not then and do not now?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did he get from the Japanese?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the records of the Central Labor Council show?

Mr. WRIGHT. The records will show what money has been collected.

The CHAIRMAN. Including the names that were not to be given out?

Mr. WRIGHT. Probably not.

The CHAIRMAN. So that some names would not appear. Why do they want to keep that quiet?

Mr. WRIGHT. I will tell you why. It is because they do not dare to let it be known that they are taking an active part in opposition to this measure.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. WRIGHT. The local people there in Honolulu do not dare to come out actively in the open in opposition to it for fear of incurring the enmity and displeasure of the Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association and of the chamber of commerce. People have requested that their names shall not appear, and, for the same reason, no one will sign statements or vouchers as to data collected.

The CHAIRMAN. As to information collected?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not the same situation exist with regard to the feeling concerning the Japanese population—that is, that you do not dare come out and say what you feel? Is not that the same situation? As a matter of fact, are you not afraid all the time to say anything for fear of the sugar planters, the chamber of commerce, or the Japanese?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, to a certain extent that is true. I would not say, however, that we are afraid of the Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not afraid of them?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I am not afraid of them, because they have no power to affect us economically.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you express any fear of their control of the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I have no fear as to their control of the islands, because I believe that the Americanization program in the islands has developed far enough so that the Japanese menace can be controlled provided nothing is done to aggravate it by the introduction of another complication, such as this admission of Chinese coolies.

The CHAIRMAN. Every time this committee, or any other committee, discusses the Japanese question, or any phase of it, is it not a fact that it creates some agitation, and do they not resent it in the papers and elsewhere?

Mr. WRIGHT. Do you mean whether the Japanese resent it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. I presume they do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they not print in their papers right there in Honolulu, week in and week out, statements to the effect that if they will be patient they will have the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You would believe official translations if I showed them to you, would you not? How much money did the Japanese contribute to your expense fund?

Mr. WRIGHT. I am not in a position to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not.

Mr. FREE. You know, however, that they did contribute to it?

Mr. WRIGHT. I know they contributed to it.

Mr. FREE. You know that Mr. Chilton solicited funds from them himself, do you not?

Mr. WRIGHT. You can ask Mr. Chilton?

Mr. FREE. May I ask that question of Mr. Chilton? Mr. Chilton, is it a fact that you solicited funds among the Japanese for the expenses of this trip?

Mr. RAKER. Just a moment: I have sat quietly here, but I now wish to make a statement. When we started in with this examination, I was prevented from asking this commission a number of questions bearing upon absolutely vital matters. We have a record here, but those facts do not appear in it, because of the fear that it might create trouble of some sort that would affect them when they went home. I want to call attention to the fact that we have not been permitted to find out from this commission anything with regard to these matters, but this gentleman——

Mr. IRWIN (interposing). That is absolutely incorrect.

Mr. RAKER. Just a moment, if you please, I am making a statement. This gentleman, because he represents organized labor, is grilled as though he were a criminal. That is done because he appears here against this resolution, which would foist upon that Territory, which is a part of this country, a condition of slavery and involuntary servitude. I say that representatives of American labor, or any other representatives, would not be doing their duty, but would be derelict in their duty as citizens, if they did not come here and oppose this proposition. I have no objection to your finding out all that you are entitled to know, but I ask for the same opportunity of examination when it comes to these other gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. This witness in his first cablegram, which is a part of the record, and since then, has undertaken to make charges that would tend to discredit the members of this commission. He made those charges, and for that reason we have the right to examine him as far as we please. In view of the references that have been made to the Japanese—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). I think we should go into the matter from all sides. The only thing I suggest is that we may have full opportunity to examine all of the witnesses.

Mr. FREE. For the purpose of further examining Mr. Wright, I want to ask Mr. Chilton one question.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Chilton, is it a fact that before leaving Honolulu you did solicit funds from Japanese or Japanese organizations for the purpose of financing this trip or partly financing it?

Mr. CHILTON. I did.

Mr. FREE. Did you secure some funds from them?

Mr. CHILTON. I was told by one of the business men there that I should go and see the Japanese Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. FREE. Just answer the question; did you get some funds from them?

Mr. CHILTON. I will make this answer in full, so as to make it clear—

Mr. FREE (interposing). No; answer the question, yes or no; and then explain.

Mr. CHILTON. I was told by a Japanese merchant there that I should see the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, and that they would be only too willing to contribute. Two or three days before we left I went down to the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and saw their secretary, Mr. Onodera, and told him that I had been sent down there by a Japanese merchant. Mr. Onodera said, "You come back this afternoon about 4 o'clock, and I will let you know. I must see the contribution committee." At 4 o'clock I went back there and saw Mr. Onodera, and he said, "The Japanese Chamber of Commerce does not dare make any contribution toward the financing of this trip, as they are afraid of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce." That is the American Chamber of Commerce. He told me that if I would go to the different stores they would subscribe, and that all I had to do was to ask the storekeepers or proprietors or managers to get in telephone communication with him and that he would O. K. the proposition. I did not go around to any of those stores or get a single cent.

Mr. FREE. But they have since contributed?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not know that they have since contributed.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Onodera an American citizen?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not know whether he is or not. I do not believe he is.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Japanese Chamber of Commerce made up of American citizens?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not think there is a single American citizen in it. They would not want to be on record as contributing to a fund to send witnesses to influence American legislation one way or the other.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what they said, but they were willing enough to have you go around to the different stores and get funds?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; which I did not do.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you do it?

Mr. CHILTON. The only place I went was to the Japanese Chamber of Commerce.

The CHAIRMAN. You did secure contributions from them?

Mr. CHILTON. Japanese contributed funds.

The CHAIRMAN. To you, personally?

Mr. CHILTON. I know that as treasurer of the central labor council.

Mr. FREE. How much did you collect?

Mr. CHILTON. I am not at liberty to say.

Mr. FREE. Why not?

Mr. CHILTON. Because I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As much as \$400?

Mr. CHILTON. More than that, but I can not say exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Six hundred dollars?

Mr. CHILTON. More than that even. A little over \$1,500, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the treasurer of the central labor council?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was the total contribution?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know what was the total?

Mr. CHILTON. I have not kept track of it.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did the steamboat and railroad tickets amount to?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not know; about \$600 so far.

The CHAIRMAN. For the two?

Mr. CHILTON. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you buy them?

Mr. CHILTON. I bought my own and he bought his.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the treasurer of this expedition?

Mr. CHILTON. We have no treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. You divided the fund?

Mr. CHILTON. Each one pays his own expenses.

Mr. FREE. You gave a part of the money you collected to Mr. Wright, did you?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; I did.

Mr. FREE. Fifty-fifty?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say it was in excess of \$1,600?

Mr. CHILTON. No; I say it was \$1,500.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the amount collected from the Japanese?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the white people? What did they contribute?

Mr. CHILTON. They also contributed.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. CHILTON. So far I do not know exactly how much, but they have contributed.

The CHAIRMAN. About \$1,500?

Mr. CHILTON. No; they have not contributed that much.

The CHAIRMAN. \$1,000?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not know; it is in Honolulu.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you guess?

Mr. CHILTON. No; I can not guess.

The CHAIRMAN. They are raising it now?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They are not going to let the Japanese outdo them. are they?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not know; that is up to them.

Mr. RAKER. You know how much money you have gotten to date. do you not?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. How much?

Mr. CHILTON. We have gotten about \$830 apiece.

Mr. RAKER. And they are still raising more for you?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; they are raising more.

The CHAIRMAN. You got \$830 apiece and the Japanese gave \$1,600 of it?

Mr. CHILTON. No; that \$1,500 the Japanese gave.

The CHAIRMAN. So they are interested in this proposition?

Mr. CHILTON. I presume they are.

The CHAIRMAN. They must be; that is pretty clear.

Mr. CHILTON. That is the truth about; and I am making no bones about it.

Mr. FREE. You knew that this money came from the Japanese. did you not, Mr. Wright?

Mr. WRIGHT. How is that?

Mr. FREE. You knew that some of the money you came here on came from the Japanese, did you not?

Mr. WRIGHT. I knew that some of the money did come from the Japanese; yes.

Mr. FREE. Why did you not say that when I asked you before?

Mr. WRIGHT. Because I was told I was not at liberty; I told you before that I was not at liberty to break confidences; that this money was collected confidentially.

Mr. FREE. You had been in pretty close touch with them on this matter before you came, had you not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not particularly, no; I have not been in close touch with them.

Mr. FREE. You have had their views, you have discussed it with them, and what you would testify to before the committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir. We did not expect to come before this committee. They knew the purposes for which we wanted to come, and, as Mr. Chilton has just said, they contributed.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Wright, before you went to the islands you lived in California?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. FREE. Where in California?

Mr. WRIGHT. I lived in Alameda.

Mr. FREE. And by whom were you employed?

Mr. WRIGHT. I was employed by the Byron-Jackson Pump Co.

Mr. FREE. Did you live anywhere else in California during the years you were there?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; I lived in Jackson, Amador County.

Mr. FREE. By whom were you employed there?

Mr. WRIGHT. I was working in the mining business then and was employed by a mining company that has since gone out of business.

Mr. FREE. What was the name of the company?

Mr. WRIGHT. The name of that company was the Del Monte Mining & Milling Co.

Mr. FREE. Did you work for anyone else or live at any other place in California than those you have mentioned?

Mr. WRIGHT. I worked also for the Wide Awake Mining & Milling Co., near Rail Road Flat, Calaveras County.

Mr. FREE. Did you work anywhere else?

Mr. WRIGHT. Where? In California?

Mr. FREE. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. I worked off and on in the city of Oakland, and I worked on a ranch at Glen Ellen, Sonoma County; that is, I tried to run a chicken ranch there.

Mr. FREE. Except the time you were engaged on work on the chicken ranch, were you employed all this time as a machinist?

Mr. WRIGHT. I was employed in the mining business as what they called an assayer, chemist.

Mr. FREE. When did you first join the union?

Mr. WRIGHT. I first joined the union in Oakland.

Mr. FREE. And what year was that?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know.

Mr. FREE. Well, approximately?

Mr. WRIGHT. Approximately, I would say, six or eight years ago.

Mr. FREE. Have you belonged continuously ever since?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have belonged continuously when I was where there was an organization, but when I first went to Honolulu there was no machinist organization there.

Mr. FREE. You have always kept up your membership?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have not; that is to say, there was a time when my membership lapsed. Then at the first opportunity I was reinstated.

Mr. FREE. Where were you a member when it lapsed? What union did you belong to?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Oakland.

Mr. FREE. The Oakland machinists?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. FREE. Was this simply due to the nonpayment of dues or some other cause?

Mr. WRIGHT. The nonpayment of dues.

Mr. FREE. Did you have any trouble in getting reinstated?

Mr. WRIGHT. None.

Mr. FREE. When you joined again, you joined in the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREE. And what is the union you now belong to?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Honolulu lodge.

Mr. FREE. A machinists' lodge?

Mr. WRIGHT. No. 1245.

Mr. FREE. Just the Honolulu lodge?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. FREE. Were you ever in Santa Clara County, Calif.?

Mr. WRIGHT. I have passed through Santa Clara County.

Mr. FREE. But you never lived there?

Mr. WRIGHT. No.

Mr. RAKER. That is one of your misfortunes.

Mr. FREE. As I understand, you resided in Nevada before you went to California?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. FREE. Where were you living in Nevada?

Mr. WRIGHT. I lived in Tonopah, Goldfield, Reno, and Luning.

Mr. FREE. By whom were you employed in Tonopah?

Mr. WRIGHT. I was mostly in the mining business.

Mr. FREE. That is a very broad term.

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; but it is difficult to say just who I was employed by, because sometimes I was prospecting on my own account and sometimes I was leasing and sometimes I was employed by companies.

Mr. FREE. What companies were you employed by?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Del Monte Goldfield Consolidated, the Silver State Mining Co., and there is another one I forget. Those Nevada companies, you understand, were mushroom companies; they are here to-day and to-morrow they die. The Nevada Triumph was one also.

Mr. FREE. The only unions you have belonged to are the Oakland Machinists' Union and the Honolulu lodge?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. FREE. You never had any trouble with any union?

Mr. WRIGHT. Absolutely none.

Mr. FREE. You never had any trouble with any fraternal or social organization?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, sir; I never had any trouble with any organization with which I was connected. Do you want to know the fraternal organizations I belong to?

Mr. FREE. If you do not mind. I did not like to go into that matter.

Mr. WRIGHT. Woodman of the World.

Mr. FREE. A good organization.

Mr. WRIGHT. I pay my dues in Jackson, Amador County.

Mr. RAKER. California?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. FREE. The only trouble you have had seems to be congressionally, and that happened when you got up around Amador.

Mr. RAKER. As a matter of fact, that is one of the best places in the United States.

Mr. SHAW. Are you a constituent of Judge Raker?

Mr. WRIGHT. I am not; I am a resident of the Hawaiian Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. But a former constituent of Judge Raker's?

Mr. SHAW. Coming back to that strike, what was the result of it?

Mr. WRIGHT. The result of that strike was that the Filipinos went back and worked on the plantations, and the sugar planters secured 6,000 strike breakers in Honolulu, put them on the plantations and broke the strike. The Japanese went back on the 12th of July, I believe, or somewhere near the 1st of July. That was the history of the finishing of the strike. The result of it from an economic point of view has been that the Japanese and Filipinos went back dissatisfied, awaiting the first opportunity to get off the plantations. I might further state—whether it has been touched upon I do not know—that the churches, independent organizations, and educators in Honolulu undertook to effect a compromise or settlement of the strike before it finally broke. That was what was known as the Palmer proposition. The general feeling has been, I believe, in Honolulu that this would have effected a satisfactory and amicable adjustment of the trouble if it had been accepted; it was accepted by the representatives of the employees but was refused acceptance by the planters.

Mr. SHAW. What was the nationality of these strike breakers?

Mr. WRIGHT. The strike breakers were of all nationalities.

Mr. SHAW. What nationality predominated?

Mr. WRIGHT. Portuguese, Hawaiians, Koreans, Chinese, part Hawaiians and part Chinese; whether there were any other nationalities of the Caucasian race, I do not know.

Mr. RAKER. Were there any Japanese?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; there were Japanese.

Mr. SHAW. Who finally ordered the strikers to go back to work?

Mr. MEAD. Did you say there were Japanese strike breakers?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There must have been some, because their pictures were printed in the Japanese paper.

Mr. WRIGHT. And, furthermore, your daily papers and plantation records showed from day to day the number of Japanese back on the plantations.

Mr. MEAD. We did not consider employees who went back to work as strike breakers. They were not strike breakers; they were employees. There were a few brave men among the Japanese who wanted to go back to work.

Mr. SHAW. Who finally ordered the strikers to return to work?

Mr. WRIGHT. I believe the strike was terminated by a conference of delegates from the different plantations who voted for a termination of the strike.

Mr. SHAW. Were there not some Japanese officials who came in and had considerable to do with it?

Mr. WRIGHT. From Japan?

Mr. SHAW. Yes; from Japan.

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Japanese consul have anything to do with it?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; the Japanese consul was absolutely out of touch with the Japanese laborers.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. WRIGHT. So far as anything could be determined; but he was constantly using his efforts in behalf of a settlement of the strike.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. WRIGHT. I know it from the reports that came out in the papers. Of course, I am not in a position to say that he was not working some underhand scheme.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not go to see him yourself?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I had nothing to do with him.

The CHAIRMAN. And none of the central labor council people went to see him that you know of?

Mr. WRIGHT. No.

Mr. SHAW. Did not the Japanese consul go out to one of the plantations to talk to the workers and the agitators hoot him?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I understand he went out for the purpose of trying to compromise it and make some settlement.

Mr. SHAW. What was the result of his trip?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not believe it had any definite result.

Mr. SHAW. You have over there a lot of Japanese house servants, barbers, and Japanese in other lines of business. What was their attitude toward this strike, and also the Japanese in business on other islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Japanese business interests were said to be supporting the strike, but I believe there was a considerable division among them, part of them acting with the Japanese religious element, the Japanese Church, in endeavoring to secure a settlement and an adjustment, and the others were said to be silently contributing to the strike.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have a pretty good strike fund?

Mr. WRIGHT. I think they had a pretty good fund. I think they had in the neighborhood of \$1,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$1,000,000?

Mr. WRIGHT. I would not be positive at all.

The CHAIRMAN. A \$1,000,000 Japanese strike fund?

Mr. WRIGHT. I say I would not be positive.

The CHAIRMAN. I was surprised at the figure you named. But they had a \$1,000,000 strike fund?

Mr. WRIGHT. As I say, I am not in a position to know, but I have heard that figure mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any of that came from outside the islands?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; I do not, but I was under the impression that it was contributed by the workers themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. How much would that be per worker?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, it would be quite a bit, if that figure is correct.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. If there were 6,000 on strike for 150 days, 900,000 working days, and at \$1 a day, it would be \$900,000.

Mr. WRIGHT. Have you the figures as to the amount contributed?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No; I have not. I was just trying to figure out as to whether that would be an exorbitant amount of money.

Mr. MEAD. The Japanese Federation admitted up to \$900,000, I believe, but we figured they got about \$1,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. There is not a wide difference between the figures.

Mr. MEAD. They admit that much, but I think they had more.

Mr. RAKER. I understand there were 6,000 strikers and then they picked up 6,000 strike breakers to take their places; is that right?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is it; absolutely.

Mr. MEAD. We never had more than 3,000.

Mr. RAKER. I asked the witness that question and he can answer it as he pleases. I do not know and do not care. I asked him the question and he made that answer.

Mr. WRIGHT. Six thousand strike breakers were picked up to take their places. Those are statements that were made absolutely by the daily papers that were representing the sugar planters' side of the case at that time.

Mr. SHAW. Do you not think the Japanese are rather unjustly criticized for the part they took in some of these matters?

Mr. WRIGHT. In what particular?

Mr. SHAW. Do you not think they have a right to contribute to these things if they want to and have a right to have a strike fund if they want it?

Mr. WRIGHT. Have a right to have a strike fund?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. Certainly; every organization has a right and has a duty in that respect.

Mr. SHAW. Then in your opinion the Japanese can not be criticized for any of their activities in these matters?

Mr. WRIGHT. They should not, in my opinion, be criticized for using every legitimate effort to win this strike; that is, from a labor point of view.

The CHAIRMAN. But labor did not help them; labor did not contribute any of that money—the American Federation of Labor or any of its branches—so far as you know?

Mr. WRIGHT. Not that I know.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Filipinos did not help them?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Filipinos helped them by helping themselves. The Filipinos were in a much worse situation than the Japanese, because they are a different class of people; they spend their money as fast as they get it and they do not save at all; consequently the Filipino is constitutionally broke, and he is impulsive; he went out on the strike expecting, I suppose, more support than he got.

The CHAIRMAN. The Japanese did not support the Filipinos?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, they did, yes; they supported them by contributions of food to their refugee camp.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Wright, you are or were recently one of the editors of the Labor Review of Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. SHAW. Are you still an editor of that paper?

Mr. WRIGHT. I am still on the staff; yes.

Mr. SHAW. Are you wholly or partly responsible for the editorials or other opinions expressed in that paper?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, you understand, that paper is run by an editorial committee and we are jointly responsible, responsible to the labor council.

Mr. SHAW. Then you are partly responsible?

Mr. WRIGHT. I am partly responsible; yes.

Mr. SHAW. Coming back to this commission, I would like to know on what grounds you characterize the commission now before this committee as a "fake labor commission"?

Mr. WRIGHT. Why, that is the way it is regarded by our people, for this reason: That it is sent here as a labor commission and it

comes not representing labor and not voicing the views of labor, and in that sense it is called a fake labor commission or so-called labor commission.

Mr. SHAW. Is it not a fact that the commission was appointed by the governor of the Territory by direction of the legislature?

Mr. WRIGHT. It is a fact; yes; that it was appointed by the governor; it is a bona fide Territorial commission; yes; but it is a fake so far as labor is concerned.

Mr. SHAW. Just in that one particular?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes. No one denies the legality of the proceedings by which the commission was appointed.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the true title of the commission?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Hawaii Emergency Labor Commission, I believe, was the title given it in the act.

Mr. SHAW. Does the Government have anything to do with your being here or are you acting solely on the authority granted you by labor organizations?

Mr. WRIGHT. The Government has something to do with my being here, so far as part of my work is concerned.

Mr. SHAW. I mean before this committee.

Mr. WRIGHT. No; the Government has nothing to do with it.

Mr. SHAW. Why do you refer in your paper to the efforts of that commission as a "disgraceful conspiracy of the Hawaiian sugar planters"?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is the way it is generally regarded, as having been inspired by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association and as being here in the interest of the sugar planters rather than in the interest of the real development of the Territory.

Mr. SHAW. What is the circulation of your paper, the Labor Review of Hawaii?

Mr. WRIGHT. About 1,200.

Mr. SHAW. What body of labor is it designed to aid?

Mr. WRIGHT. To aid?

Mr. SHAW. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. It is designed primarily to voice the opinions and beliefs of organized labor.

Mr. SHAW. Of organized labor?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. SHAW. And the Japanese can not belong to your organizations, if I understand correctly?

Mr. WRIGHT. That is what you understood; yes.

Mr. SHAW. And that is right, is it not?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. FREE. They can not, but they do.

Mr. SHAW. I would like to ask you why the last page of your paper is printed in the Japanese language?

Mr. WRIGHT. Part of the last page is printed in the Japanese language for this reason: That labor believes, and always has believed, that the ultimate solution of our local problem lies in the Americanization of the Japanese who are there on the islands; labor believes that if all further importation of Japanese is stopped that eventually we will be able to solve our own problems through the education of the Japanese in American ideals.

Mr. SHAW. Do you still believe the Japanese can be Americanized?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, whether they can or not is something the future only will show, but we believe that the younger generation of Japanese can be at least partially Americanized, and we all hope the next generation will become still more Americanized.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the second generation of Japanese go to the temples or churches? Do they pursue the Japanese religion, the second generation, speaking by and large?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; some of them do, but there are a great many who do not. There are a great many who belong to the Christian organizations; in fact, we have what is called there the Japanese Y. M. C. A.

The CHAIRMAN. We have that on the coast.

Mr. WRIGHT. Which is largely patronized by young Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the younger Japanese will go to the Christian organizations rather than to the Buddhists?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; at least they will go eventually, if the right efforts are made.

Mr. FREE. I was a little interested in your statement that a part of your paper was printed in Japanese. Do you get a Japanese to set it up for you?

Mr. WRIGHT. What is that?

Mr. FREE. Do you get a Japanese to set up that part of your paper which is printed in Japanese?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. FREE. How do you know that which you give him to set up is set up like you give it to him?

Mr. WRIGHT. Well, so far as that goes, we do not know absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a Japanese editor?

Mr. WRIGHT. No. We do this: We submit the copy to Japanese printers to set up.

The CHAIRMAN. Union printers?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; we have practically no union printers there.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that so?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes. And it is set up and then some other Japanese is asked to give an outline of what is set up in that way. Through that method we see whether or not the matter has been followed that we have given out.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Japanese write any of that stuff themselves?

Mr. WRIGHT. No. Not up to the time I left.

The CHAIRMAN. Not a bit?

Mr. WRIGHT. No, I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Was anything printed in that edition of the paper about the contribution to this committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. In our paper?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT. What edition do you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Any edition that is printed partly in Japanese. Has there been anything said about the Japanese themselves contributing money to send witnesses on here to this committee?

Mr. WRIGHT. There probably was in the last edition.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be printed in Japanese only for the information of the Japanese that contributed?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But not in English, for the information——

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes; the same thing, I believe, was printed in English: that is, the request for all races to join in this contribution.

Mr. SHAW. When did you begin publishing a part of your paper in Japanese?

Mr. WRIGHT. Right from the very start.

Mr. SHAW. When the paper was first organized you started?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes.

Mr. SHAW. Have you any contract or understanding with the Japanese Federation of Labor that the Japanese will purchase a certain number of copies of each issue of your paper?

Mr. WRIGHT. We have no contract; no.

Mr. SHAW. Have you any understanding?

Mr. WRIGHT. They do purchase, however, 200 or 250 copies.

Mr. SHAW. It is a fact that you have a definite agreement——

Mr. WRIGHT (interposing). It is not.

Mr. SHAW. That the Japanese will purchase 300 copies of each issue of your paper in order to keep it alive financially, is it not?

Mr. WRIGHT. It is not.

Mr. SHAW. That is all.

Mr. RAKER. Can you pick out the paper that has those two résumés: this gentleman referred to, and that bill?

The CHAIRMAN. You will be authorized, with the assistance of the clerk, to find anything that is pertinent and insert it in the record. You want their labor bill and one editorial to which you referred.

Mr. RAKER. Two editorials Mr. Free referred to, and the witness referred to his answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Just explain what it was.

Mr. RAKER. You will put those in your testimony, will you?

Mr. WRIGHT. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Are those the ones? Why do you not give them to the reporter?

Mr. WRIGHT. The first edition is not here.

The CHAIRMAN. We will find it for you. Are there any other questions?

Mr. RAKER. Has the labor organization, the central body, taken any action relative to the exclusion of Asiatic laborers? Are they for the admission of them, or their exclusion?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; they are for the exclusion of them absolutely for the exclusion of any Asiatics.

Mr. RAKER. That is the Japanese and Chinese?

Mr. WRIGHT. Japanese and Chinese.

Mr. RAKER. And Hindus also, I suppose?

Mr. WRIGHT. I do not know that the Hindus have been mentioned at all, but Asiatics are supposed to include the Japanese and Chinese. They indorse the stand of the Denver convention, and that is the stand that organized labor has always maintained.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we are through with you, Mr. Wright, unless you are recalled, and the clerk of the committee, Mr. Snyder, will help you when you are ready to revise your testimony.

Mr. WRIGHT. May I ask whether I will have the right to submit to committee any corrections or pertinent additions to the testimony?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you are entitled to round out in a reasonable way the information given where we shut you off, and if you have any written statement in addition that you want to add, or any exhibits, just show them to the committee.

Mr. WRIGHT. I have an exhibit here that I was desirous of adding.

The CHAIRMAN. We want everything you have that seems to be pertinent.

Mr. RAKER. What is this exhibit? What does it relate to?

Mr. WRIGHT. This gives the advertisement of labor by the National Guard Employment Bureau.

(The advertisement referred to follows:)

The National Guard Employment Bureau will furnish you with all classes of Filipino labor. Arrangements completed at 12 Merchant Street, phone 3864.

Mr. WRIGHT. Here is an article appearing in the magazine called "Sugar," supporting our argument for the introduction of machinery as the solution for the problem, and also describing the paper-mulch system by which Olaa plantation saves about 30 per cent of its total labor costs.

(The article referred to is as follows:)

Another method for relieving Hawaiian labor conditions is suggested by Joseph Timmons of the Los Angeles Examiner, who, in a recent series of articles dealing with the Japanese menace in Hawaii, quotes C. F. Eckart of Olaa plantation as follows:

"I believe the planters should offer a big bonus, say \$100,000, for a practicable cane-cutting machine and another for a cane-loading machine. They must do it soon, before labor shortage and exactions cripple them. They should attract the best inventive and engineering brains of America to this problem. We are developing an upright, one-year variety of cane which will make the problem of cutting by machine easier."

Ultimately the planters will be forced to develop labor-saving machinery or sell out to the Japanese, says Timmons.

Planters and plantation men told him, he says, that no machine could be made to cut cane, and pointed out to him the difficulties in the way of the employment of such a machine.

"But the most brilliant plantation manager on the islands," says Timmons, "supports my contention that it can and must be done."

C. F. Eckart, for seven years manager of Olaa plantation on the island of Hawaii, and for 25 years in the sugar business as an agricultural chemist, stands at the top of plantation managers. When he took charge of Olaa plantation, where rains are heavy, the cost of cutting weeds to keep them from smothering out the new growth of cane after cutting was enormous. He started a careful line of scientific experimentation, with this result.

A paper mill built by him makes a coarse, brown paper of the "bagasse," or fibrous pulp from the sugar mills. This paper is treated with asphalt and is spread over the entire field after the cane cutting. The weeds can not penetrate it and they die; the young shoots of cane force their way through and thrive without a weed to sap the strength of the soil. More, the strength of the paper is gauged to a nicety so that only the strongest cane shoots can pierce it, and thus a thinning is avoided and the proper stand insured.

This achievement, possibly unequaled in agricultural history, has saved 52 per cent of the cost of caretaking labor—which was 58 per cent of the entire labor cost both on the plantation and in the sugar mills.

Further, it has increased the crop of Olaa plantation approximately half a million dollars a year, figuring on 5-cent raw sugar.

"It is inevitable that cane will be cut and loaded by machines," Eckart said to me. "Our planters have been among the most progressive in the world. They have done wonders in the mills, and in scientific crop improvement. I feel, however, that the matter of cane-cutting and cane-loading machinery has been approached only in a desultory manner."

Mr. RAKER. That article is a quotation from Mr. C. F. Eckart of the Olaa plantation. Is that the one where you saw the machines?

Mr. WRIGHT. No; Olaa is the plantation where they are using the paper mulching.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY GEORGE W. WRIGHT, HONOLULU, HAWAII.

The first public announcement of the proposed action was made in the *Star Bulletin* on the afternoon of April 20, 1921, in an article entitled "Governor takes action to have Congress allow Hawaii to import labor." Under a box containing the text of the proposed act is the following subhead, "Requests legislature to memorialize Congress to permit bringing in orientals and asks appointment of an emergency commission to go to Washington." Attention is called to the definite use of the word "orientals" in view of Judge Raker's question as to whether the local papers had carried the impression that such was the object of the resolution.

The following clipping from that article shows that the resolution was introduced in both houses that same day, the 20th:

"It is requested by the governor that the proposed resolution be submitted to the same house committee which now has under consideration the concurrent resolution introduced recently by Representative Norman K. Lyman, of Hawaii, requesting Congress to permit the immigration of 25,000 Chinese laborers for the agricultural industries.

"Known as senate bill 128, the administration measure creating an emergency labor commission submitted to the two houses in joint session to-day by Gov. McCord, passed the senate on first reading shortly before noon and was placed on the order for the day for second reading to-morrow."

On the following day, April 21, under a suspension of the rules, the senate bill passed second reading, coming up for third and final reading on the following day, the 22d, as shown by the clipping from the *Star Bulletin* of the issue of April 21, 1921. In the same issue of the paper appears the record of the action of the house committee in reporting out the resolution with a favorable recommendation on the 21st, final action being deferred until the following day, the 22d.

SENATE UNANIMOUS FOR LABOR MISSION TO GO TO CAPITAL.

Under suspension of the rules, senate bill 128, creating an emergency labor commission, passed the senate to-day on second reading and comes up for third and final reading to-morrow. There appears to be no question of its unanimous adoption.

It developed in debate on the floor to-day that the reason the concurrent resolution accompanying the bill was introduced in the house and the bill in the senate lies in the opposition of Representative Hoopale. The house having adopted a rule that no more bills shall be introduced without unanimous consent, Hoopale was able to block the bill. When received from the senate, however, only a simple majority is required to pass it.

HOUSE APPROVES MOVE TO IMPORT LABOR TO HAWAII.

The committee on agriculture of the house of representatives this afternoon reported favorably on the resolution introduced yesterday by Representative Norman K. Lyman requesting Congress to permit the importation of a certain number of persons, including orientals, into Hawaii to relieve the existing labor shortage.

It was recommended that the resolution be adopted. At the request of the introducer final action on the measure was deferred until to-morrow. This is the resolution submitted with the governor's message presented yesterday to the legislature.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned until Wednesday, August 3, 1921, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, August 3, 1921.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Chairman, I want to make the suggestion that we have had a good deal of testimony, and as soon as possible I would like to raise the legal questions involved in the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. You remember, however, that two delegates came from the Trades Council of Honolulu. We undertook to finish yesterday, but did not quite finish, and I think it would be well to hear the second man this morning. After that I presume Mr. Gompers wants to be heard, and after that I know of no other witnesses. Then will come the matter of the legal phase of the resolution and the matter of the substitutes, which we can handle either in open meeting or in a business meeting.

Mr. FREE. Let us have a business meeting and have some speed, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now hear Mr. Chilton.

**STATEMENT OF MR. WILMOT R. CHILTON, REPRESENTING
THE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL OF HONOLULU, TERRITORY
OF HAWAII.**

The CHAIRMAN. State your address and occupation.

Mr. CHILTON. Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, and I am a barber by trade.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in the islands?

Mr. CHILTON. I was born in Honolulu on February 4, 1881.

The CHAIRMAN. You have lived there all your life?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir; this is the first time I have ever left.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a family there?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were selected as a delegate to come on to present statements to this committee?

Mr. CHILTON. To confer with officials of American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom were you selected?

Mr. CHILTON. By the Central Labor Council of Honolulu, Hawaii. I present my certificate of credentials.

(The certificate referred to is as follows:)

HONOLULU, HAWAII, July 5, 1921.

To whom it may concern:

This is to certify that Brothers G. W. Wright and W. R. Chilton are duly authorized to represent the Honolulu Central Labor Union, of Honolulu, Hawaii, and are delegated to speak for organized labor in this Territory.

[SEAL.]

GEO. W. WRIGHT, *President.*
ESTELLE BAKER, *Vice President.*
C. A. VICKERY, *Secretary.*
W. R. CHILTON, *Treasurer.*

(*Officers of Honolulu Central Labor Union.*)

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— *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1967, 202: 1011-1012.

SECRET

Mr. CHILTON. So I went to see Mr. Onodera.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the secretary of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you went to him?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir. I saw him and he told me that he would take it up with the contribution committee of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and that I should come back the following day. That I did, and he told me that the Japanese Chamber of Commerce could not make a contribution, but that the individual members of the chamber of commerce could. He said that the Japanese Chamber of Commerce could not do it because they were afraid that the Haole Chamber of Commerce might find it out and get after them.

The CHAIRMAN. What chamber of commerce is that?

Mr. CHILTON. They were afraid that the Haole Chamber of Commerce might find it out. That is the American Chamber of Commerce.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a Japanese word?

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir; that is a Hawaiian word. He said that I could go to the individual members of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and to inform them that it would be all right; that they could telephone Mr. Onodera. I told him I thought that was a lot of trouble, and I did not go to any of those men.

The CHAIRMAN. How was this money that was received from the Japanese raised?

Mr. CHILTON. It was raised from different people and associations. I can not divulge their names, because it is confidential between them and myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You know, do you not?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir; I know.

The CHAIRMAN. You know who the individuals and associations were?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I was about to ask you who made the largest contribution.

Mr. CHILTON. I could not divulge that, because it would be a breach of promise with me, and I would not want to do that. I can say that we got a little over \$1,500 from the Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. You feel that you do not want to tell the committee who made the largest individual contribution from among the Japanese?

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir; I feel this way, that it was confidential between them and myself, and that I would be breaking a confidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to say whether it was received from a society or an individual?

Mr. CHILTON. That would be breaking a confidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to say what was the largest sum received from any organization there?

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir; I could not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to say what the smallest sum was?

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir; I would not be willing to say what was the largest or what was the smallest.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to say whether the contributions ran down to as low as 50 cents?

The CHAIRMAN. How was that selection made?

Mr. CHILTON. That selection was made in this way, that if it should become necessary to send on any delegates, the chairman had the power to appoint the delegates and then those delegates had to be approved by the council.

The CHAIRMAN. The council consists of how many members?

Mr. CHILTON. In the neighborhood of 45 or 50.

The CHAIRMAN. The approval had to be by the entire council then?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The president had the power to name the delegates?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir; he had the power to name the delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that done by a resolution?

Mr. CHILTON. It was done by a resolution in one meeting, and then the president appointed the delegates. Then at the next meeting it was confirmed by the council.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there a pretty good attendance at the meeting when it was confirmed?

Mr. CHILTON. About 35.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you and our friend, Mr. Wright, were appointed by the president of the Central Labor Council of Honolulu?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the appointments were confirmed by the council?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anything said then about the means of transportation and expenses?

Mr. CHILTON. Well, we were to make solicitations—that is, solicit means and get contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. The names of the members of that committee were given yesterday?

Mr. CHILTON. I think that is the committee, but I am not positive.

The CHAIRMAN. That committee went out around town to raise money to start you two delegates to Washington, D. C.?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You took part in that?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there much desire on the part of other members to make the trip?

Mr. CHILTON. Some of them wanted to make the trip.

The CHAIRMAN. Various members wanted to make it?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Will you find out his age?

The CHAIRMAN. He gave the date of his birth. What is your racial stock?

Mr. CHILTON. American.

The CHAIRMAN. Your father lived in the islands how long?

Mr. CHILTON. He went there in 1879 and is there yet.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you come to go among the Japanese and solicit funds?

Mr. CHILTON. I did not really go among them, but they looked me up, and one of the fellows who made a contribution told me to go down to the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and that he thought they would make a contribution.

Mr. RAKER. What is the name of that man?

Mr. CHILTON. So I went to see Mr. Onodera.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the secretary of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you went to him?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir. I saw him and he told me that he would take it up with the contribution committee of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and that I should come back the following day. That I did, and he told me that the Japanese Chamber of Commerce could not make a contribution, but that the individual members of the chamber of commerce could. He said that the Japanese Chamber of Commerce could not do it because they were afraid that the Haole Chamber of Commerce might find it out and get after them.

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The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to say what the smallest sum was?

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir; I would not be willing to say what was the largest or what was the smallest.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you willing to say whether the contributions ran down to as low as 50 cents?

Mr. CHILTON. They ran down to as low as \$1 contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive contributions as large as \$100 from any one outfit?

Mr. CHILTON. I would not want to say how high it was.

The CHAIRMAN. We will discuss that a little later. You are a long-time resident of the islands?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there discussion there all the time as between foreigners and citizens? Do they call the Americans foreigners?

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You said that the Japanese claimed that they were afraid of the foreign chamber of commerce.

Mr. CHILTON. That is what they call the American Chamber of Commerce. They call it the Haole Chamber of Commerce. That does not exactly mean foreign, but white man or foreigner.

The CHAIRMAN. I can not get that.

Mr. CHILTON. That is the translation.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, all the white men are not citizens, and all the men that are not of white blood are not aliens.

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir; but you do not have to be an alien to be a Haole.

The CHAIRMAN. What is he?

Mr. CHILTON. There is a Haole over there. Mr. Mead is a Haole, and he has been there a long time.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been there a long time, and I wish you would give to the committee your views as to the situation. Give us your views frankly of the situation.

Mr. CHILTON. I would rather answer questions, because then I would know exactly what the committee wanted.

The CHAIRMAN. We are trying to develop the condition in Hawaii generally as between the races, first. You have seen the Japanese coming in all the time?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir; I saw them when they first started to come 30 years ago. I was just a kid then. I remember their coming, and we have large numbers there now all over the country.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen the picture brides coming?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir; I have seen them coming.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen the Japanese going into business?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they interfere with your business any?

Mr. CHILTON. They interfere with everybody's business.

Mr. Box. Mr. Chilton, what is your impression about the growing power of the Japanese? Is their power increasing in Hawaii? For instance, in the matter of numbers, are they increasing more rapidly than the other races?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; they propagate very fast.

Mr. Box. Are you acquainted with the census reports showing the population of the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. CHILTON. I am somewhat familiar with them.

Mr. Box. What do you understand to be the present Japanese population of the islands?

Mr. CHILTON. About 110,000, or about 43 per cent of the population of the islands.

Mr. Box. These figures place it higher than that. What is the Portuguese population?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not know what their population is.

Mr. Box. What is the Hawaiian population?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not know that.

Mr. Box. Do you know whether the Hawaiian population is increasing or decreasing?

Mr. CHILTON. I believe it is decreasing.

Mr. Box. It has been decreasing for the last 100 years?

Mr. CHILTON. For the last 40 years.

Mr. Box. You do not go further back than that?

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir.

Mr. Box. What about the attitude of the Japanese and their disposition to be solid as a race?

Mr. CHILTON. They are very solid as a race. I can say that much.

Mr. Box. They have a kind of community or racial life of their own right there in the midst of the other population?

Mr. CHILTON. They associate only with themselves.

Mr. Box. Were you there when they had the big strike in the islands last year?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. Box. Do you know whether or not, in the handling of that strike—and I am talking about the Japanese and not any other race of people—they dealt with their employers and others largely through the Japanese consuls?

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir; I do not know how they dealt with them. I have a recollection that the Japanese consul was mixed up in it.

Mr. Box. You do not know whether they did or not?

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir.

Mr. Box. You do not know that that is true?

Mr. CHILTON. On second consideration, I think it is.

Mr. Box. What is the feeling of the people over there about what is going to be the outcome of the Hawaiian race?

Mr. CHILTON. The feeling over there was that if they could get coolies the Japanese would push us off the islands unless there was something done or unless the planters and corporations there would employ about 50 per cent of the citizen labor in the skilled and semi-skilled trades and the public utility companies should employ 100 per cent citizen labor.

Mr. Box. You say that if they could get coolie labor the Japanese would crowd you off the islands or out of the industries; how would that be?

Mr. CHILTON. They work so much cheaper than we do.

Mr. Box. Would the bringing in of more Chinese coolies make the Japanese more dangerous; and if so, how?

Mr. CHILTON. It would, I believe, if provisions were not made that would protect citizen labor in this bill.

Mr. Box. That is what I want to get at. I am not antagonizing you, and I want you to understand that, but how would the coming of Chinese make the Japanese more dangerous? I want to get your viewpoint on that.

Mr. CHILTON. We believe that the Japanese would leave the plantations. They work like a ratchet. I do not believe they ever slip backwards, but they always go ahead. You know how a ratchet

That was evidently in the mind of the man who wrote it, although it is open to a different construction.

Mr. RAKER. Where did your father come from?

Mr. CHILTON. From Pennsylvania.

Mr. RAKER. Did you graduate from the Hawaiian schools?

Mr. CHILTON. From the Honolulu High School.

Mr. RAKER. What business have you been engaged in besides barbering?

Mr. CHILTON. I have been a salesman for the von Hamm Young Co. (Ltd.); I was a salesman for the Office Supply Co., and was a motor-cycle officer.

Mr. RAKER. How long have you followed the occupation of a barber?

Mr. CHILTON. I learned that when I was going to school.

Mr. RAKER. And you have been following it off and on ever since?

Mr. CHILTON. I have been following it most of the time.

Mr. RAKER. The barbers have a union, have they not?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; they have a union.

Mr. RAKER. About how many barbers are there, or how many American white barbers are there, excluding the Japanese and Chinese? How many barbers are there altogether in Honolulu excluding the Japanese and Chinese?

Mr. CHILTON. I could not say; perhaps about 40.

Mr. RAKER. How long has it been since the Japanese have gone into the barber business?

Mr. CHILTON. As far as I know, as early as the nineties.

Mr. RAKER. Are they now in all gainful occupations in the islands—the Japanese?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. There are merchants, laundrymen, barbers, and storekeepers?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; there are over 110 Japanese barber shops on the island of Oahu and no more than a dozen American barber shops.

Mr. RAKER. You have a union?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Do the Japanese have a union?

Mr. CHILTON. They have an association of their own.

Mr. RAKER. Do any of the Chinese have barber shops?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; they have barber shops, but they are a little different from our shops, and are very scarce.

Mr. RAKER. I take it from what you have said and from what the rest of the witnesses have said that until the last few years the Japanese have not gone extensively into the other businesses, outside of the rice, pineapple, and sugar business.

Mr. CHILTON. I do not understand you.

Mr. RAKER. Outside of those businesses the Japanese have not heretofore gone extensively into those businesses, such as merchant barbers, laundrymen, etc.?

Mr. CHILTON. For the last five or six years they have gone in extensively.

Mr. RAKER. But before that they were mostly occupied in the fields, in the rice fields and in the pineapple orchards—is that right?

Mr. CHILTON. Well, there were not so many in the rice fields, but there were quite a few Chinese in the rice fields. They, the Japanese

have small stores; they are carpenters, bricklayers, painters, etc.; they follow all the crafts except that there are no molders.

Mr. RAKER. Was the principal number of Japanese engaged in the cane and sugar fields before the last five years?

Mr. CHILTON. They had a great many in the fields prior to six years ago.

Mr. RAKER. What did you mean by saying that you did not want the chamber of commerce to know about your coming over here?

Mr. CHILTON. I did not say that.

Mr. RAKER. All right. Then about this contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not say that.

Mr. RAKER. He did not say all of it but he said a part of it.

Mr. CHILTON. I said that the Japanese Chamber of Commerce did not want the American Chamber of Commerce to know.

Mr. RAKER. Why?

Mr. CHILTON. They did not tell me the reason why. I believe they would willingly give the money but they did not want anybody to find it out.

Mr. RAKER. What, in your mind, could have been the objection of these men, who were willing to contribute, to the American Chamber of Commerce knowing what was being done?

Mr. CHILTON. Well, the big Japanese stores there do a large business with Japan, and they very likely sell through the agencies of the different plantations to the plantations. A Japanese will not buy anything but his own product. If you have Hawaiian rice selling at 4½ cents and Japanese rice selling at 13 cents a pound he will buy Japanese rice; he will not buy Hawaiian rice. In that way they get their stuff from their own country, and they do not patronize our industries at all.

Mr. RAKER. When did the first objection to the Japanese come from the sugar planters, if at all?

Mr. CHILTON. Well, I could not say that; I do not know when it came; I am not informed about that.

Mr. RAKER. Did they have any trouble with them before the strike of 1920? Did the planters have any trouble with the Japanese before the strike of 1920?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Did they with the Chinese?

Mr. CHILTON. No. I think there was some kind of a strike years ago by the Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, with the Japanese?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. You came over here a long distance. Just what did you come here to tell the committee?

Mr. CHILTON. I really did not start here to tell the committee anything; we came here to confer with the officers of the American Federation of Labor; we did not come here to tell the committee anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you about that. What was the purpose of the conference? What did you want to learn?

Mr. CHILTON. Why, we just wanted to put our side of the question up to them; that is all. Anything they wanted to know we would tell them.

The CHAIRMAN. Personally, you wanted to confer with them as to the proposed admission of orientals or other labor to the islands?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you want to consult them about affiliation with the Filipino labor organization?

Mr. CHILTON. No; not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any knowledge of that yourself?

Mr. CHILTON. No; none whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you want to talk with them about the Japanese labor organization?

Mr. CHILTON. Not that I know of, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you heard this thing discussed in the Central Labor Council—the application of the Filipino labor organization for affiliation?

Mr. CHILTON. No. I have only been a member of the Central Labor Council since March of this year.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you consult with the officers of the federation when you got there?

Mr. CHILTON. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you assist Mr. Wright in the preparation of his written statement to this committee?

Mr. CHILTON. No; he did that all by himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that done after he got here?

Mr. CHILTON. Most of it was done in Honolulu, but I think he did some of it here.

The CHAIRMAN. It represents his views and observations more than yours?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; I had nothing to do with it whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it submitted to you?

Mr. CHILTON. No; it was not, but I knew what was in it; I read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the preparation of the cablegram that was sent to Mr. Wallace?

Mr. CHILTON. Nothing whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the statement issued a few days later correcting some of the charges or modifying them in a certain way?

Mr. CHILTON. No; none whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. That did not come before you at all?

Mr. CHILTON. No; that was none of my business.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a member of the Central Labor Council?

Mr. CHILTON. I am the treasurer and I have to pay for it; that is all I do.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been a member of the central labor council?

Mr. CHILTON. Since February or March, I think March 11, but I am not sure. I would not make a sure statement, but either the latter part of February or the first part of March.

The CHAIRMAN. As treasurer you pay out the funds on vouchers?

Mr. CHILTON. I make checks on vouchers; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the fund that was raised from the Japanese in Honolulu to send you and Mr. Wright on reported to the central labor council?

Mr. CHILTON. All funds that come from members are reported, but funds that come from nonmembers are not recorded.

The CHAIRMAN. Funds of that kind are not recorded?

Mr. CHILTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it recorded there at all that fifteen hundred and some odd dollars had been contributed for this trip?

Mr. CHILTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the central labor council have anything to do with the dividing of that money between you and Mr. Wright?

Mr. CHILTON. No; none whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. You and he fixed that?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You each took half?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And there is some more money being collected over there now?

Mr. CHILTON. Our members are collecting money.

The CHAIRMAN. The members of the central labor council?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how they are getting along with it?

Mr. CHILTON. No; I do not know; not yet. We know there is some money coming to us; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they will collect as much as the Japanese contributed?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not know whether they will or not.

The CHAIRMAN. As treasurer of the central labor council, do you pay out the money that is paid for getting out the labor paper?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you get in the money, whatever money comes in to you?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Japanese pay for their 250 or 300 copies, or whatever the number is?

Mr. CHILTON. They pay for them in cash.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they pay for them by the week?

Mr. CHILTON. When they get them, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Once a week.

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; but sometimes they skip a week and pay once in two weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. How much do they pay a week?

Mr. CHILTON. They pay \$12.50.

Mr. FREE. That is, it is paid in one lump sum?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When you go back will you have a report to make to the central labor council?

Mr. CHILTON. What kind of a report?

The CHAIRMAN. In regard to this situation.

Mr. CHILTON. Well, just what we done here; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not come along as financial agent of the delegation?

Mr. CHILTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything to say about the resolution?

Mr. CHILTON. Just what I did say, that if Congress should allow Chinese coolies there, there should be some provision made whereby the skilled and semiskilled—that is, 50 per cent should be citizen labor and the public utilities should have 100 per cent citizen labor.

The CHAIRMAN. In your lifetime residence in Honolulu have you found the public skating along and trimming along between the largest population and the others—the Japanese, for instance?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not understand you.

The CHAIRMAN. Something like you said in answer to Judge Raker, that one reason in your mind why the Japanese Chamber of Commerce did not want the American Chamber of Commerce to know about the contribution was for fear some of the Japanese stores which might trade with the plantations would not want it known, or something of that kind.

Mr. CHILTON. That is my idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have to do anything of that kind in your business?

Mr. CHILTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have much business with the Japanese?

Mr. CHILTON. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the American citizens afraid to speak out loud about the Japanese?

Mr. CHILTON. No; not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they talk about them much?

Mr. CHILTON. Quite a bit; yes.

Mr. BOX. What is your personal view about the propriety of accepting a substantial contribution from a foreign race between the members of which and your own race there is this kind of feeling? How do you feel about that? Do you feel that is fully justified? I want to get your viewpoint.

Mr. CHILTON. I thought I was fully justified myself. I did not come over here to lobby for the Japanese or anybody else.

Mr. BOX. What must have been the view of the Japanese people when they wanted to help finance this trip and wanted to keep it a secret? Do not misunderstand my attitude. I just want to get your viewpoint.

Mr. CHILTON. I suppose they wanted to use us if they could. That is very likely.

Mr. BOX. And you gather from that that their views and interest is hostile to this resolution?

Mr. CHILTON. Oh, yes; I think that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of them say that to you?

Mr. CHILTON. Well, they do not say much.

The CHAIRMAN. I know they do not.

Mr. CHILTON. But most of them believe that on account of the Chinese exclusion act and the contract labor law this thing will never go through. That is what most of the Japanese believe.

The CHAIRMAN. The Japanese think that?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that they can not be dislodged? The Japanese think they can not be forced out of the islands?

Mr. CHILTON. That is the idea they have.

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Chilton, did any officer or other representative of the American Federation of Labor, either directly or indirectly, ask you or the Central Labor Council of Honolulu or Mr. Wright to come to the mainland for the purpose of protesting against the enactment of the resolution now before the committee, or for any other purpose?

Mr. CHILTON. Just for protesting against this resolution as it is at present——

Mr. GOMPERS (interposing). Did any officer of the American Federation of Labor or any other representative——

Mr. FREE (interposing). I suggest that he be permitted to answer the question.

Mr. CHILTON. You mean any officer of the federation in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes.

Mr. CHILTON. No; they did not ask us to come over. We feel that as Americans we had that liberty.

Mr. GOMPERS. Can you tell the committee how the officers or representatives of the American Federation of Labor came to know that a committee was coming to Washington?

Mr. CHILTON. I believe they were notified by wire from Honolulu.

Mr. GOMPERS. Do you know of any connection the American Federation of Labor, or its officers, had in any way with the solicitation of funds from the Japanese or from any others?

Mr. CHILTON. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, the federation officers on the mainland.

Mr. CHILTON. None whatever.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Chilton, I am a little bit curious to know how you approached Onodera. You went directly to him?

Mr. CHILTON. I was requested to go to him; yes.

Mr. FREE. Who requested you to go?

Mr. CHILTON. One of the Japanese merchants there.

Mr. FREE. Where did this thing start, the matter of getting money from the Japanese? Was it discussed in your central labor council first, and is that where it started?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, by special resolution. We did not make any special mention of who we were going to get money from, but that we were going to get contributions from anybody and everybody and advertised for such.

Mr. FREE. And you were one of those selected to get contributions?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

Mr. FREE. What Jap did you go to first?

Mr. CHILTON. Well, I won't give his name, but it was a Japanese merchant, and he told me to go to—I did not go to him, but he met me on the way to the fish market, when I was going to buy fish, and he asked if I was going to Washington, and I told him yes.

Mr. FREE. Then what else transpired?

Mr. CHILTON. He asked if I was going to protest against the importation of coolies and I told him yes, and he made a donation himself and told me to go to see Onodera, the secretary of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. FREE. Then you went to see Onodera. What did you tell Onodera?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. How much did he contribute?

Mr. CHILTON. I could not say exactly how much he contributed. I would not want to say those things.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have said a Japanese merchant met you and contributed.

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; he contributed.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of a store did he have?

Mr. CHILTON. I think he had a big store, if I am not mistaken.

The CHAIRMAN. A dry goods store?

Mr. CHILTON. Dry goods, crockery, etc.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he have American trade or Japanese trade?

Mr. CHILTON. Japanese and American trade.

Mr. FREE. Then at his suggestion you went to see the secretary of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

Mr. FREE. And what did you tell him?

Mr. CHILTON. I told him what my mission was and that I was sent over there.

Mr. FREE. Just tell us the words used.

Mr. CHILTON. That I was sent over to see him and that I understood they might make some contribution toward us going to Washington, D. C.

Mr. FREE. Did you tell him what you were going to do at Washington, and why you were going?

Mr. CHILTON. He knew why we were going; he had read it in the papers. He told me to come around the next morning, and he would see the contribution committee, and the next morning he would let me know what they said.

Mr. FREE. Had you been telling Mr. Wright what was going on during all of this time?

Mr. CHILTON. No; I had not.

Mr. FREE. Then you went around the next day to see him?

Mr. CHILTON. I went around the next morning, I think at 10 o'clock.

Mr. FREE. And what did he say then?

Mr. CHILTON. Well, he told me that the Japanese Chamber of Commerce as a body could not make any contributions because they were afraid the American Chamber of Commerce would know of it, but that I could solicit from the individual members, and I could request them to ring him up over the telephone and that he would O. K. the proposition.

Mr. FREE. They all knew, before they gave any money, that you were coming here to protest against this resolution?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; it was in all the papers.

Mr. FREE. Then after this money came in you all got together, discussed it, and divided the money for the trip—is that true?

Mr. CHILTON. No; just Wright and I.

Mr. FREE. Well, the other members of your Central Labor Council knew of the money, did they not?

Mr. CHILTON. Some of them may have known about it. This money was given about a couple of days before we left, and we had no meetings. We had a meeting on, I think, Friday, and we left the following Tuesday, and under the enabling resolution which the council passed we were authorized to accept any contributions that were offered.

Mr. FREE. You are the treasurer of the Central Labor Council?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

Mr. FREE. And you are also in the barbers' union? Is it a union or lodge?

Mr. CHILTON. Union.

Mr. FREE. And you hold an office there?

Mr. CHILTON. I am vice president.

Mr. FREE. You are here representing the Central Labor Council?

Mr. CHILTON. I am.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Wright is the president of the Central Labor Council?

Mr. CHILTON. He is.

Mr. FREE. Mr. Wright occupies some other position. Is it in the machinists' union?

Mr. CHILTON. He is president of the machinists' union.

The CHAIRMAN. When you and Mr. Wright started you knew that the money you had for the trip came from the Japanese?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you had?

Mr. CHILTON. No; about \$140 from the navy yard employees and \$36 from barbers.

The CHAIRMAN. And it amounted to fifteen hundred and how many dollars?

Mr. CHILTON. About \$1,535 or \$1,540, plus \$140 plus \$36.

The CHAIRMAN. You divided it exactly even?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes; exactly even.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any expense before you started?

Mr. CHILTON. A couple of suit cases; something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. And had anybody else contributed or promised any money at the time you started?

Mr. CHILTON. Oh, yes; they had promised.

The CHAIRMAN. But there was no cash in hand?

Mr. CHILTON. There was.

The CHAIRMAN. Except the Japanese money?

Mr. CHILTON. Navy yard employees' money, and some from the barbers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any labor union contribute any money?

Mr. CHILTON. The navy yard workers contributed \$140 before we started.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get that money in hand?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So the Japanese money was \$1,535 less than the amount contributed by the navy yard workers?

Mr. CHILTON. No; the navy yard workers was about \$140.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to the Japanese money?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You got that, too?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the barbers' union contribute anything?

Mr. CHILTON. They are making contributions now. Some of the individual fellows contributed individually, but not as a union.

The CHAIRMAN. In cash money?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you started?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you had a little more money?

Mr. CHILTON. Well, that was not a union contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. I got the impression that all the money you started with was the \$1,535 that had come from the Japanese.

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, plus about \$140; I am not sure, but I think it was \$140 from the navy yard workers, and I think the barbers gave us something like \$36. That is all we had; nothing else outside of that.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know how much has been raised over there while you have been away?

Mr. CHILTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have no way of guessing at it?

Mr. CHILTON. I have not.

Mr. FREE. What do you mean by navy yard workers? Men on Federal jobs?

Mr. CHILTON. The men at the Pearl Harbor Navy Yard.

Mr. FREE. Employed by the Government?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

Mr. FREE. That is where Mr. Wright is employed, is it not?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He is in the machinists' union and the Federal workers are clerks and general employees?

Mr. CHILTON. The Federal workers consist of all crafts; they have 31 or 32 different crafts down there. They have crafts there that are only employed at Pearl Harbor, there being no necessity of having them in Honolulu. They are working on submarines and things like that.

Mr. RAKER. Had you learned on the 8th day of July that House joint resolution 171 had been ordered reported out by this committee?

Mr. CHILTON. I heard that some resolution was ordered reported out; I did not know if it was that one.

Mr. RAKER. You had heard that a resolution had been reported out?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes, we received our credentials July 5, 1921.

Mr. RAKER. Was that before you started?

Mr. CHILTON. We started on July 12.

Mr. RAKER. What I want to know is this: Had it been reported in Honolulu when you left that the resolution for which the commission stood had been reported out by the committee having charge of it in the House?

Mr. CHILTON. I believe we heard that in Honolulu; yes.

Mr. RAKER. You said a moment ago you did not come here to appear before this committee.

Mr. CHILTON. No; that was not our intention.

Mr. RAKER. What did you come for?

Mr. CHILTON. As I said, to confer with the American Federation of Labor officials.

Mr. RAKER. How did you happen to come before this committee, you and Mr. Wright?

Mr. CHILTON. Well, they put us before this committee.

Mr. RAKER. Who?

Mr. CHILTON. The American Federation of Labor officials.

Mr. RAKER. After you got here?

Mr. CHILTON. After we got here. Mr. Wallace of the American Federation of Labor informed us that arrangements had been made for our appearance before this committee; we were reluctant to do so, but were led to believe that the committee had requested our presence.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell the officials how you got the money to come?

Mr. CHILTON. No; we did not. They did not ask.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not say a word about that?

Mr. CHILTON. No.

Mr. BOX. Was there any promise on you part not to let anybody know that the Japanese were financing you to that extent?

Mr. CHILTON. No; it was strictly confidential between them and us as to the identity of the contributors.

Mr. BOX. But it accidentally got out over here?

Mr. CHILTON. No; it was understood we should not give their names, but it was not understood we could not say the Japanese financed it, but that we could not give the names of the Japanese.

Mr. BOX. In other words, there was nothing secret about the fact that the Japanese had to some extent, if not wholly, financed your expenses thus far?

Mr. CHILTON. No.

Mr. BOX. That was no secret?

Mr. CHILTON. No.

Mr. BOX. Is it known in Hawaii now?

Mr. CHILTON. It was known before.

Mr. BOX. Was it known in the community before you left?

Mr. CHILTON. I think so; I do not know how much of it was known, because we did not advertise it, or anything like that.

Mr. FREE. Why did Mr. Wright deny it when I asked him about it first?

Mr. CHILTON. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, you and Mr. Wright knew that the money you had came from the Japanese?

Mr. CHILTON. Not all, but pretty near all.

Mr. FREE. You heard him yesterday when he denied that he got any of the money?

Mr. CHILTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk over with the officers of the American Federation of Labor here in Washington the Japanese situation in Hawaii?

Mr. CHILTON. I think Mr. Wright spoke something and I might have said something. I do not remember what it was, though.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss with them as to whether this strike was nationalistic or economic?

Mr. CHILTON. I think we discussed that it was economic.

The CHAIRMAN. You took part in that?

Mr. CHILTON. I did not do much talking, Mr. Wright did the talking.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the strike was nationalistic or economic?

Mr. CHILTON. I think it was started on an economic basis, but I think it wound up on a nationalistic basis.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you solicit any money from the Filipinos over there?

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go to this lawyer who was at the head of the Filipino strike?

Mr. CHILTON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk to him about coming here?

Mr. CHILTON. I think we told him that we were coming on, but we did not solicit any money.

Mr. RAKER. Having told us that you did not come here to appear before the committee, having learned before you left that the resolution had been reported out of the committee, please tell us what you intended to present in Washington when you came here?

Mr. CHILTON. We came here to find out what the real attitude of the American Federation of Labor was toward the resolution.

Mr. RAKER. What is that?

Mr. CHILTON. To find out what the real attitude of the American Federation of Labor was toward the resolution and to give information to the American Federation of Labor as to conditions in Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. You knew before you started that the American Federation of Labor was against this resolution?

Mr. CHILTON. We understood that; yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Knowing that they were against it, why did you come over to confer with them? I am trying to ascertain just what you came for?

Mr. CHILTON. We came as I told you.

Mr. RAKER. You have not presented to the committee anything. We understand you got the money from the Japanese, but what were you going to present to the American Federation of Labor officials when you got here?

Mr. CHILTON. We came over to see them and to give them information in this way: If there was anything they did not know about the islands we could inform them to the best of our ability. For the last three months we have written letters to the American Federation of Labor, but have never received any acknowledgment.

The CHAIRMAN. You never received any acknowledgment?

Mr. CHILTON. No; not to any of the letters for the last three months.

Mr. RAKER. Do you know the cause of the strike in 1920, did you investigate to find out?

Mr. CHILTON. The cause of the strike?

Mr. RAKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CHILTON. The cause of the strike was that they wanted more daily pay and less bonus.

Mr. RAKER. That is, the Filipinos?

Mr. CHILTON. The Japanese and the Filipinos.

Mr. RAKER. Did you investigate to find out who started the strike, the Filipinos, the Japanese, or the Portuguese?

Mr. CHILTON. The Japanese said the Filipinos started it and the Filipinos said that the Japanese started it. That is all we know I believe it was Japanese scheming.

Mr. RAKER. What did they strike for?

Mr. CHILTON. They wanted to cut out some of the bonus and get more daily pay.

Mr. RAKER. Anything else?

Mr. CHILTON. That is all I know.

Mr. RAKER. Did they secure what they were striking for?

Mr. CHILTON. No; they did not.

Mr. RAKER. Have you been over the cane fields to any extent to know the conditions of labor in the cane fields of Hawaii?

Mr. CHILTON. Not to a great extent.

Mr. RAKER. The fact is that you do not know much about that strike?

Mr. CHILTON. I know something about the strike.

Mr. RAKER. Nor do you know much about the labor conditions in the field?

Mr. CHILTON. I know something. First labor is very short; second what labor is there does not work steady; third, labor conditions are causing the planters to lose considerable money; and fourth, Japanese control labor situation.

Mr. RAKER. Anybody can do that kind of work?

Mr. CHILTON. Anybody can do it if they will, but it is not everybody who wants to do it.

Mr. RAKER. It is work that any American can do if he wants to; it is clean and nice work?

Mr. CHILTON. It is dirty and hard work. He has to work very hard, I will tell you now.

The CHAIRMAN. That brings up a very serious point. In your opinion, do you think that white labor will work in the cane fields of Hawaii, cutting cane and doing rough work of that kind?

Mr. CHILTON. At how much a day?

The CHAIRMAN. Say, \$4 a day.

Mr. CHILTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a class of labor that white labor is not adapted to?

Mr. CHILTON. No; I do not think that they would work along with a Jap, anyhow.

Mr. RAKER. Is not that the crux; it is not the kind and character of work but the fact that a white man does not work with Japanese and Chinese?

Mr. CHILTON. No; it is hard work. A white man can get something better. Anyone with brains can get something better. Coming over on the train from San Francisco to Washington I noticed that the section hands were Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, and everything but Americans. I do not think they will work down there more than a day.

Mr. RAKER. It is not the work itself, but they prefer work which is not too hard?

Mr. CHILTON. It is hard work, and he can do something better. I would not do that myself, if I could make more money at something easier, not even if I could make less money at something easier.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is pretty generally agreed to. I agree fully with that.

Mr. FREE. I might cite the fact that on the Eva plantation they experimented with some of them and they would not stick.

Mr. CHILTON. They came to Wahiawa along in 1901 or 1902, and all they raised was a large family.

Mr. GOMPERS. I should like an opportunity of making a statement, and if it is agreeable to the committee I should like very much to start to-morrow morning.

If I may, though, I should like to make this statement, that no member of this committee was more astounded at the testimony elicited yesterday regarding the contribution of money by Japanese, or by anyone else, than I was, and the same for the members of the organizations and the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor. I should like, if I may, to-morrow morning to make a statement upon the question at issue, in addition to the matter

which I have referred to, in so far as the American Federation of Labor and its officials and other representatives are concerned.

Mr. RAKER. Will that statement go into the question of the resolution, as to its effect upon the kind and character that is to be brought here?

Mr. GOMPERS. That is the intention that I have now, to present not only my views but the views of organized labor, the American Federation of Labor, for a period of over 41 years.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the committee understands, Mr. Gompers, your position, and understands that this information comes out of the clear sky to you. Probably the members from the Pacific coast are not quite so much surprised.

Mr. RAKER. I do not see why not; I never was more surprised.

The CHAIRMAN. I am surprised, too. Perhaps, there are not so many Japanese in my district as in Mr. Raker's district. I have seen something of their methods of work and it is not pleasant at any time.

We have received a large number of telegrams from both local unions and head organizations, the more important of which will be placed in the record; enough of those will be used to show pretty well the attitude of organized labor outside of the national officers here.

We thought of recessing over to-morrow. We can make a day when we can hear you, Mr. Gompers, or you can submit your statement in writing.

Mr. RAKER. I would rather hear him personally myself.

Mr. GOMPERS. I prefer to submit myself to the committee.

Mr. RAKER. I think that Mr. Gompers should be here personally.

Mr. GOMPERS. It is my desire to be here.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I hope Mr. Gompers will be given an opportunity to be heard.

Mr. RAKER. There is one thing, irrespective of how the witnesses come, who has tampered with them, and those things, they do not affect the fundamental principle involved in this resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. We know that.

You may proceed, Mr. Cable.

Mr. CABLE. I have some notes, but I have not a prepared brief. There are a good many legal questions involved in this matter, some of which this committee has not jurisdiction of.

The CHAIRMAN. Has not jurisdiction of?

Mr. CABLE. In my opinion. This is the Immigration Committee and the resolution not only affects immigration laws but criminal laws, and so the Judiciary Committee would have jurisdiction; also the Insular Committee and even Foreign Relations Committee.

In the first place, this resolution provides for the admission of "such aliens otherwise inadmissible." That could include over twenty odd classes. For example, anarchists, Asiatics, chronic alcoholics, contract laborers—I want you to note that contract laborers are one of the classes—convicts or felons, epileptics, illiterates, insane paupers, persons accompanying helpless aliens, persons advocating assassination of public officials, persons advocating unlawful destruction of property, persons afflicted with loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, persons afflicted with tuberculosis, persons aiding or bringing in prostitutes, persons deported within a specified time.

persons disbelieving in organized government, persons likely to become a public charge, persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority, persons whose passage is paid by another, political offenders, polygamists, professional beggars, and prostitutes.

Mr. WILSON. In other words, you mean——

Mr. CABLE (interposing). That under the resolution as it is drawn to-day, if it were passed, it would permit all of these various classes of persons to be admitted.

Mr. WILSON. Who otherwise would be inadmissible.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a very serious defect.

Mr. CABLE. This resolution seeks to suspend, as it is in conflict with several other laws, for example, part of section 10 of the organic act of the Hawaiian Islands. In section 10 there is a provision against enforcement of the law against personal labor. In other words, if a man is hired out to another you can not enforce that kind of a contract.

Mr. WILSON. I do not see why that is. That is their contract law?

Mr. CABLE. Yes, sir. For instance, you bring a Chinese over and he may work or otherwise, you can not compel him to fulfill his contract.

Mr. WILSON. You have to stretch the resolution a good deal to make it reach that. The resolution does not do that.

Mr. CABLE. That is what they mean.

Mr. WILSON. You are attributing things that the resolution does not mean.

Mr. CABLE. Also under this same section 10 there is a provision that the law against contract labor is carried into the organic law. That shows the intent of the people of Hawaii to avoid contract labor. Another thing, this resolution would suspend the law that we passed at this special session of Congress concerning 3 per cent of immigration of labor, it would repeal the Chinese exclusion act. It would suspend the literacy test, it would suspend the head tax, it would suspend or be in violation of the contract labor prohibition, in violation of the peonage law, and also in violation of the coolie labor law. The proposition is this, that certain of these classes are prohibited and a violation of the law is punishable by imprisonment. For example, contract labor is prohibited, peonage is prohibited, and coolie labor is prohibited. How can you have a criminal law which is supposed to apply to all places suspended as to a specific portion of the United States territory? If this resolution went through they would be permitted to import these Chinese coolies, but still this resolution is in conflict with these other laws, such as the contract labor law, which says that you can not bring in contract labor——

It would be in violation of the peonage section. Peonage is compelling a person to work by reason of debt. It is a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment. They could only bring them under contract and compel them to work at a specific pursuit, namely, agriculture, and when they did quit agriculture they would be arrested. They either have to pay the passage themselves or some one advances it for them, and the minute they step on the Hawaiian shore, they owe a debt and are started in to work out that debt.

Mr. WILSON. Take the things which you have mentioned, the repeal of the Chinese exclusion act, it is intended to do that, the committee is attempting to do that with this resolution. The act of 1921,

it is intended to repeal that because that lifts the literacy test from Hawaii. The coolie-labor section, the resolution is intended to repeal that. This contract labor criminal phase, what law is that in, is that in one of the immigration laws?

Mr. RAKER. It is in the Revised Statutes; I have not the authorities with me.

Mr. CABLE. Peonage is covered by section 469 of the criminal statute.

Mr. WILSON. Is that an act of Congress?

Mr. CABLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. I am not sure that this resolution is not intended to repeal that.

Mr. RAKER. The act of Congress, referring to the decisions of the court under it, is based upon the thirteenth amendment. The thirteenth amendment says that there shall not be involuntary servitude, which is a larger term than slavery, but they both apply to the same thing. They passed an act of Congress subsequent to the thirteenth amendment. The Federal courts and the State courts have held, just as Mr. Cable has stated, that that condition can not exist since the adoption of the thirteenth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that back of the whole thing and what makes it illegal in that respect is the Constitution of the United States. If that section of the Constitution was not in the way, I think we might, as far as Hawaii is concerned, repeal those statutes by implication in passing this resolution.

Mr. CABLE. Under section 4342 of the United States Compiled Statutes and in Revised Statutes 2158, coolie trade is prohibited and contracting to supply coolie labor is criminal, as I see it.

Mr. BOX. Please give the date of that act.

Mr. CABLE. February 18, 1862.

If this resolution goes through it will be in conflict with that section.

Mr. WILSON. All right. It would also be in conflict with the percentage act, it would be in conflict with the literacy test law, and it would be in conflict with all the exceptions you make. My view is that unless there is something in the Federal authority you could repeal these laws by implication.

Mr. RAKER. We give them the right to land?

Mr. CABLE. Yes, sir; but under the law you can not contract for labor to come in?

Mr. RAKER. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us assume that some coolies come in under a resolution like this and agree to work as plantation labor and then under the pressure of some other persons they were induced to quit that labor, they could go to court about it and claim that they did not desire to work at agricultural labor, they would have the right to go to court and claim that they were being held in servitude and win the case.

Mr. WILSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Is not that all there is in this resolution?

Mr. BOX. I think you three gentlemen are almost as one, and whether you branch it into all of these branches it all goes back to the thirteenth amendment?

Mr. CABLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, the very moment that man left his job and was arrested by the immigration officials to be deported, he would be under arrest because of his failure to comply with his contract, and for that he would be deported, which is clearly, as the court says, involuntary servitude, and, therefore, contrary to the thirteenth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Could a court under any such resolution as this order him deported?

Mr. CABLE. He would be deported under the immigration law.

Mr. RAKER. That is another question. Under this resolution, every man coming here would stay here. Every man coming here under this resolution would stay here, and you could not send him out.

Mr. CABLE. Yes; you could, because if the resolution were void, he would be here unlawfully.

Mr. WILSON. If you picked him up here and carried him before a court upon the charge of violating a labor contract, the Supreme Court would come in and say that the proceeding was null because it was in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and he would be discharged under that. Now, if he is discharged under that provision, could the immigration authorities come around and say, "We will deport him, because he is here in violation of the immigration law"?

Mr. RAKER. My investigation of the matter shows that they can not deport him.

Mr. CABLE. I want to read section 5 of the organic act:

That the Constitution, and, except as otherwise provided, all the laws of the United States, including laws carrying general appropriations, which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory as elsewhere in the United States.

Mr. WILSON. The point is that this will be a law of the United States.

Mr. RAKER. We are talking about Federal statutes.

Mr. WILSON. The question is, Would this by implication repeal the immigration laws?

Mr. CABLE. We might repeal the immigration laws.

Mr. BOX. It appears to me, Mr. Chairman, that these gentlemen have the question clearly in mind. It is a very interesting one, and I wonder if we could ask them to further brief the points. It is a very interesting question.

Mr. WILSON. Of course, we can not modify the Constitution by this act.

Mr. RAKER. I have spent at least a month on this matter, and I have examined at the library all the law books I could find on the subject and all of the special authorities bearing upon it, and it appears to me that the whole crux of the thing is in the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution. Statutes have been enacted by States providing that if a man makes a contract to work for an employer and does not continue to work, the sheriff is authorized to have him serve the balance of his time, but whenever such acts have come before the Supreme Court, the court has declared that to be involuntary servitude. That is the reason I asked Mr. Oxnard the other day with reference to the arrest of those Mexicans. There never was a clearer case than this—that is, that these Mexicans were brought here in violation of the contract-labor law.

Mr. WILSON. My conviction is that any law anywhere that authorizes any man or any set of men to take charge of an individual and tell him that he shall pursue a certain course of conduct, and providing that when he ceases to pursue that course, they can take charge of him and put him in jail, is peonage under the Constitution of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, how did they get by with it three times in the case of Mexicans brought into the United States?

Mr. WILSON. The question was never raised.

Mr. CABLE. The history of this contract-labor legislation goes back to 1864, Thirteenth Statutes, page 385. The Thirty-seventh Congress passed an act to encourage immigration—

Mr. BOX (interposing). Is that involved in the statute of 1864 forbidding American shipping from bringing in contract labor?

Mr. CABLE. Under the act of 1864, to encourage immigration, they authorized them to enter into contracts to bring them into the United States. Later, however, in the next year, they turned around and made it a crime and provided that any one who would repeat with original evidence persons bringing in contract labor would be entitled to have the penalty. From that time on contract labor has been held to be a crime.

Mr. WILSON. Is there not some distinction between the peonage proposition and contract labor?

Mr. CABLE. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. Contract labor is another proposition, or one phase of it is. Here are individuals on the Mexican border who will take contracts to go down and bring the labor in, and when they bring the laborers in they turn them loose to somebody else.

Mr. BOX. Is there not another act?

Mr. RAKER. They never passed that act until the thirteenth amendment was effective. When it became effective then they had to pass a law.

Mr. CABLE. Both as to contract labor and peonage?

Mr. RAKER. That was not adopted until December 18, 1865.

Mr. WHITE. Sometimes they were bound to give personal service or to work in families.

Mr. RAKER. They can not bind them.

Mr. WHITE. But they come in for that purpose. How do they come in?

Mr. RAKER. They can not come in now. They could come up here to-day and leave to-morrow. When they came they had to fulfill their contracts. They had to work until they paid the debt, and if they did not they were arrested. That has been held to be in violation of the thirteenth amendment.

Mr. WILSON. There is no such contract that can be upheld. It can not be said that by virtue of such a contract he has got to remain.

The CHAIRMAN. That law does away with the binding out of boys as was practiced in the old days.

Mr. CABLE. I have a brief on that question.

Mr. BOX. I would like to hear your brief.

Mr. CABLE. I have not completed my brief, but I wanted to bring up these points, because I think they are jurisdictional questions. In other words, if the thing is illegal, it can be knocked out on the

grounds, irrespective of the merits of the case. I think that is about all I have here.

Mr. BOX. I have here the act of 1862 that was referred to just a moment ago. It is very pertinent, and if you will permit me, I will read it:

No citizen of the United States, or foreigner, coming into or residing within the same shall, for himself or for any other person, either as master, factor, owner, or otherwise, build, equip, load, or otherwise prepare any vessel, registered, enrolled, or licensed in the United States, for the purpose of procuring from any port or place the subjects of China, Japan, or of any other oriental country known as "coolies," to be transported to any foreign port or place to be disposed of, or sold, or transferred, for any time, as servants or apprentices, or to be held in service or labor.

If any vessel, belonging in whole or in part to a citizen of the United States, and registered, enrolled, or otherwise licensed therein be employed in the "coolie trade" so called, contrary to the provisions of the preceding section, such vessel, her tackle, apparel, furniture, and other appurtenances, shall be forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to be seized, prosecuted, and condemned in any of the circuit courts or district courts of the United States for the district where the vessel may be found, seized, or carried.

Mr. CABLE. That is still the law.

Mr. BOX. Yes. That is contained in sections 2157 and 2158 of the Revised Statutes.

Mr. RAKER. After the thirteenth amendment was adopted—and why it was put in I can not say, but it is all right—they put in the same section a provision that any alien in the United States had the same right as an American citizen to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Mr. BOX. Where is that?

Mr. RAKER. That is a section of the Revised Statutes that I have in my brief. That provision is made so that he might have the right of circulation and volition, coming and going as he pleases. The moment you take him from that class, and say that he can not go as he pleases, you are trenching upon the thirteenth amendment. This resolution reads:

Provided, That such aliens shall be admitted only for limited periods of time for the purpose of engaging only in the class or classes of labor as to which the emergency has been found to exist.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is subject to all of the objections that have been made, but still, assuming that that is omitted from the resolution, that would leave them not bound to a class of labor. If you strike out the matter in lines 5, 6, and 7, as follows:

And that the regulations shall provide for and secure the return of such laborers to their respective countries upon the expiration of the time limited without cost to the United States—

then you would have a resolution that we might begin to consider.

Mr. RAKER. No, sir; you would have then involuntary servitude and peonage. That is true, because the United States is responsible. It does not pay anything, but there is some individual there, and it must be construed so that it will fix upon the steamboat company responsibility to pay for those men that come in, because they must be returned without expense to the United States. Therefore, as I stated, and it was so construed by the Supreme Court, they would take that out of their wages, perhaps not directly, but indirectly, so that they would be working all of this time to pay a part of their

expenses in coming over and their expenses in going back, and they would still be held for that debt.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask another thing with reference to the statement you made a few minutes ago about the right of aliens to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Would that interfere with the registration of an alien or the payment of a fee by an alien?

Mr. RAKER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the payment of a fee by an alien be taxation not equal with the taxes imposed upon citizens?

Mr. RAKER. No; I think not. That was construed by your court the other day in a land proposition. That was construed by the Supreme Court of the State of Washington. Then, the Supreme Court of the United States discusses the exceptions to those cases in the selective draft-law cases. The Supreme Court discusses that feature very fully there.

The CHAIRMAN. The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution provides that—

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

The clerk has furnished some citations here.

Mr. BOX. That reads like the Constitution itself.

The CHAIRMAN. It is from the Constitution. Watson, on the Constitution, says:

The amendment was adopted for the purpose of abolishing slavery in every form in the United States and in every place under their control. It did not purport to do more than this, and this was accomplished not only in the United States proper, but among the Indians of Alaska and among those under the direct supervision of the Government.

There are a number of cases cited in support of that proposition.

Story, on the Constitution, says, with respect to the thirteenth amendment:

Nothing by way of comment can make its provisions plainer. The boast of English lawyers and philanthropists after *Sommersett's* case that "a slave can not breathe in Britain, but the moment he sets foot upon her soil he becomes free" is equally or even more strictly true of America. It forbids not merely the slavery heretofore known to our laws, but all kinds of involuntary servitude not imposed in punishment for public offenses.

Mr. WILSON. It seems to me that so far as the peonage part of it is concerned, the only part of the resolution that we could pass would be down to and including line 11, where we say that he may admit such aliens otherwise admissible "as he may deem necessary to meet the existing emergency."

The CHAIRMAN. With the proviso that those otherwise admissible shall not include all the classes named.

Mr. WILSON. And with the proviso "That such admission of aliens shall not operate to increase the number of persons of any one alien nationality in the Territory of Hawaii so that their total numbers at any one time shall exceed 20 per cent of the total population of the Territory as determined by the last census." You would have to stop right there. Then the only objection would be your criminal statutes.

Mr. CABLE. And the Constitution.

Mr. WILSON. I do not think it would violate the Constitution.

Mr. RAKER. We could beat the resolution on a dozen propositions. There is not a chance for a single clause of it. I want to read the last clause. If the proposition is that the President shall have the power every five years——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Before you go into that, let me read what would be left.

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Chairman, I think that the attorney general of Hawaii should have every legal point that he is up against.

Mr. RAKER. The first proviso gives to the President the power to declare that an emergency exists. When that has been ascertained, then the Secretary of Labor must permit these people of these various classes and occupations to come in. Now, that can be done every five years, but the limitation as to the time of the residence is not fixed. It may be for 5 years, 10 years, 15 years, 20 years, or 40 years, so that they would be in here for all that length of time. Now, the second proposition, on the last proviso is:

Provided further, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to allow any alien admitted under the terms hereof to remove to any other place under the jurisdiction of the United States.

That is clearly unconstitutional. Clearly, when he is once admitted to the Hawaiian Islands, he is on American soil, and he can come from Hawaii to the mainland just the same as if he should land in New York.

Mr. CABLE. Where do you get your authority under the Constitution for that? You quoted a section of law and said it was not constitutional.

Mr. RAKER. It goes back to the Constitution, because it takes from him his personal liberty. Hawaii is a part of the United States.

Mr. WILSON. It is a Territory.

Mr. RAKER. It is a part of the United States. Now, having admitted him to New York, you could not by law say that he could not go to New Jersey.

Mr. WILSON. That is a different question as applied to Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. No, sir; Hawaii is the same. You will find that it is the same thing. Let us read the law on that question. Let us read the immigration law.

Mr. CABLE. That goes back to the question of whether you repeal the entire act by this resolution.

Mr. RAKER. It is more than that. It goes to this point, that Hawaii is a part of the United States. It is a Territory, and the laws, rules, and regulations that apply to the Federal Government apply to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me take it up right there. We have a tentative draft placed before us with a provision that aliens may be admitted by limiting some of the restrictions, as, for instance, the literacy test, to the Territories of Hawaii and Alaska, and that they shall not come from there to the mainland until they acquire citizenship. Do you think that such a provision as that would be subject to the same objections that you are now raising?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; for this reason: Under our law you can not say to a man who comes into this country that he may land in New York, but must remain in New York. You can not say to him, "You

must remain in New York, and you can not go to any other State in the Union." You have no doubt of that, have you, Mr. Cable?

Mr. CABLE. That is a different proposition.

Mr. RAKER. Do you agree with me on that?

Mr. CABLE. No; I do not agree with that. Here is a law that says an alien may go all through the United States. That is by virtue of a law, but if you wipe that law out by enacting a new law that says he can not go from New York to California, where does that law conflict with any constitutional provision?

Mr. RAKER. Suppose there was no statute on the books at all, and an alien came in here under our general laws as to the rights of citizens. You contend that we could then pass a law, as the Constitution now stands, saying that he could only remain in New York and could not go over to New Jersey?

Mr. CABLE. Where does the Constitution forbid that?

The CHAIRMAN. It runs back to the word "persons" under the Constitution.

Mr. RAKER. The Supreme Court has construed aliens as persons.

Mr. CABLE. The Constitution takes care of persons but not citizens.

Mr. RAKER. Of both.

Mr. WILSON. There is another question coming in there: Must the law that operates throughout continental United States be applied in such a way that the same things must be done in the same way with respect to a Territory, or is there not a distinction there? I think you could put a restriction on a bill applying to a Territory under the United States that you could not place on one applying to the United States proper.

Mr. RAKER. I make this as a fundamental statement, backed up by the Constitution of the United States and the decisions of our courts, that is, that the same law as to the right of men to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and freedom of movement exists in the Territories just the same as in the States, and under the Constitution Congress can not deprive a man in a Territory of those fundamental rights.

The CHAIRMAN. What have we ever done under the gentlemen's agreement by which we can hold Japanese living in Hawaii to Hawaii?

Mr. BOX. Does the chairman think that the gentlemen's agreement has anything to do with the Constitution?

The CHAIRMAN. It is contrary to the Constitution. It was made without the approval of the Senate, and is wrong in that respect.

Mr. RAKER. I think that everybody agrees that the gentlemen's agreement is contrary to the Constitution.

Mr. WILSON. When we had the Indian Territory and segregated the Indians out there, do you not think that Congress could have enacted a law providing that those Indians could not enter other portions of the United States, while that was a Territory?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. The question of citizenship comes up there. They were neither aliens nor citizens.

Mr. RAKER. They were wards of the Government.

Notwithstanding the thirteenth amendment, we did not change the rights nor relations as between parent and child; we did not change the law as to the rights of seamen, nor did we change the law in regard

to the right of the Government to select men for military service; but what I am contending as to the Territory of Hawaii being a part of the United States is that it is a Territory to which our flag goes and to which our laws go. We can not make a law that would deprive a man of the fundamental right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in that Territory when it is granted on the mainland. .

Mr. CABLE. If you will read the Chinese exclusion act you will see that it would be absolutely repealed.

Mr. WILSON. It would repeal the Chinese exclusion act, because, if you are correct, when they come to Hawaii, they can come to the mainland.

Mr. RAKER. There is a different proposition involved now.

Mr. CABLE. But when you get him to the islands, he can not come here.

Mr. WILSON. That would be unconstitutional if Mr. Raker is correct. That would not be in an act of Congress dealing with a State, but it is in an act dealing with a Territory.

Mr. CABLE. What other point have you there?

Mr. RAKER. There is another thing. It has been contended that we are trying to do indirectly here what we are not willing to take hold of firmly. In our legislation we exclude the Japanese from Hawaii, after having permitted them to come in under certain regulations under a general law. Having enacted a law excluding them, we would make a distinction under the most-favored-nation clause by admitting Chinese into Hawaii and excluding the Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. I have never been able to see how the United States could with a serious face maintain its position under the gentlemen's agreement by which Japanese are kept out, and then undertake to enforce the provisions of a resolution like this by which the Chinese could be let in.

Mr. CABLE. In other words, the Japanese would not have an equal right.

Mr. RAKER. On page 2 of the resolution there is this provision:

That the regulations shall provide for and secure the return of such laborers to their respective countries upon the expiration of the time limited, without cost to the United States.

Now, clearly, those men must be bound under the law that we make authorizing the Secretary of Labor to make the regulations, and these people must be held and a fund provided by their employers before they land here, and under the arrangement these men must assist and contribute in the form of labor to such fund with which to return them.

Mr. CABLE. That is peonage?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; that is peonage. Therefore, when you get down to the resolution, not a section can stand, or there is not a section that this committee ought to report out. Let us consider it for a moment from the standpoint of the public policy of the American people. Every indication, every sentence, and every idea that is here is opposed to the policy and the genius of the American people to-day, and they will not submit to it.

Mr. CABLE. In 1908 the same question was raised when they had an investigation by the Department of Justice, and two resolutions were introduced in the House by two gentlemen from the South for

the investigation of peonage. The Department of Justice has made prosecutions all over the United States under that law, showing the attitude of the people at this time on the subject.

(Thereupon, the committee proceeded to the consideration of executive business, after which it adjourned to meet at 10.30 o'clock to-morrow, August 4, 1921.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, August 4, 1921.

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN L. CABLE.

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Chairman, may I submit a short memorandum or brief concerning House Joint Resolution 171?

The CHAIRMAN. I would suggest that you read it, and it will become a part of your statement of yesterday.

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Chairman, since the discussion of the legal phase of the resolution yesterday, I find that the laws of Congress are not repealed in the same method or manner usually employed by the States. When a State law is repealed by its legislature, the repealing or substitute law usually refers specifically and directly to the act or portion of the act or law proposed to be repealed. Here in Congress, however, the last law enacted governs, and if it is in direct conflict with any previous or preceding laws, the latter are repealed to the extent of the conflict, provided the last law is constitutional. [Reading:]

I desire to call attention to the following laws of Congress and the enabling act of Hawaii, which, in my opinion, will be affected, provided the resolution in its present form becomes a law. We should bear in mind that the Constitution and the laws of the United States have the same force and effect in Hawaii as elsewhere in the continent.

The law specifically provides:

⁶ APPLICATION OF LAWS OF UNITED STATES.—The Constitution and, except as otherwise provided, all the laws of the United States, including laws carrying general appropriations, which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory as elsewhere in the United States * * *.

(1) *Exclusion of Chinese from Hawaii.*—The law provided that there shall be no further immigration of Chinese into the Hawaiian Islands.

⁶ EXCLUSION OF CHINESE FROM HAWAII.—ENTRY INTO UNITED STATES FROM HAWAII.—There shall be no further immigration of Chinese into the Hawaiian Islands, except upon such conditions as are now or may hereafter be allowed by the laws of the United States; no Chinese, by reason of anything contained in the joint resolution providing for annexing the Hawaiian Islands approved July 7, 1898, shall be allowed to enter the United States from the Hawaiian Islands." (30 Stat., 751.)

(2) *Chinese exclusion act without limitation.*—The general Chinese exclusion act excludes Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent from coming into the United States, or any of its Territories. (32 Stat., 176; 33 Stat., 428.)

(3) *Coolie trade is prohibited.*—There is a law relating to the coolie trade, and which prohibits the same, and there is one relating to the exclusion of Chinese under the general immigration laws, and those laws would be affected.

The Revised Statutes of the United States, 2158 and following, and also 18th Statutes, 477, prohibit coolie trade and contracting to supply coolie labor, and make a violation of the law a crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

(4) *Exclusion of aliens under general immigration law.*—The resolution seeks to admit "such aliens otherwise inadmissible." This conflicts with the general exclusion of

aliens under the immigration law and would permit all classes of criminals, anarchists, and the like to be admitted to Hawaii unless the rules and regulations adopted by the Labor Department specifically excluded them. The list is found in section 3 of the immigration laws and I named the different classes yesterday.

(5) *Literacy test.*—Section 3 of the immigration laws prohibit the landing of "all aliens over 16 years of age, physically capable of reading, who can not read the English language or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish."

(6) *Contract labor in Hawaii.*—The enabling act of the Territory of Hawaii (23 Stat., 332; 31 Stat., 143) specifically prohibit contract labor.

(a) "All contracts made since August 12, 1898, by which persons are held for service for a definite term, are declared null and void and terminated, and no law shall be passed to enforce said contracts in any way; and it shall be the duty of the United States marshal to at once notify such persons so held of the termination of their contracts."

(b) Importation of foreigners and aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor in the United States, its Territories, is prohibited.

(7) *Contract labor in the United States.*—The law of the United States prohibits the admission, under section 2 of the immigration law, of "persons hereafter called contract laborers who have been induced, assisted, or encouraged to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment, whether such offers or promises are true or false, or in consequence of agreements, oral, written, or printed, express or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled."

All contracts or agreements, express or implied, parol or special, which may be made between any person or company and any foreigner or alien to perform labor or service in the United States or its Territories, previous to the migration or importation of the person whose labor or service is contracted for, shall be void. (23 Stat., 332.)

The laws of the United States even provide that any informer giving original information that the contract labor laws have been violated shall be entitled to a portion of the penalties recovered from the person violating the law.

They have gone so far as to give any informer who assists the Government in the prosecution of the case half of the penalty recovered.

(8) *Head tax.*—The head tax provision is affected by this resolution. Section 2 of the immigration law provides:

"There shall be levied, collected, and paid a tax of \$8 for every alien, including alien seamen regularly admitted, as provided in this act, entering the United States. (29 Stat., 875.)

(9) *Three per cent immigration law.*—The 3 per cent provision of the immigration law would be repealed, so far as Hawaii is concerned. That is the law we just passed at this session of Congress.

The Sixty-seventh Congress has just passed a law limiting immigrants coming to this country or its territories to 3 per cent of the number of that particular nationality who resided in the United States according to the census of 1910.

(10) *Peonage laws.*—Peonage is a crime in the United States, and has been defined thus:

"Peonage is a status or condition of compulsory service based upon the indebtedness of the peon to the master. The basic fact is indebtedness." (Clyatt v. United States, 197 U. S., 207.)

Peonage is a crime in the United States. Section 269, the Criminal Code (35 Stat., 1142) provides:

"Whoever holds, arrests, or returns, or causes to be held, arrested, or returned, or in any manner aids in the arrest or return of any person to a condition of peonage shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both."

In section 3944, United States Compiled Statutes, 1918, the law provides that peonage is abolished.

"The holding of any person to service or labor under the system known as peonage is abolished and forever prohibited in the Territory of New Mexico, or in any other Territory or State of the United States; and all acts, laws, and resolutions, orders, regulations, of the Territory of New Mexico, or any other Territory or State which have heretofore established, maintained, or enforced, or by virtue of which any attempt shall hereafter be made to establish, maintain, or enforce, directly or indirectly, the voluntary or involuntary service of labor of any persons as peons in liquidation of any debt or obligation, or otherwise, be and the same is hereby declared null and void."

It will be noted that the crime of peonage is complete when a person holds any person to a condition of peonage; that is, according to the above definition, in a condition of compulsory service based on indebtedness.

Under the resolution, as drawn, a Chinese not being able to pay his passage would be indebted to some one when he took work in the islands of Hawaii. He would be

compelled to continue work of an agricultural nature, because if he left the plantation and went into the city, he could be arrested and deported. Left, there holds him to work.

So far as those 10 provisions are concerned, in my opinion, this resolution would suspend them so far as Hawaii is concerned. Of course, Congress would have the lawful right to do that, but so far as constitutional provisions being violated is concerned, the resolution could not do that.

(11) *Bringing within the United States any person from any foreign country to be held for service or labor.*—The law provides in substance that whoever brings within the United States any person to be held in service or labor shall be fined not more than \$10 000. The section is found in Thirty-fifth Statutes, 1133, and reads as follows:

"BRINGING SLAVES INTO UNITED STATES.—Whoever brings within the jurisdiction of the United States, in any manner whatsoever, any person from any foreign kingdom or country, or from sea, or holds, sells, or otherwise disposes of, any person so brought in, as a slave, or to hold to service or labor, shall be fined not more than \$10,000, one half to the use of the United States and the other half to the use of the party who prosecutes the indictment to effect; and, moreover, shall be imprisoned not more than seven years."

The section was, no doubt, reenacted as the result of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

As a cold legal proposition, Congress would have authority to pass this resolution repealing all the foregoing laws. The resolution under certain facts could conflict with this thirteenth amendment to the Constitution and as a result would therefore be void and unconstitutional.

The CHAIRMAN. The members of the committee will remember that the other day, in the examination of Mr. George W. Wright, a good many questions were asked him about the editing of the *Labor Review of Hawaii*, and particularly with reference to the editing of the portion of the paper that was printed in the Japanese language. His statements were not quite in accord with the matter printed in the paper for July 12. Statements here I think are sufficient to discredit Mr. Wright's testimony and to discredit the cablegrams that were sent and that were brought before this committee and read. This paper, the *Labor Review of Hawaii*, of the date of July 12, 1921, has at its masthead the words:

Editor, George W. Wright, 1320 Middle Street, Honolulu (phone 8222); business manager, William Chilton, jr., 1269 Miller Street, Honolulu (phone 5292); advertising manager, L. S. Lloyd, 1351 Luso Street, Honolulu. Published weekly at Honolulu Territory of Hawaii.

On the front page there appears the editorial committee, as follows: G. W. Wright, William Chilton, jr., and L. S. Lloyd.

That is followed by this statement:

The official organ of the affiliated labor unions of the Territory of Hawaii. Devoted to the service of the workers of all races.

There is an article printed in English on the first page under the heading "Labor committee to go to Washington to fight coolie bill," as follows:

Mr. W. R. Chilton and George W. Wright, delegates to the central labor union, have booked passage to the mainland on the *Sonoma* sailing July 12. These two constitute a committee which has been empowered to proceed to Washington to place before the proper authorities all the facts in the case of the "coolie conspiracy." It is understood that Mr. Wright will also present data on the condition in Hawaii before the Navy Wage Board of Review, with a view to showing the necessity for an increased scale of wages for the Pearl Harbor employees.

The money for the expenses of the committee is being raised by subscription and donations from individuals and from labor organizations. All members of unions, regardless of race, are asked to contribute to this fund. The personal welfare of every worker in the Territory is at stake, and the appeal is made for assistance in carrying the fight for the preservation of our American standards and ideals direct to Washington.

Now, the Chair seemed to be unable to read the articles on page 4 of the same paper, printed in Japanese, and I sent the paper over to the Library of Congress yesterday with the request that the Japanese articles be translated, and I have the following letter:

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
Washington, August 3, 1921.

SIR: I am sending herewith a translation of the Japanese newspaper article, which your secretary requested yesterday. The original is attached.

For the Librarian:

J. L. FARNAM, *Secretary.*

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
*Chairman Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,
House of Representatives.*

The translation of the article headed "An appeal to our laborers," as furnished by the Library of Congress, is as follows:

[Translated from the Japanese in the *Labor Review of Hawaii*, Honolulu, July 12, 1921, p. 4.]

AN APPEAL TO OUR LABORERS.

SENDING OUR DELEGATES TO WASHINGTON.

As the situation of the coolie bill does not allow us to hold optimistic feelings, we are sending G. W. Wright and W. R. Chilton as the representatives of the central labor council to present evidence of facts to the Washington authorities to block the treacherous plot of importing coolie labor. They will leave here on the steamship *Sonoma* July 12.

Mr. Wright will also take opportunity to present information about the condition of this island to the committee regarding salary compensation of naval employees. He will request increased pay for employees at Pearl Bay. The expense of sending the delegates is defrayed by raising money from every organization, as well as by contributions from persons who belong to our class. We hope as many persons as possible will contribute, so that we may complete our aim, which is unique and common all through the island.

Our opposition to the conspiracy of importing coolies is based on the true American spirit to protect the ideals of America. We are making this appeal to request proper aid of our coworkers to bring our movement to a successful end in arousing sentiment in favor of helping the action of our delegates in Washington.

I will now read the translation of the other article.

[Translated from the Japanese in the *Labor Review of Hawaii*, Honolulu, July 12, 1921, p. 4.]

THE COOLIE BILL—A SIDE VIEW OF THE PROGRAM OF IMPORTING COOLIES.

SMALL KNOWLEDGE, SMALL WIT, SMALL POLICY NOT WISE AT THIS TIME—FARMERS
NEED FARMERS' SPIRIT.

People feel rather nervous about the rise and fall in the standing of the Dillingham party in Washington, and whenever things look favorable for his bill too pessimistic feelings arise among the people and if his bill seems unable to pass then they become too optimistic.

We are, of course, in the opposition on the question of importation of coolies, but we have to rely upon the decision of Congress. There is no other way. It is necessary, however, to bring the feeling of Congress to favor us and this is the aim of sending Chilton and Wright to Washington as representatives of the central labor council. They will have close cooperation with the American labor union in the work they do in creating a public sentiment favorable to our position.

We rely upon the capability of Chilton and Wright, who are always our friends and coworkers. We hear by cable that the "Kuhio" (perhaps the name of a Congressman) amendment passed the committee but the details are not known as yet and even the trustworthiness of the cable is questionable. Even if it be true there will still be plenty of difficulty for it to pass the regular session and win the President's approval. We believe that the Secretary of Labor is standing on our side and if such a bill passes Congress he will never put such a program into practice.

It will take time for us to hear the decision regarding the coolie bill. In two weeks our Hawaiian delegates will arrive at Washington, where they will act splendidly hand in hand with union labor. We believe there is no reason why the coolie bill should pass in the original form when it comes before Congress and alterations and amendments will bring unexpected results to hand.

Our friends, be patient. Farmers need farmers' own spirit. Believe in the heavenly doctrine of the survival of the fittest and the history of the globe, which always protected the right. Any agitation will spoil your pride and dignity as true farmers.

The CHAIRMAN. I think this is at variance with the statements made by Mr. Wright, and for that reason I have placed this matter in the record.

Before we proceed to hear Mr. Gompers, I want to call attention to the fact that the Department of Commerce through the Bureau of Census has issued, for use on and after August 12, a revised statement concerning the sugar crops in the United States, including beet sugar and all others, and if the second volume of these hearings is not printed by that time, I think it might be well to include that in the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

SUGAR CROPS IN THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 12, 1921.

The Bureau of the Census, of the Department of Commerce, announces, subject to correction, the following preliminary figures from the 1920 census of agriculture for the United States, with comparative figures for the preceding census:

Sugar crops in the United States: 1919 and 1909.

	1919	1909		1919	1909
Sugar cane:			Sorghum grown for sirup:		
Acres.....	373,398	476,849	Acres.....	482,043	326,382
Production (tons)....	3,551,129	6,240,260	Production (tons)....	1,644,100	1,376,487
Sirup made on farms			Sirup made (gallons)...	21,523,025	16,532,382
(gallons).....	21,240,960	21,633,579	Maple sugar and sirup:		
Sugar beets grown for			Trees tapped.....	17,448,421	18,899,533
sugar:			Sugar made (pounds)...	9,691,624	14,060,206
Acres.....	636,414	360,433	Sirup made (gallons)...	3,505,715	4,106,418
Production (tons)....	5,993,409	3,902,071			

SUGAR CANE.

The total acreage of sugar cane harvested in the United States in 1919, according to the Fourteenth Census, was 373,398, as compared with 476,849 in 1909. The production in 1919 was 3,551,129 tons, as against 6,240,260 tons in 1909. The production thus shows a decrease of 2,689,131 tons, or 43.1 per cent. This is the result of an unfavorable season, however, and does not in any way indicate a decline in the sugar-cane industry of the country.

In 1919 Louisiana produced 2,435,683 tons of sugar cane, or 68.6 per cent of the total production in the United States.

The quantity of sugar-cane sirup made on farms in the United States in 1919 was 21,240,960 gallons, as compared with 21,633,579 gallons in 1909.

Sugar cane, by States, 1919 and 1909.

State.	Acres.		Production (tons).		Sirup made on farms (gallons).	
	1919	1909	1919	1909	1919	1909
United States.....	373,398	476,849	3,551,129	6,240,260	21,240,960	21,633,579
South Carolina.....	5,537	7,053	34,947	59,865	563,953	881,558
Georgia.....	41,558	37,046	365,603	317,460	7,052,984	5,533,520
Florida.....	20,413	12,928	179,573	142,517	3,675,249	2,533,096
Alabama.....	25,302	27,211	208,342	226,634	3,235,231	3,078,531
Mississippi.....	25,256	24,861	186,283	222,600	3,015,956	2,920,519
Louisiana.....	234,049	329,684	2,435,683	4,941,996	1,899,423	4,125,083
Texas.....	18,867	34,315	130,943	307,502	1,631,459	2,246,774
All other States.....	2,416	3,751	9,755	21,686	166,705	314,498

SUGAR BEETS.

The acreage of sugar beets grown for sugar in the United States in 1919 was 636,414, as compared with 360,433 in 1909. The production in 1919 was 5,993,409 tons, as against 3,902,071 tons in 1909, representing an increase of 2,091,338 tons, or 53.6 per cent.

The leading States in the production of sugar beets in 1919 were Colorado, with 1,658,167 tons; Michigan, with 1,025,550 tons; Utah, with 930,427 tons; and California, with 666,866 tons.

Sugar beets, by States: 1919 and 1909.

State.	Acres.		Production (tons).	
	1919	1909	1919	1909
United States.....	636,414	360,433	5,993,409	3,902,071
Ohio.....	33,561	7,609	365,415	63,546
Michigan.....	106,450	78,711	1,025,550	706,990
Wisconsin.....	12,737	12,808	136,208	126,646
Iowa.....	7,009	1,030	52,338	6,942
Nebraska.....	54,486	4,182	554,646	39,756
Montana.....	8,600	8,710	73,824	108,776
Idaho.....	37,334	15,598	260,309	179,688
Wyoming.....	9,915	1,181	96,994	13,234
Colorado.....	165,840	108,005	1,658,167	1,230,718
Utah.....	93,358	27,442	930,427	413,811
Washington.....	5,363	1,276	46,386	6,556
California.....	88,257	78,071	666,866	843,269
All other States.....	13,503	16,316	126,279	162,169

SORGHUM GROWN FOR SIRUP.

The total acreage of sorghum grown for sirup in the United States in 1919 was 482,043, as compared with 346,352 in 1909. The production of sorghum in 1919 was 1,644,100 tons, while the production in 1909 was 1,376,487 tons.

The production of sorghum sirup in 1919 was 21,523,025 gallons, as compared with 16,532,382 gallons in 1909, representing an increase of 4,990,643 gallons, or 30.2 per cent. The figures for acreage and production of sorghum and production of sirup include estimates for incomplete reports.

The leading States in the production of sorghum sirup in 1919 were Alabama, with 2,429,302 gallons; Kentucky, with 2,044,098 gallons; Tennessee, with 1,917,293 gallons; Georgia, with 1,820,165 gallons; and Mississippi, with 1,795,368 gallons.

Sorghum grown for sirup, by States: 1919 and 1909.

State.	Acres.		Production (tons)		Sirup made (gallons)	
	1919	1909	1919	1909	1919	1909
United States.....	482,043	323,332	1,644,100	1,376,487	21,523,025	16,511,441
Ohio.....	5,414	4,578	24,256	28,137	290,059	311,441
Indiana.....	12,377	11,829	52,210	77,000	681,190	611,441
Illinois.....	10,054	14,848	41,737	81,421	527,981	611,441
Wisconsin.....	4,956	2,244	18,225	13,498	277,277	311,441
Idaho.....	9,986	4,996	45,341	4,597	587,712	611,441
Missouri.....	33,771	37,471	115,640	176,743	1,414,222	1,414,222
Virginia.....	13,450	8,136	47,011	40,875	538,774	441,441
West Virginia.....	8,439	3,477	31,544	48,081	451,573	441,441
North Carolina.....	3,024	2,612	10,463	34,753	1,307,980	1,307,980
South Carolina.....	20,431	6,131	69,865	22,371	900,206	900,206
Georgia.....	37,311	14,170	142,291	61,202	1,827,165	1,827,165
Kentucky.....	41,968	52,858	151,913	198,404	2,447,094	2,447,094
Tennessee.....	41,131	45,410	148,689	183,328	1,917,393	1,917,393
Alabama.....	52,446	16,107	172,429	67,559	2,427,322	2,427,322
Mississippi.....	38,752	16,519	133,100	50,327	1,753,364	1,753,364
Arkansas.....	41,424	27,532	120,416	83,441	1,438,748	1,438,748
Oklahoma.....	15,843	12,944	53,181	35,196	704,453	704,453
Texas.....	35,589	16,175	122,170	31,902	1,688,205	1,688,205
All other States.....	11,645	11,142	45,920	61,391	627,467	627,467

MAPLE SUGAR AND SIRUP.

The number of maple trees on farms in the United States which were tapped for sugar and sirup in 1919, according to the Fourteenth Census, was 17,448,421, as compared with 18,899,533 in 1909.

The quantity of maple sugar made on farms in 1919 was 9,691,624 pounds, as compared with 14,060,206 pounds in 1909, representing a decrease of 4,368,582 pounds, or 31.1 per cent. The production of maple sirup in 1919 was 3,505,715 gallons, as against 4,106,418 gallons in 1909, a decrease of 600,703 gallons, or 14.6 per cent.

The leading States in the production of maple sugar in 1919 were Vermont, with 6,251,734 pounds; New York, with 2,012,932 pounds; and Pennsylvania, with 555,951 pounds. The States reporting the largest production of maple sirup in 1919 were New York, with 1,080,505 gallons; Ohio, with 694,175 gallons; Vermont, with 631,924 gallons; and Pennsylvania, with 273,762 gallons.

Maple sugar and sirup, by States: 1919 and 1909.

State.	Trees tapped.		Sugar made (pounds).		Sirup made (gallons).	
	1919	1909	1919	1909	1919	1909
United States.....	17,448,421	18,899,533	9,691,624	14,060,206	3,505,715	4,106,418
Maine.....	234,478	252,764	24,934	15,344	42,144	41,441
New Hampshire.....	618,761	792,147	329,723	558,911	112,824	111,441
Vermont.....	5,953,513	5,585,632	6,251,734	7,726,817	631,924	631,924
Massachusetts.....	252,751	256,501	73,198	156,932	57,950	57,950
Connecticut.....	9,023	12,296	5,173	10,207	2,866	2,866
New York.....	4,826,924	4,918,781	2,012,932	3,160,300	1,080,505	1,080,505
Pennsylvania.....	1,020,181	1,298,005	555,951	1,188,049	273,762	273,762
Ohio.....	2,269,192	3,170,828	62,001	257,592	694,175	694,175
Indiana.....	558,368	742,596	11,487	33,419	167,390	167,390
Illinois.....	38,311	48,098	1,496	5,366	12,114	12,114
Michigan.....	850,158	995,737	76,948	294,301	201,765	201,765
Wisconsin.....	497,111	449,727	22,430	27,199	138,627	138,627
Minnesota.....	52,111	67,225	3,146	11,399	12,890	12,890
Iowa.....	19,834	23,965	3,130	6,173	6,866	6,866
Missouri.....	33,615	30,399	5,017	11,638	12,698	12,698
Maryland.....	74,549	79,654	150,957	351,908	23,126	23,126
Virginia.....	23,618	25,451	38,362	44,976	8,137	8,137
West Virginia.....	73,518	97,271	73,763	110,080	23,468	23,468
All other States.....	10,331	31,156	6,269	60,651	2,125	2,125

There appears in this month's Atlantic Monthly a very concise historical digest covering the bringing in of the Japanese to the Hawaiian Islands, and, without objection, I think that might be put in the record also.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

THE JAPANESE IN HAWAII.

[By William Harding Carter.]

The recent census shows that out of a total population of 255,912 in the Hawaiian Islands, 109,269 are Japanese. The increase in Japanese population since 1910 is 29,594, or 37.1 per cent, compared with 18,564, or 30.4 per cent during the preceding decade. The disproportionate number of Japanese in comparison with that of other nationalities in the islands constitutes an intricate and perplexing problem, and a knowledge of the history of Japanese immigration is essential to any proper consideration of the situation.

Diplomatic relations between Japan and Hawaii began with a treaty of amity and commerce in 1871. Scarcity of agricultural labor in Hawaii caused Hon. Charles R. Bishop, minister of foreign affairs, to take up with the Hawaiian consul in Tokyo the subject of an arrangement for obtaining laborers from Japan, but nothing came of it until King Kalakaua visited Japan, in 1881, when the Hawaiian minister of immigration, Hon. William Nevins Armstrong, initiated negotiations with the Japanese Government on the subject of emigration of laborers from Japan to Hawaii.

In 1883 Col. C. P. Iaukea was accredited to the Court of Japan as minister plenipotentiary for the special purpose of arranging for Japanese immigration and was instructed by the Hawaiian minister of foreign affairs, Hon. Walter Murray Gibson, in this remarkable manner:

"You will please impress upon the mind of the minister the very exceptional character of these proposals and the evidence they afford of the high value His Majesty's Government places upon the friendly alliance between this country and Japan and upon the Japanese race as a repopulating element."

Later, under date of July 22, 1885, Mr. Gibson wrote to Count Inouye:

"I desire, in the first place, to assure your excellency that, owing to the strong desire of Hawaii to settle upon her soil a kindred and kindly people like the Japanese, this government is most anxious to meet the views and requirements of Japan on all points."

Under date of January 21, 1886, the Hawaiian consul general at Tokyo, Mr. R. W. Irwin, wrote to Count Inouye:

"I accept unreservedly the terms and conditions laid down in your excellency's communication of yesterday, and I am prepared to sign the immigration convention."

The Hawaiian minister of foreign affairs, under date of March 5, 1886, wrote to Count Inouye:

"Mr. Irwin unreservedly accepts these stipulations, and I have now the honor to accept his engagement and to confirm on the part of His Majesty's Government the several subsidiary agreements referred to, in so far as may be consonant with the constitution of the kingdom and His Majesty's treaty obligations with foreign powers."

Count Okuma in reply informed Mr. Irwin:

"I accept your assurances in these regards, as well as other particulars specified in your communication, as an authorized statement of the obligations which your government assumes in the premises, and I shall so regard the understanding as binding on our respective Governments, subject to the right of revoking same, either in whole or in part, which is specifically reserved to me."

In 1885 there were less than 50 Japanese in Hawaii, but under the encouragement of the terms of the treaty the number increased to 20,000 in 10 years, at which time Japan demanded the exclusion of any more Chinese laborers.

Foreseeing future complications, the constitution of 1887 was made to limit the franchise to "every male resident of the Kingdom of Hawaii, of American or European birth or descent, who shall have taken an oath to support the constitution and laws, and shall know how to read or write either the Hawaiian, English, or some European language."

In the following year, 1888, demands for the franchise for the Japanese began, and continued, as a diplomatic bone of contention along the line of favored-nation clauses, until 1893, when Mr. Fujii, consul general, made a categorical demand upon President Dole for the granting of the franchise by the provisional government—which had superseded the monarchy—to all Japanese in Hawaii, including field laborers brought

under contract, over whom the Japanese Government retained control by withholding 25 per cent of their wages.

President Dole explained that there could be no foundation in law, reason, or the usages of nations for one nation to demand of another, as a right, permission for its subjects to cast off their allegiance and acquire citizenship in another country. The relation of sovereign and subject, State and citizen, comprises an obligation between the governing authority and the individual; otherwise an overcrowded country could unload its surplus population upon a smaller country, and by the utilization of the enforced franchise eventually and legally absorb the smaller country. This, in the last analysis, would result from the democratic theory that government should follow from the consent of the governed.

Following the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii, the immigration convention lapsed, but Japanese continued to arrive as free immigrants in greater numbers than before, 5,129 having arrived in 1896. Matters were reaching a serious condition by reason of the heavy immigration. It was necessary to end a situation which threatened to jeopardize the continued development of Hawaii along Anglo-Saxon lines; and under the terms of the general statutes of Hawaii nearly 1,500 Japanese who arrived were denied entrance.

The native Hawaiian population has been disappearing in about the same ratio in which that of the Japanese has increased. Some of the early explorers estimated the native population of the group of islands as high as 250,000; but in 1832 a census was taken, and showed only 130,313. Twenty years later the population had dwindled to 71,019, of whom 2,119 were foreigners. Improved agricultural conditions, incident to the reciprocity treaty with the United States, turned the tide, and in 1896 the total population was 109,020, of whom only 39,504 were Hawaiians. The census of 1910 showed only 26,041 Hawaiians, and the new census, that of 1920, shows that the number of natives has declined to 23,723.

While the native Hawaiian race is steadily disappearing, it still exercises power in local political matters through the considerable number of half-castes, born of inter-marriages of whites and Chinese with Hawaiians, who now number 18,027, and are steadily increasing. There is practically none of the populating by mixing of races anticipated when the Japanese were invited to settle in the islands. The Japanese men marry only Japanese women, and their children are habitually registered as Japanese with officials of their own Government. A large proportion of them are sent back to Japan for part of their education. The younger children attend both the public schools of Hawaii and private Japanese schools. The number of Japanese women in Hawaii has increased rapidly—the ratio of women to men having nearly doubled since 1900—and now is 42.7 per cent. The Japanese have increased in number since the census of 1910 by 29,599, and with Filipinos comprise three-fourths of the total increase.

The main elements of population, other than Hawaiians and Japanese, are Chinese, Portuguese, Filipinos, Porto Ricans, and Spaniards. Americans, British, and Germans have been more powerful in commercial and financial interests than in numbers.

The islands are fertile, their location is of immense and growing importance, and altogether they constitute a vital element in the future problems of the Pacific. The United States arrived at their possession through a process of stumbling, and doubtless the great problems arising from the commercial and strategic position of the islands will be met in the same way.

If there is no objection, Mr. Cable desires to add to the brief he has prepared, and he will read it to the committee in the course of time. It is a continuation of the statement he made yesterday afternoon.

Mr. RAKER. I have been working on a brief to go into these hearings before we get through, and which I intended to use before the committee. If there is no objection, I will have it printed in the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. All of the matter on yesterday in executive session was taken down, and it might be a better plan to have it carried as a part of the proceedings of the executive session on yesterday. We might print as a part of those proceedings Mr. Cable's additional statement, Mr. Raker's statement, and Mr. Wilson's statement.

Mr. WILSON. I do not know that I will prepare any statement.

The CHAIRMAN. If you are ready to proceed, Mr. Gompers, we will hear you now.

STATEMENT OF MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. GOMPERS. Because of evidence submitted and testimony given, I feel it incumbent upon me to make some observations in connection with the subject in my mind, and which, no doubt, is in the minds of all the members of the committee. I have reference to the statements made by Mr. Wright and by Mr. Chilton that their expenses in whole or in part were paid by contributions of Japanese in Honolulu. While that was brought out in this committee so far, I imagine, as the members of the committee were informed, or the representatives of the American Federation of Labor were informed, for the first time, or it was not known until those statements were made by those two men before this committee. Yet, it is quite evident from the newspapers or daily newspapers published in Hawaii, as well as from the Labor Review, published by the Central Labor Union, that it was well known in Hawaii, and that no secrecy was maintained or attempted to be maintained except as to the personnel of the contributors.

Now, whatever the facts are, these men were 5,000 miles away from Washington, with six and a half days passage across the ocean to the mainland from Honolulu before them, and with 3,000 miles before them after landing on the mainland in California in order to reach Washington, and we can well understand how sometimes men are driven to desperation in an effort to help in a just cause or to protest against an improper and unjust course. I do not exculpate these men; I do not stand for any such procedure; nor do those with whom I am associated in the American labor movement. I regard it as an almost inexcusable blunder on the part of the organization at Honolulu, or the men themselves, to seek contributions from Japanese. I can understand their straits. I think I have some understanding of men and of the operations of their minds. Knowing that the Territory of Hawaii had created a commission to come to Washington, or with authority to come to Washington, and try to prevail upon Congress to secure some remedy for what they call their labor shortage condition in Hawaii; knowing that they had come here and were having introduced, or causing to be introduced, or influencing the introduction of, a joint resolution that would admit Chinese coolies in bond to come to the Hawaiian Islands; knowing that the governor of Hawaii in appointing the committee or commission, as authorized by the legislative act of the Territory of Hawaii, had appointed a committee or an emergency committee on labor or labor conditions, and had appointed three men, with all the retinue that followed, with not one man of them engaged in any way with what is generally known by the term labor, organized or unorganized, these men in that desperate situation might do those things.

The CHAIRMAN. I object a little bit to the statement of Wright and Chilton, and particularly of Wright, from the fact that he sent a cablegram here in which he referred to the strike, and bearing upon a phase of the question before the committee and on which we were hearing evidence, in which he insisted that the strike did not take on any nationalistic character. Now, other information has come to me to the effect that the grand jury over there within the last day or two has indicted 18 or 20 of those Japanese, upon certain confessions that

had been made, that they had formed an organization and called themselves an assassins' band for the purpose of committing sabotage—burning houses, cane, and committing acts of that kind. It was an entirely Japanese organization.

Mr. GOMPERS. Does that have anything to do with this investigation? How does that affect the investigation which this committee is making, or the investigation I suppose it is making?

The CHAIRMAN. I will say that this committee, after full consideration, decided to go into all phases of the Japanese situation as affecting Hawaii.

Mr. GOMPERS. Permit me to call your attention to this fact, Mr. Chairman, that before you read the article printed in the Japanese language in the Labor Review, and before you intimated the substance of it, you declared that it discredited those witnesses, Mr. Wright and Mr. Chilton.

The CHAIRMAN. And I say so again.

Mr. GOMPERS. If you had said so, in your judgment, after you read it, it might be a different thing, but you declared that it discredited their testimony before you even read it.

The CHAIRMAN. I had read it.

Mr. GOMPERS. I knew you had.

The CHAIRMAN. In my opinion, it discredited them, and I still hold to that view. The attempts of the witness Wright to evade and make it appear that he knew nothing about this collection of money from the Japanese to the extent of over \$1,500, used for his coming here in an effort to show that there is in Hawaii a Japanese combination calling itself a federation of labor, is not a nationalistic but an economic question, in my opinion discredited him.

Mr. GOMPERS. I hope to have a chance to get at that, because it does not make a jot of difference whether the Japanese movement in Hawaii was nationalistic or not; the fundamental principle for which my associates in the labor movement are contending and for which I am contending is the principle of Americanism. That is what we have been contending for. We will get at that phase of it a little later. I might say this, that the first time that any of my associates or I knew anything about the contribution by Japanese in Hawaii toward the expenses of these men who came on here was when the statements were made before this committee day before yesterday and yesterday. These men came to Washington without knowledge in advance on our part that they were coming. We received a cablegram or, at least, Mr. Wallace received a cablegram which has been made a part of the testimony, and this second cablegram, which was afterwards made a part of the testimony, might be designated as a modified statement of the first telegram received by Mr. Wallace. In one of those cablegrams it was stated that a committee could come to Washington, if wanted. I think, or something of that kind, indicating that a committee would come. No reply was made to that, suggesting or requesting, directly or indirectly, that we thought or that any of us thought that a committee should come. Then we received a cablegram that Mr. Wright and Mr. Chilton would take passage and come on to Washington.

I am going to take the committee and the whole world into my confidence. When that second cablegram came to us, or to Mr. Wallace, Mr. Wallace showed it to me, and there arose in our minds

a suspicion that the two men were not representing the true views of white labor on the island, and I think Mr. Wallace so stated on last Friday. At any rate, the statements in the first cablegram were positive and clear, and the statements in the second cablegram were statements withdrawing or modifying some of the statements made in the first cablegram, and the fact that Chairman Johnson of this committee stated or intimated that he knew the contents of the second cablegram, indicated, although, perhaps, unwarrantedly, but those facts indicated to us that, while the first cablegram was not sent, or a copy of it was not sent, to Chairman Johnson, Chairman Johnson had a copy of the second cablegram, or he intimated or stated that he knew the contents of the second cablegram, and that indicated to us that there was something like double play.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not quite right.

Mr. GOMPERS. What is not quite right?

Mr. JOHNSON. I did not have a copy of the first cablegram until it was furnished for the record.

Mr. GOMPERS. I said so.

The CHAIRMAN. I saw no copy of the second cablegram until it was presented at my request and went into the hearing. That was after you arrived. I had no knowledge of its contents or its words, except that one of these commissioners told me that they understood that a cablegram was sent on here, and that they had information to the effect that the labor people were not in accord with all the statements contained in the first cablegram. That was all I knew, and as we had the first cablegram in the record, I considered it my business to find out what was in the second.

Mr. GOMPERS. I say—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I do not want to be charged with having inside knowledge. I am not gumshoeing in this matter, and when I received that information it became my duty to get the second cablegram.

Mr. GOMPERS. On Monday morning, about two or three weeks ago, a committee consisting of nine members of the American labor movement, of which I was one, came to this room and had, by prearrangement, a conference with Chairman Johnson of this committee, and at that time he displayed a knowledge of the second cablegram.

The CHAIRMAN. What could I say about it, except that there was a second cablegram?

Mr. GOMPERS. A second cablegram modifying the statements made in the first cablegram.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is correct, except that the arrangement with Mr. Gompers's committee to come here was not by any prearrangement. I was asked if I would see Mr. Gompers, and I said I would be glad to see him. I said I would be glad to have him come here. An hour was fixed. Then, to my great surprise, in came Mr. Gompers with eight or nine persons, only three or four of whom I knew personally. I asked Mr. Gompers if he thought that it was to be a committee meeting, and we talked about the advisability of calling in the committee. I thought it was just to be a call.

Mr. GOMPERS. On Friday night previous to my call here we had a meeting of the labor legislative agents here at Washington, at which we took into consideration this joint resolution which had been introduced by the delegates from Hawaii, and it was decided then that this

committee should seek a conference with Mr. Johnson, the chairman of this committee, and to be arranged, if possible, on Monday morning, and that Mr. Gompers be one of that committee. Mr. Wallace was commissioned to try and see you, sir, and endeavor to make the arrangement.

The CHAIRMAN. But he failed to inform me that it was a committee. I do not think it is of any consequence one way or the other, except that had I known a committee would call I would have been glad to have had the entire House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization present in order to save time and get along faster. But there was a misunderstanding on your part in thinking that an arrangement was made for me to meet your committee, because I am positive no arrangement was made. I intended to ask you to call in and have a talk, but as you had just returned from Denver I assumed you were very busy, as you are always very busy. That is all there is to that.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes; thank God, I am always busy. I was trying to narrate just our own position in the matter and it is what I have stated, except, possibly, Mr. Johnson may have been under the impression that it was simply to be a conference between the two of us or a call upon my part upon him. I have no dispute with that statement; he may be right and I assume he is. But I repeat that the receipt of this second cablegram—and then at the conference with Chairman Johnson of this committee it appeared that he had information, or we were under the impression that he had a copy of the cablegram, or that a copy of the cablegram had been sent him, or at any rate that he had absolutely accurate information as to the purport and contents of the second cablegram—aroused a feeling in us that these two men were not totting straight with the white workers on Hawaii, with the general concept and policy of the American people and of the American labor movement, of which they were a part.

Because of that feeling Mr. Joseph Valentine, president of the International Molders' Union of America, and vice president and member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, being in California, I sent him a telegram asking him whether he would not go to Hawaii as a representative of the American Federation of Labor and make an investigation of all conditions prevailing there as to Chinese coolie labor, Japanese labor, and white labor, and report.

Mr. RAKER. Is that being done?

Mr. GOMPERS. That was done. I am narrating the story. Mr. Valentine was not in San Francisco at the time; he had gone to a conference, I think, in Los Angeles, and I received a telegraphic reply from the secretary of the local union of molders in San Francisco to the effect that Mr. Valentine would return in a few days. I ought to correct my statement by saying that my first telegram was to the secretary of the local union of molders in San Francisco for the information of Mr. Valentine. I received a reply from Mr. Valentine a few days later stating that it would be impossible for him to go.

I then sent a telegram to Paul Schawenbergl, of San Francisco, the secretary of the California State Federation of Labor, and asked him whether he could make it convenient to make such an investigation in Hawaii. He telegraphed me to the effect that it would be impos-

sible to go at that time, but that he might go very shortly and would let me know. He informed me, too, that at my telegraphed request he had had a conference with Mr. Wright and Mr. Chilton in San Francisco shortly after their arrival, at any rate within two days of their arrival at San Francisco from Honolulu and their departure on the train for Washington. In substance his telegram stated further that he believed from the conference with them that these men were thoroughly sincere. He informed me of the time of the departure of Mr. Wright and Mr. Chilton from San Francisco and that they would be due in Washington about July 26, Mr. Roberts informs me. The following morning Mr. Roberts got in touch with Mr. Wright and Mr. Chilton over the telephone and learned that they arrived the previous night about 11 o'clock and then went to the National Hotel for the night. Mr. Roberts made that statement to me, and I asked him to get in touch with the men again and ask them to come to the office of the American Federation of Labor, where I would like to have a chat with them. They came, I think, about 11 o'clock in the morning, and there were present at the conference Mr. Wright, Mr. Chilton, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Oyster, my secretary, Mr. Chester M. Wright, Mr. Edgar Wallace, and Mr. Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor. I greeted them as cordially as I would any men, particularly men who had come on such a long voyage and who were about to pursue a course entirely in accord with what I believed to be just and right and coming with the assurance from Mr. Scharrenberg that they were sincere men.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scharrenberg, by the way, was a witness in these hearings. He attended the hearings for several days and testified before the committee.

Mr. GOMPERS. I was in Denver at the time attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor. We had a conference lasting about an hour and a half, and I informed Mr. Wright and Mr. Chilton that the following evening there was to be a regular, or special meeting, called several days before, for the purpose of considering labor legislation, legislation as it affected the workers, and that if they cared to attend the meeting an invitation was extended to them to be in attendance so that they might see the character of our work, might understand what we are aiming to do, probably carry a bit of it back to Hawaii, and that if they cared to make a statement upon this legislation to admit Chinese coolies no doubt an opportunity would be given them. With that, that conference ended. The following evening we, having under consideration three or four bills before Congress—I may say none of which was of a constructive or progressive character but simply a fight for defense against legislation unfavorable to labor—Mr. Wright was invited to make an address or make a few remarks; it was probably 10 or half past 10 then. Mr. Wright made some interesting observations of a general and of a specific character, and read the proposals which the Central Labor Union of Honolulu made to the sugar planters or other business men as a solution, or as a temporary solution, at least, of the labor problem then existing in Hawaii. I may say to you, gentlemen, that it seemed to impress all present, as I know it impressed me, as being a constructive and practical proposition, and then all thought that these men were insincere vanished from my mind and, I think, vanished from the minds of my associates.

I received a telegram from Mr. Scharrenberg about a week ago, probably a little less, in which he said he was then prepared to go to Hawaii and make the investigation I suggested and that he could afford to give four weeks to the task. I telegraphed him in substance—I think this was on last Friday, when Mr. Wright was on the stand:

Telegram received. Mr. Wright on the stand to-day. Made an excellent witness.

I did not say he was complimented by the chairman, but that was the fact. "Made an excellent witness," and that the mission to Hawaii was not immediately necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. I assumed that Mr. Wright was telling the truth and I thanked him for his patience in answering a long series of questions, covering several hours.

Mr. GOMPERS. Well, Mr. Chairman, let me say this in connection with these two men——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Have you sent a telegram to Mr. Scharrenberg stating that as Mr. Wright has shown the financial arrangement it would be necessary for him to go to the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have not, because there is no investigation of that necessary. These men have stated that they received money which came through contributions from Japanese, and the testimony they have given would show clearly that the Japanese have not received value for their money. They have shown the Japanese in their true colors, and yet I can understand how men so far away would grasp at almost anything in order to carry out an honest and high purpose.

Mr. FREE. May I ask Mr. Gompers a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Unless he wants to complete his statement.

Mr. FREE. I just want to ask whether under the circumstances you approve of a man grasping at anything?

Mr. GOMPERS. A drowning man?

Mr. FREE. In this situation.

Mr. GOMPERS. A desperate man?

Mr. FREE. I am asking whether you approve of men in this desperate situation doing such a thing.

Mr. GOMPERS. No; I think I have disavowed it, and I do not think there can be any difference of opinion as to my position upon the matter after the statement I made yesterday and to-day.

Mr. FREE. I thought it was a little confused by that suggestion.

Mr. GOMPERS. No. I think I did make myself clear, but if I have not I would like to know it. If there is any member of this committee who has any doubt of our disavowal of knowing, directly or indirectly, either of their coming here or of their raising money from anybody, particularly the Japanese, I would like to correct it. There is not anything that I have to hide. I would be perfectly willing that the members of this committee, or any committee, should come over to the office of the American Federation of Labor, any bona fide committee, and our books will be thrown open to them, all our books, not some books but all our books, and all our accounts, as well as all our conduct. I have never written a confidential letter to anybody which, if made public, would reflect upon our movement, upon myself, or any of our officers or men. If I have marked any of my letters confidential, it has been because it would be impracticable to publish

the contents at that time, but the copybooks, kept for over 41 years of the existence of the American Federation of Labor, are open to anybody, any committee, or any respectable body of men. I have here the report of the secretary which contains a financial statement of the receipts and expenses of the American Federation of Labor for three months ending April 30, 1921.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Gompers, let me say——

Mr. GOMPERS (interposing). May I finish my sentence?

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). That neither myself nor any member of the committee wants to discredit the American Federation of Labor. We are highly pleased to learn that you undertook to ascertain the credibility of these two men and then thought their motives were sincere. It remained for the committee, however, to disclose the fact that they were soliciting money and getting contributions from the Japanese, and that one was the editor and the other the business manager of the labor paper in the Hawaiian Islands. That is on them.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not on the American Federation of Labor. If there is anything I can say to make that clear, we will wind that up, and I think it is clear to all the members of the committee.

Mr. GOMPERS. I would like to finish my sentence. This is a report of every dollar, more or less, received by the American Federation of Labor and by whom or which organization paid. It contains an itemized account, with the dates, of every penny expended, to whom paid, and for what purpose paid. These reports are issued quarterly, and a summary of that report, of the full reports during the year, are submitted to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, prior to which an auditing committee is created after this fashion: The president of the American Federation of Labor is directed, about two weeks before the convention, to select three national or international unions, from each of which the executive officer is to appoint one, and neither of these three organizations knowing which has been selected, and each of them independently selecting an auditor, the personnel not known either to the president or the secretary of the American Federation of Labor, or the treasurer, and the accounts are gone over penny for penny, day by day, all the receipts and expenditures of the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that cover defense funds?

Mr. GOMPERS. Defense funds; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Like the McNamara fund, and matters of that kind?

Mr. GOMPERS. Well, as to the McNamara fund, I think we have a few copies of that, and we will very gladly show you one, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to see it.

Mr. GOMPERS. It is published in pamphlet form; it shows every penny or dollar received, and every penny or dollar expended, and a copy was sent to the donors of that fund.

Mr. RAKER. Is the quarterly itemized statement, thus described by you, available to all members of the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. GOMPERS. They are sent to the secretaries of all unions.

Mr. RAKER. And it is available if they want it?

Mr. GOMPERS. Anyone can have it.

Mr. RAKER. And there are no restrictions upon their showing it to their friends or anyone else?

Mr. GOMPERS. There are no restrictions at all. I may say, Judge, that for years these financial accounts were published in the monthly official magazine of the American Federation of Labor, the American Federationist, but because we were publishing thousands upon thousands of the American Federationist and carried a bulk of matter in these financial reports in which no one seemed to be interested, it was deemed advisable to discontinue their publication through that medium.

Mr. RAKER. And you eliminated it from the magazine and put it in pamphlet form so that anybody could see it who wanted to see it?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Before we get clear away from Wright and Chilton, how did it happen that the American Federation of Labor, or did the American Federation of Labor revise the article to be printed in the forthcoming Federationist and insert the second cablegram from Wright?

Mr. GOMPERS. Let me say that Mr. Chilton and Mr. Wright have no more to do with the American Federationist than you have.

The CHAIRMAN. I know that, but the report of the legislative committee carried the original cablegram from Mr. Wright and did not carry the modified cablegram.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I am asking you whether that has been corrected in the publication of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know, sir; I do not know whether the report of the legislative committee was prepared before or after the receipt of the second cablegram; I do not know, sir. But this is the report of the legislative committee to me, through me to the executive council, and through them to the membership of the American Federation of Labor and to those who are concerned.

Mr. McCLELLAN. It was received July 5.

Mr. WALLACE. How did you get that knowledge, sir?

Mr. McCLELLAN. From the evidence given by the witness that it was sent on July 4, and cablegrams are customarily delivered on the following day.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Gompers.

Mr. GOMPERS. Everybody seems to have inside information.

Mr. McCLELLAN. That is not inside information; it was given here.

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind that. Proceed, Mr. Gompers.

Mr. GOMPERS. Perhaps I did not hear accurately the translation of the article in the Honolulu labor paper from the Japanese language into the English language, as made by the Library of Congress, and I am not quite sure whether when it speaks of "we" and "our" it has reference to the Central Labor Council of Honolulu.

If Mr. Wright is in the room, I think I should like to ask him, if I may be permitted, or to have a member of the committee ask him, in what sense the editorial "we" and "our" are contained in that editorial or article appearing in the Labor Review in the Japanese language, of which a translation was read here this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wright does not appear to be present. I will hand these papers to you. To my mind, it appears that the one headed "An Appeal to Our Laborers" is a Japanese translation in the labor paper of the English article which I read from the first column of the paper. The other article, headed "The coolie bill (a side view of the program of importing coolies)—Small knowledge, small wit, small policy, not wise at this time—Farmers need farmers' spirit," is a straight-out Japanese editorial. They use the form "we." That makes it clear enough, I think, that they are securing funds from all hands and all races.

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know that I heard it correctly, and I should prefer to examine the statement itself before I would assume that your interpretation was correct.

Mr. RAKER. There is a question I would like to ask, if I may interrupt you now—

Mr. GOMPERS. It does not make much difference.

Mr. RAKER. I felt like yourself when the statement was made by Mr. Wright, followed by the statement of Mr. Chilton, regarding contributions by Japanese. It was a sort of thunderbolt presented to the committee. These men were representing, as I thought from what was testified to by Mr. Wright, the American organization of labor in the Hawaiian Islands. Now, you heard Mr. Wright's testimony, did you not, or practically all of it?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; every word of it.

Mr. RAKER. You stated that while the Japanese contributed, they did not get the worth of their money; or I so understood you. I have been listening, but I have not come to any conclusion on that, and I am wondering now if you would tell the committee, giving careful attention to it, whether or not, to your mind, there was any testimony given by Mr. Wright that reflected upon the attitude of American labor, or that gave any advantage to the Japanese situation in the Hawaiian Islands, as against the attitude that American labor is taking toward their presence in this country, and the position that they are taking in Hawaii, as well as in the Pacific Coast States?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think that Mr. Wright's testimony is a valuable and accurate contribution to the discussion of this question of Chinese coolies and having them to enter into Hawaii. If I have any criticism to make of Mr. Wright's testimony—that is, so far as he was discussing the subject—it is that he was too modest and all too conservative in his statements, and it was upon that that I based my remark that the Japanese got very poor value for their contributions toward these men coming to the United States. May I say this, that so thoroughly persuaded were my associates and I that we suggested to Mr. Wright and Mr. Chilton that they appear before this committee and make their statements, and we stated to them that a plain statement of the facts was all that would be necessary for them to make—that is, as they had presented them to us or in part to us; and I think, in truth, that if these men had sent on the statement as made by Mr. Wright before this committee, or had sent it on to us for presentation to this committee, it would have been better. However, I can understand the situation. I have not spoken to those gentlemen since—not that I will not do so or that I will not gladly do so, and seek it from them if I can not get it any other

way—but the fact is, as I thoroughly believe, although I have not asked them, that Mr. Wright having business before the naval war-board was the principal incentive for his coming, and that later developed the thought of sending these two men of the committee here.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to interrupt Mr. Gompers, and I would like to agree with him—

The CHAIRMAN. I would rather that gentlemen not on the committee would not interrupt him, unless he is willing to be interrupted.

Mr. GOMPERS. At any time, except in the middle of a sentence I am perfectly willing to be interrupted.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I would like to agree with Mr. Gompers that the Japanese will not get their money's worth out of the trip of those men here, unless Congress decides not to give any legislative relief—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Mr. Chairman, that kind of stuff presented to this committee is an insult to this committee, and I do not propose to sit here and listen to statements of that kind. I say that it is a direct personal insult to every member of the committee, and I want to say to you, sir, that you have no right to make any such statement. You know that it is not true when you make it, and I will not patiently submit—

Mr. DILLINGHAM (interposing). I know that it is true.

Mr. RAKER. I know it is not true. I will not submit to that kind of statement. We have some rights here as American citizens and as Members of the House, and, whether those men told the truth or told lies, that does not affect the legal phase of this resolution, and I say that no man should come in here and charge that unless we grant this resolution, we are in sympathy with what Wright did with reference to the Japanese. I do not propose to submit to it.

Mr. CABLE. Mr. Chairman, I make the motion that the witness, Mr. Gompers, be permitted to proceed without further interruption until 20 minutes to 12 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard the motion. Is there any discussion?

(The motion of Mr. Cable was adopted by the committee.)

Mr. GOMPERS. I have here a copy of the American Federationist for August, 1921. On page 628 is published "American Federation of Labor Warning to Advertisers." Since 1901, every issue of the American Federationist has carried a warning to business men and others against imposition on the part of those who, without sanction of any kind from the American Federation of Labor or its officers, assume to speak in the name of the American Federation of Labor. The credentials given to men who solicit advertisements for the American Federationist state that no moneys or donations of any kind can be received for any purpose. The contract, which every advertiser who enters into a contract with us or with our agent contains this statement in red ink:

Make all remittances to Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C., who is the only one authorized to receive payment on this contract.

All the payments of whatever kind are published in these quarterly reports. I think I have made that clear, or, at least, sufficiently so to my own mind.

Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, our Chinese problem followed the Burlingame treaty of July 28, 1868. After it came myriads of Chinese coolies to the United States and to its territories. Later, and during that period, quite a number of our present American possessions were independent or belonged to some other country. The Burlingame treaty brought, as I have said, myriads of Chinese, until in the Pacific Coast States, particularly in California, there was aroused a feeling of indignation and of conscious danger. I wish here to pay tribute to the sand-lot orator of California, Dennis Kearney, who helped so much to arouse the conscience of the American people against this danger. In 1881 the first convention of our federation was held, and we had several delegates from the Pacific coast. One of them was a man by the name of Charles F. Burgman, who later in the convention was made a member of our executive committee. At that convention he with others helping him—and I am proud of having been of some assistance in advocating the passage of the preamble and resolution—had this resolution adopted, which I shall read. This is a resolution adopted by the first convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Pittsburg, beginning November 15, 1881:

Whereas, The experience of the last 30 years in California and on the Pacific coast having proved conclusively that the presence of Chinese, and their competition with free white labor, is one of the greatest evils with which any country can be afflicted: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we use our best efforts to get rid of this monstrous evil (which threatens, unless checked, to extend to other parts of the union) by the dissemination of information respecting its true character, and by urging upon our representatives in the United States Congress the absolute necessity of passing laws entirely prohibiting the immigration of Chinese into the United States.

That resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote, and being one of the members, or the vice president, of the executive board of that Federation, I helped materially, I think, unless I overvalue the service I rendered, in arousing the conscience and understanding of our people in the United States against this further encroachment upon our standards of life, our racial standing, and our civilization. Whether that helped effectively or not, is, perhaps, immaterial, but the fact is that Congress did pass a law regulating and limiting the coming of Chinese coolies into the United States. During that period when the Chinese had almost full sway in California many trades passed out of the hands of the white workingmen. The sugar industry was absolutely in the hands of Chinese coolies.

The cigar manufacturing industry, which is my trade, or the trade of cigar making, passed out of the hands of white labor. There was not a white man in California who was in the cigar business so far as the manufacture of cigars was concerned. We were confronted by many conditions in my trade. One of them was the convict labor system, by which in prisons cigars were made under contract and sold on a constantly depressing market. There was also the tenement house system or home work, in which the bed rooms of the workers were cigar factories. Then there were the Chinese cigar manufacturers. All of those conditions drove our business very nearly to a peddling business and to a sweat shop and Chinese coolie industry. There were a few of us who were willing to fight against what we believed was a gross injustice to white labor. Let me tell you an

instance that may be of passing interest to you. Whatever was left of the cigar-makers' union, of which I was and am a member and officer, is due to this: We gathered ourselves together from all parts of the country and entered into an agreement to charter one or two trains, starting from the Grand Central Station in New York, and gathering men all along the road in every locality, and I mean by that white men.

That train, with these men and officers of the International Cigar Makers' Union, was to go to San Francisco, where they were to open up factories—small in number, small in size, but still going on—and that caravan of humans carried the message of white labor against coolie labor to California. They went into every part of that State and there were no more progressive men or more public spirited men than those men who went there and those who followed them, in order to make the cigar industry a white man's trade.

If I fail to present the matters which I have in mind in logical form, I hope I may present them in such form as will be more connected, one with the other, and if there are references in my remarks and testimony that are not immediately relevant, they may be subsequently supported.

In 1892 the convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor indorse the position of the labor organizations of the Pacific coast in asking that cheap Japanese laborers to be placed upon the same status as the Chinese laborers.

In 1903, the following was also adopted by the convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Separate and apart from all other questions of immigration is the one that confronts us in the form of Mongolian. We have a law, secured through our efforts, excluding Chinese from the mainland of the United States, and by proclamation they are prohibited from emigrating to the United States possessions. Efforts, however, have been made to make it appear that Chinese are necessary to the industry of the American possessions.

That this claim is unfounded is demonstrated not only by the investigation made by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor sent to Hawaii, China, Japan, and the Philippine Islands, but is borne out by the statements of native and American workmen to the effect that there are sufficient numbers of men to perform all the work and all the time to work which now or which may in the near future be required; that as a matter of fact in the Philippines there are more Chinamen, half-breed Chinamen, than is good for either the industrial development of the island or the economic, social, and political interests of the Philippine people. In Hawaii the Japanese have invaded every industry and calling, and there, as well as in several sections of the mainland of the United States, have become and are a growing menace to the well-being of our people. From every section comes a complaint and the warning that unrestricted Japanese immigration is as grave a danger to-day as was at any time in our history the unrestricted immigration of Chinese. This convention should emphatically declare its position upon the immigration question, not only from continental Europe but from China and Japan into the mainland and the insular possessions of the United States.

The following resolution was adopted by the 1903 convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Resolved by the American Federation of Labor, That it deem it absolutely necessary for the preservation and advancement of the natives of the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands, to whom the American Government has made solemn pledges of protection, that the Chinese exclusion act be made to apply to the Japanese and Koreans and other Asiatic Mongolian labor; also that the present Chinese exclusion act continue in full force in the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands; and further

Resolved, That the incoming executive council is hereby required to instruct the legislative committee to have introduced in Congress a bill embodying the spirit of these resolutions.

In reference to a part which Mr. Cable, a member of this committee, read, I think it has reference to the organic act. The provision in that organic act, referring to the abolition of peonage in Hawaii, and that a marshal of the United States Government should go to the Islands and inform each peon that he is free and no longer a bondman, was put in the act upon the request of the representatives of the American Federation of Labor made to Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts who, when informed by our representatives, by representatives of labor, that peonage would continue in Hawaii unless some provision was made in the organic act abolishing it, was astounded. He then immediately proposed it either before a committee of the Senate or before the Senate, and it became a part of the organic act passed by Congress and signed by the President.

For about a year, in 1902 or 1903, the American Federation of Labor was considering sending some one to Hawaii and to the Philippine Islands to ascertain the conditions which existed there. At last we found a man, Mr. Edward Rosenberg, a sailor of many years' experience and following that worthy calling. He lived at that time in the State of Washington, I believe. For one reason or another—perhaps that he had been overworked on land—he desired to make a visit to the Orient, and he merely wanted a part of his passage paid, because he could and was willing to work his way over as a first-class seaman. Probably the chairman may know of Mr. Rosenberg. He is a Scandinavian by birth but has lived in the United States since his young childhood and is an American in every way, an intelligent, upright, and conscientious man. When I was in San Francisco last July I had the pleasure of seeing him there and he was then in good, robust health. We arranged to pay a part of his expenses, his hotel expenses or lodging and subsistence, but no compensation such as wages and salary, and he undertook the trip. He visited Hawaii, he visited Hongkong, and he visited Tokyo. His visits to Hongkong and Tokyo were simply a part of the trip which he undertook on his own account. He then went to the Philippine Islands, and there had conferences with almost every one with whom he could come in contact, with no less a personage than the then governor of the Philippine Islands, Hon. William H. Taft. I would like to read to the committee a part of Mr. Rosenberg's report upon his investigations, particularly in the Philippine Islands:

It has been my aim at all times to study all sides of the problem. I have talked with Government officials, employers, newspaper men, travelers, and workmen. Observed the latter work in factory, shop, and field, and wish to state emphatically, at the outset, that considering the very small wages paid the Filipino workers, the poor and scanty food they necessarily live on, they are, next to the Chinese, the cheapest and best workers of the Orient.

Their reluctance to work, continually harped upon by many employers, is simply the natural reluctance of a progressive people to work for low wages under bad treatment. When wages rise above the level of the barest and poorest necessities of life, and where treatment is fair, there Filipinos are at work in any number required.

Of course, the Filipino workers can not successfully compete—cheap as he can live—with the Chinese standard of living, hence the unceasing vilification of the Filipino workers by those employers and their following, who, seeing near by the unlimited supply of cheap Chinese labor, wish these islands to be thrown open to such labor, not only for the purpose of reducing the small wages of the Filipinos, but also to reduce that of the Chinese laborers now here.

As one employer stated to me, "We want more Chinese to keep them here for or two years, then ship them back and get another lot, for the Chinese I have now are becoming too independent and want more pay."

I published that report in the American Federationist of October 1903, and it has been available to anybody. I have not with me nor was it immediately available, a copy of the report of Gov. Taft of the Philippine Islands, dated October 1, 1902, made by him to the Philippine commissioners. It might be an interesting document for the members of this committee to peruse. There are some parts in which Gov. Taft mentions the possibility of having a few Chinese coolies come to the islands, but as a policy and as a principle I attacked it in severe terms.

As I say, my story may be a bit disconnected but you will bear with me. You have stated that I am a busy man, and I am, and I have not all of my time at my disposal so that I could have gone into this subject in a way as to present it in chronological order.

I want to call your attention to the strike of the Japanese plantation workers in Hawaii, the strike of last year. Much has been made of the fact that they had about \$900,000 or \$1,000,000 available for their support. First, you will bear in mind that there were 6,000 Japanese on strike and that there are about 110,000 Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands. It was also stated that national feeling entered into the strike. That being so, what difficulty would there be for 104,000 Japanese in the islands in that period of time, six months to contribute even \$1,000,000 in support of their fellow countrymen, their fellow human beings and men engaged in a strike?

I hold the labor men, the Caucasian labor men in Hawaii, culpable for not having given these Japanese on strike better support and better sympathy. I think no man is justified in denying the claim I make of being 100 per cent American. If I had been in the islands and there had been any support I could have given or any sympathy that I could have extended toward these men gaining the strike I should have given it without stint or reservation. It is quite easy to attribute ulterior motives to men. There is not a group of men in the United States who will go on strike for better conditions, better standards, or against deterioration in their standards and conditions but who meet with the antagonism and aspersions of every man hostile to labor. There is brought in here, made over his own signature and published in one of the Hawaiian papers, the statement of a so-called president of some Filipino organization, in which he declared that that strike should be broken. Only a few days ago there was published in the press of the United States, in the Washington Post and in the New York Times, to a greater extent, a statement that went out upon the authority of a man by the name of Paul Vaccarelli, to the effect that he and a few others had formed an organization of labor to antagonize and destroy the American trade-union movement, the American Federation of Labor, but he gave no cause, no employer's cause for that propaganda and the work he was undertaking.

Is that a reflection upon the American Federation of Labor? No, it is to its honor. The American Federation of Labor has gone down deep, even to the abyss of misery and despair, among the working people of the United States and brought them up to a better condition than that in which they were before. The coal miners of the

United States from 1877 were constantly being driven down and down and down in their standards of life and conditions, until misery, poverty, and degradation were the rule. In season or out of season, wages were cut until about 1896 or 1897, when a conference was called, in which I had the honor to participate, for the purpose of considering the demoralized condition of the miners. We decided, as the representatives of an organization which at that time had about 8,000 members in all the United States, that the officers of this organization should present a demand upon the coal operators for a restoration of the last reduction in wages; that unless that was restored they would call upon the miners of the country to lay down their picks and stop work. A communication was sent to the operators and made public, and that was ignored wherever it was possible to ignore, until the organizations called upon the men in the mining industry to lay down their picks on July 4.

The employers, knowing that the miners were practically unorganized, defied them and believed, as they declared, that the miners would not respond, but they did respond; much to our own surprise they did respond. As a result of that strike every mother's son of us went into the field and defied injunctions which enjoined us from speaking to the men and from holding meetings. But we went among them and took the chance, whatever the chance might be or whatever the consequences might be. The result of it was that there was a conference between the miners and the operators months and months afterwards and an agreement reached, and from that time there came into the lives of the miners a spark of hope, a stream of betterment. The miners were not legally but actually held in bondage by the truck system, by the peonage system, and by the company store system, by which the men scarcely ever saw a dollar. But to-day the miners of America stand with heads erect. They are men, a magnificent body of citizens of the United States. The United Mine Workers alone during the war had over 18,000 men in the expeditionary force in France. No; 77,000. I am corrected by Mr. Edgar Wallace, who is, by the way, a miner, a member of the United Mine Workers of America and for many years the editor of their official journal. So I am corrected by a man who knows.

I remember that in Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, when I attended the convention of the United Mine Workers of America, there was upon the ceiling of that great hall, covering the entire ceiling, a flag containing stars representing the men who had served their country in the great stress. If that war had taken place during the previous condition of the miners you would have found a lot of anemic, weak, and colorless men who could not have served even had they wanted to do so. During that strike of the miners from \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000 poured into the treasury of these men; men contributed foodstuffs, anything that would help the miners in their struggle. Even the miners of Great Britain made a substantial contribution to the miners of America engaged in that strike. So I am not proud of the fact that the Caucasian workers of Honolulu gave such little attention, such little sympathy, and such little support to these men who were engaged in a strike on the plantations.

I do not know whether I have referred to this or not, but the Legislature of Hawaii created this commission or granted authority for

the appointment of the commission. Yet not a labor man was appointed to be a member of that emergency labor commission.

I regard the proposals made by the representatives of labor in the conference with the sugar planters or their representatives in Honolulu as being practical, as being progressive, and as being such as would have met the situation. The trouble with these men is this: Intellectually they are living in the year 1921 but industrially they are 400 years behind the times and imagine that the people of the United States will consent to the introduction of a feudal system, or peonage, or a bondman system. Well, if nothing else, the war should have taught them a different lesson. The lessons of the war and what is going on all over the world have taught these sugar planters of Hawaii nothing. American organized labor has done everything within its power—and in many instances exceeded its strength—to stabilize the industrial conditions and to help so that America's workers shall work out a progressive and constructive course toward the maintenance of American ideas and American ideals, but this movement, inaugurated by the sugar planters and other big interests in Hawaii, will tend to provoke discontent, provoke unrest, and provoke America's workers into a condition that they do not want to enter, and against which they protested and fought during the war and against which they have been protesting and fighting since the war, and I say advisedly, with a knowledge of the full responsibility that carries with my words, that we will not stand it.

There is some spirit in the minds and hearts of America's workers and we are not going to stand idly by and see an attempt made to "Chinaize" the Hawaiian possessions as a remedy for Japanese evils. Look all over the world in every country you know. The masses are kept down by repression, by force, but everywhere you will find that the people, the masses, the toilers, have their hands upon the throats of their governments, except in the United States. We are Americans in ideas and in ideals. Our movement is organized and based upon the American type of government. Just before we entered the war there was a very interesting page in American history that has not yet been written as to the services rendered by labor to the United States, so that we might be better prepared for the war if we were dragged into it.

We are entitled to something else than having our minds and activities diverted to Chinaizing the Hawaiian Islands. Our constant danger is from greed and profiteering, and once they get their entering wedge into any part of the United States or its possessions it simply means that that wedge will be driven in further. We have made our sacrifices; we have made our contributions to the Government, to our cause, and to the common cause, fighting against an imperial militaristic autocracy, and, having finally crushed it, we are not going to supinely submit to the introduction of industrial slavery into the United States or into any part of it.

Having had the conference to which I previously referred and which was reported to this committee dispassionately and comprehensively, it was, at least to my mind, one which should have received the consideration and approval of the sugar planters and other interests in Hawaii. Suppose Congress should pass this joint resolution. You could not throw the Japanese into the ocean; they are there, and you could not deport them. We have not the power, or the Govern-

ment has not the power, to deport them. They are there in their lawful right to be there. What then? Is not such a proposal calculated to further arouse the ire of, not only the Japanese in Hawaii, but also the Japanese people in charge of the Government in their country?

You know as well as and perhaps better than I do that the only exclusion at all of Japanese is by the form of the gentlemen's agreement made by President Roosevelt, during his administration, and the Japanese Government. If you open up the ports of the Hawaiian Islands to Chinese coolies, then, clearly, the gentlemen's agreement is practically at an end, and Japan has the same right as any other country under the most favored nation clause of the treaties existing between Japan and the other countries. They would seem to have justification to end this gentlemen's agreement, and then they might come, not only to our possessions, but to our mainland without any restrictions and without any supervision. You may answer that the Government of the United States can pass a Japanese exclusion act. That is quite true, but then you would have passed a Japanese exclusion act and would have enacted a law to admit Chinese coolies.

About 25 years ago, when the question of the annexation of Hawaii was in progress, there was a meeting held in the Ebbitt House, I think, in which Mr. Spreckles participated. I will ask my secretary to read this statement.

(The following statement was read:)

Some 25 years ago, when the question of the annexation of Hawaii was under consideration, a conference was held at the Ebbitt House between Members of Congress, the sugar interests of the United States, and representatives of Hawaii.

Claus Spreckles informed the Hawaiians that if the Islands were permitted to come into the United States the people of the Islands would have to accept the labor laws of the United States as well as the tariff laws. They would have to swallow the bitter with the sweet, and that they must take their chance with the citizens of the United States. The Hawaiians said that they knew they would have to do that and would accept the conditions.

Mr. GOMPERS. That is not only within the knowledge of those men who participated in that conference, but it was a matter of common knowledge at the time, and some people have fairly good memories. I am accused of having one.

In 1903, Mr. Bishop, the present chairman or president of the Sugar Planters Association of Hawaii, had a suit brought against him for a violation of the immigration laws of the United States in bringing Koreans here in violation of the law. That is to say, he made an arrangement with banks, or with a bank in Korea, which then existed as an independent government, so that Koreans should come to Hawaii. I have a summary of that case here published in the September, 1903, issue of the American Federationist, that I would be glad to have inserted in the record without reading.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be done.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

[From September, 1903, Federationist.]

HONOLULU, July 6, 1903.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

SIR: In accordance with the suggestion of Mr. Carl M. Taylor, secretary of the labor council of Honolulu, I have the honor to transmit herewith a brief statement of "the Korean cases," now pending. The fight in these cases is not so much on the

facts as on the law, although every step is being hard fought. It is claimed by the defendant, among other things, that the present immigration law is unconstitutional. For this reason, as well as because of the other matters involved, it seems a certainty that the American Federation of Labor will consider these cases as of vital concern to its welfare and the maintenance of those principles for which it has always contended.

Allow me to state that a reading of the new law, together with the record of the board of special inquiry, shows conclusively the flagrant violation of the law for which the suits were brought.

Respectfully,

JOHN ALBERT MATHEWMAN.

On May 25, 1903, there were filed in the United States District Court for the Territory of Hawaii 113 separate suits concerning the assisted importation of that number of Koreans to work on the sugar plantations of Hawaii. These suits were brought against E. Faxon Bishop, representing the planters, by Frederick V. Berger, of Honolulu, under section 5 of the act of March 3, 1903, allowing any person to sue for and recover \$1,000 for his own use upon proving a violation of the law. The new law differs materially from the old one, in that now no contract has to be shown, and it is made illegal to assist even skilled labor.

It is freely rumored, and even boasted, in Honolulu, that the only reasons why an investigation of the Korean importation has not been pushed by the attorney general's department is to be found in the pull which the Hawaiian planters have at Washington. It was this phase of the question which so much provoked Mr. Sargeant, Commissioner General of Immigration, on his recent visit to the Islands. The planter's association of the Hawaiian Islands can hardly hope to maintain that the immigration law has not been violated, especially after the damaging evidence given by Mr. Bishop before the board of special inquiry convened to investigate this particular matter. It expects, however, to exhaust both the patience and the resources of the plaintiff by prolonging litigation, well knowing the limited means now at the disposal of its opponents.

It is openly contended by some of the Hawaiian planters that, while an immigration law of this kind may be well enough for the mainland, still it is disastrous to the new Territory and if they have to choose between a violation of Federal law and the ruination of the sugar industry they will unhesitatingly prefer the former.

The defendant pleaded in bar to these suits that the matters therein involved had already been fully considered and passed upon by a board of special inquiry whose decision was final. This plea has already been overruled by Judge Estee. The developments in and after the trial of the plea in the bar showed clearly the incompetency of Mr. Stackable, collector of the port of Honolulu, and ex officio, local commissioner of immigration, and also certain conduct on his part which, to say the least was questionable.

In the first place, from March 3, 1903, up to the bringing of these suits, not a single board of special inquiry had been constituted according to the plain directions of the law. About May 15, in response probably to a message from Honolulu, a cablegram was received here from the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury making an appointment of three persons to serve on future boards of special inquiry.

There had been five on these boards under the old law, the appointments having been made by the Commissioner General of Immigration. In the second place the "personal history sheets" of these Koreans, all answered, signed, and sworn to by the aliens themselves, were indorsed by the immigration officials as follows: "Assistants admitted by Mr. Bishop." Notwithstanding this finding, the matter was hushed up, and the 113 aliens, only two of whom were called before the board of special inquiry were admitted.

At present a demurrer to plaintiff's complaint is under consideration by the court, the probabilities being that the plaintiff will be allowed to amend by setting out the particular acts of solicitation and assistance. At the plaintiff's motion, the complaint in each case has already been amended by setting out the true name of the Korean who was assisted.

A lack of funds handicaps the plaintiff in preparing for the trial on the merits, but the record of the case is already in such condition as to warrant that even if victory should not be secured in the district court, it would be on appeal, provided the plaintiff can find means to meet the necessary expenses.

It is contended by the defendant that the law is unconstitutional, and, for that reason, these cases involve the very existence of the immigration law."

Mr. GOMPERS. That those Korean workers were assisted in their passage to the Hawaiian Islands was not only in evidence by others

but was admitted by the Koreans themselves, and I am under the impression that it was admitted by Mr. Bishop. The effort made has been not simply to get workers to toil upon the plantations of Hawaii but to obtain cheap men anywhere, no matter where they might be found, the cheapest being orientals. The United States did not foist the Japanese upon the sugar planters of Hawaii, but it was their own act.

I would not tire the patience of the members of the committee by reading some matters that might as well be inserted in the record without reading, and with your permission, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I will do that. This matter bears upon the intention of the American labor movement to try and prevail upon the Government of the United States to exclude from the United States the immigration of the Mongolian race.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be inserted in the record. (The matter referred to is as follows:)

In 1905 the American Federation of Labor convention adopted the following report of President Gompers:

"Perhaps one of the most momentous questions which will confront the American people, and of which this convention must take cognizance and deal with earnestly, intelligently, and emphatically is the campaign inaugurated in several quarters for what is called a modification of the law excluding Chinese from entry into the United States or its possessions. Within the past year manifest efforts have been made in this direction, particularly inaugurated and stimulated by antagonistic employers and some of their associations.

"Information of an authentic character and from various sources has been communicated to our office showing that a carefully devised policy has been agreed upon and is being carried out. Labor's antagonists realize the fact that American public opinion and sentiment are fully expressed in the existing Chinese exclusion law. They also realize that if the application of the law was sought to be modified, so far as it applies to our mainland, it would arouse the opposition of the American people, and the effort is therefore subtly screened by arrangement with the sugar planters of Hawaii placing them in the position of agitating for a modification of the law so as to permit the immigration of Chinese to that island.

"It is seldom that a bold front attack is made in any effort of human activity, and our opponents, through the pretense of the necessity for Chinese laborers to work upon the sugar plantations of Hawaii, entertain the belief that once the law is successfully attacked by so-called modification its entire structure may be eliminated.

"An agitation involving the expenditure of vast sums of money has been set on foot by the sugar planters of Hawaii, to which our antagonists on the mainland have largely contributed, all for the purpose of impressing the people of the United States, and particularly the Members of Congress, with the supposed necessity for a change in the law so as to allow the immigration of Chinese to the Sandwich Islands. Not a fraction of money has been contributed or expended by the government of Hawaii toward the immense amounts that have been and are involved in the appointment of commissions, delegations, in printing reports, and other matter involved in the propagation of thought favorable to Chinese immigration. In their desperation, the sugar planters have endeavored even to suborn some representatives of labor.

"There can be no question but that Japanese immigration into Hawaii has had a most baneful influence and result; but it is a queer notion that will seek relief from the evils resulting from Japanese immigration and work by turning to the Chinese, and it shows a perverted conception of real economy, justice, and Americanism.

"The information also reaches us that, in carrying out our opponents' policy, the sugar planters have sent an agent to visit various countries for the ostensible purpose of securing immigrants to work on the Hawaiian plantations. The word "ostensible" is used advisedly, for the instructions are given that few, if any, laborers are to be so secured, so that the claim may be made that no workmen can be obtained from either the United States or Europe, thereby making it appear that the only recourse is to the Chinese. A part of the plan of action is to maintain at the Capitol in Washington a lobby coming from Hawaii for that purpose.

"It will be remembered that for a few years a similar effort was made in the Philippines, and that the conditions were presented in such a light as to make it appear that there was a real necessity for the admission of Chinese to those islands. Since

the enactment of our present effective Chinese exclusion law and its complete application to the Philippines and the other insular possessions of, as well as the United States itself, practically a quietus has been given to that agitation and supposed demand for Chinese immigration to the Philippine Islands, but the activity of the pro-Chinese is none the less to-day than it was some years ago. They have simply changed their plan of campaign from the Philippines to Hawaii."

"That there is no dearth of workmen in Hawaii is plainly evident from the figures contained in the census reports and from enumerations of the population made. The difficulty which presents itself is the fact that the sugar planters, when deprived by law from securing Chinese laborers, turned their attention to the Japanese and imported them by shiploads. These are now found to be undesirable and destructive to the interests of labor, business, as well as the social well-being of Hawaii, its natives and residents. No serious, honest effort has thus far been made to Caucasianize, to Americanize Hawaii.

"If Hawaii is to remain American, and there are few who now doubt this is to be for at least some long period of time, then it must become American indeed, sharing in whatever progress and civilization are enjoyed by our people on the mainland, as well as bearing whatever burdens may thereby be entailed in the process of the attainment of a higher, our common, goal.

"To-day the great preponderance of Hawaiian inhabitants is Japanese and Chinese, a small number of Europeans, with a small minority of Americans. With its position in the Pacific Ocean, it is the outpost to our American Continent. In its economic and political aspects it must be made the barrier to Mongolian deterioration of the people of the island itself as well as the barrier to protect America's workers America's people, and America's civilization.

The convention also declared:

"At this late day it is scarcely necessary or profitable to present the reasons for Chinese exclusion. Surely they are not appropriate here; but we can not stand idly by and without protest permit the machinations of some who, lost to all conscious responsibility to their fellows and for an apparent immediate greed of gain, scheme to inaugurate a vicious policy which would inevitably lead to the deterioration of our race, undermine our civilization, and destroy our very lives.

"We make no pretense that the exclusion of Chinese can be defended upon a high ideal, ethical ground, but we insist that it is our essential duty to maintain and preserve our physical condition and standard of life and civilization, and thus to assure us the opportunity for the development of our intellectual and moral character. Self-preservation has always been regarded as the first law of nature. It is a principle and a necessity from which we ought not and must not depart.

"Surely America's workmen have enough to contend with, have sufficient obstacles confronting them in their struggle to maintain themselves in their humanizing movement for a higher and a better life, without being required to meet the enervating, killing, underselling, and underliving competition of that nerveless, wantless people, the Chinese."

In 1905 the convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas Congress, after the most thorough investigation, lasting for over 30 years has passed laws excluding Chinese laborers from the United States; and

"Whereas it is apparent that powerful agencies are now at work to have the Chinese exclusion law so modified as to admit Chinese laborers into the United States, and especially into its possessions in the Pacific, we holding that this agitation is fostered—

"First. By the steamship and railroad companies owning vessels engaged in the trans-Pacific trade, which hope to reap a rich harvest in the transportation of Chinese laborers.

"Second. That the Hawaiian sugar planters, unwilling to pay current wages to prevailing labor in the islands, desire cheap Chinese labor at lower wages.

"Third. That a certain class of German, British, and American capitalists in the Philippine Islands are clamoring for Chinese labor to displace Filipino labor, knowing full well that all classes of Filipinos hate the Chinese worse than the Americans do, and that the importation of Chinese labor into the Philippines would be the signal for a general uprising of the Philippine people against American rule, but for which calamity the capitalists do not care, believing that the American Government would at all hazards put down such uprising to uphold the prestige of the Nation, and that then these capitalists would have a free hand to exploit with Chinese labor these islands and their people.

"Fourth. That certain monetary interests in this country desire, for selfish reasons, to lower the standard of living and the independence of the American workingmen, and are asking for the admission into this country of Chinese servants and laborers, to be under contract for a number of years, and to be confined to these callings only, which in effect would mean slavery of such Chinese to their masters if the laws were enforced, or, what is more likely, would result in such imported Chinese labor drifting into all callings, as enforced labor of one man to another, though the slave be a Chinese, is repugnant to present American sentiment and custom.

"Fifth. That the so-called Chinese boycott against American goods is, according to our best information and belief, a manipulation by the before-mentioned monetary interests, to force Congress to so modify the Chinese exclusion laws as to permit the importation of Chinese into the United States and its possessions in the Pacific: Therefore be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that it not only protests against any attempt to open our country or its possessions to Chinese labor, but also most emphatically urges that the exclusion laws now in force against Chinese laborers should be applied by Congress to Japanese and Koreans, for the admission of these Mongolians to our country is bound to be followed by the lowering of wages and the deterioration of the people of the Caucasian race; further, be it

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions are the unanimous expression of the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity, adopted at its regular meeting October 18, 1905, and to be introduced at the Pittsburgh convention of the American Federation of Labor by the delegates of that council."

REENACTING CHINESE-EXCLUSION LAWS; REGULATING COMING OF CHINESE PERSONS FROM INSULAR POSSESSIONS; AND PROVIDING FOR ADMISSION TO PARTICIPATE IN EXPOSITION.

[Act of Apr. 29, 1902, as amended and reenacted by sec. 5 of the deficiency act of Apr. 27, 1904 (32 Stat. L., pt. 1, 176; 33 Stat. L., 394-429).]

SECTION 1. All laws in force on the 29th day of April, 1902, regulating, suspending, or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent into the United States, and the residence of such persons therein, including sections 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 14 of the act entitled "An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States," approved September 13, 1888, be, and the same are hereby, reenacted, extended, and continued, without modification, limitation, or condition: and said laws shall also apply to the island territory under the jurisdiction of the United States, and prohibit the immigration of Chinese laborers, not citizens of the United States, from such island territory to the mainland territory of the United States, whether in such island territory at the time of cession or not, and from one portion of the island territory of the United States to another portion of said island territory.

Mr. GOMPERS. China had denounced the treaty with the United States providing for the exclusion of Chinese coolies from our country and its possessions. China gave notice that the treaty would come to an end at a certain time when it could be denounced and ended. The purpose the Chinese Government had was plainly stated, that is, that they not only opposed the exclusion of Chinese coming into the United States upon an equality with any other men, or men from any other country, but that if the United States would exclude the Chinese coolies, at least, it would not be with the treaty consent of China. It was, as they said, a sufficient humiliation for that situation to have to exist without their being further humiliated by signing their names to a solemn treaty containing such a provision.

Now, there was another agitation on the part of sugar planters in Hawaii and big business men, whose sole interest and purpose seemed to be profits—not manhood, not progress, not civilization, not the Republic, not its ideals, but profits, and profit alone.

Men who had something of an ideal and hope for America more than dollars joined with, or, rather, helped in their own way the labor

movement to have the Congress of the United States pass a law that would exclude the Chinese. After months and months and months of organization, education, discussion, and appeals before Congress, that was done. A delegation from California headed by the son of an admiral whose name I do not now recall, came to Washington. Edward C. J. Livernash came, with others whose names do not now come to me. A representative of California's labor movement, Mr. Chas. F. Burgman, came here. He was in San Francisco in 1882 and 1883. in that crowd of cigar makers sent to the coast in the movement which I tried to describe to you a little while ago. He and this commission were kept here. They stayed here for months—I think it must have been not less than 10 or 11 months. This man was paid a small salary while here for that work. The commission appointed by California was sustained by the California or the San Francisco government. It was sustained either by the State or the municipality. They did work, however, and worked hard, and all of us helped, and it finally resulted in the enactment of the Chinese exclusion law, which was extended to apply to the insular possessions and to the Territories of the United States.

In 1904, Mr. John I. Nolan, then a working iron molder, living in San Francisco, and who has been for the past three terms a Member of the House of Representatives from one of the San Francisco districts, went to Hawaii because of the condition of the molders' union, which was not good. It seemed that their work was lagging, or that their interest was lagging. He went there, and you can get the information from him at first hand. But inasmuch as this is not a hearing or trial in which the legal forms of evidence are closely followed or observed, I may be permitted to state it. It is hearsay—that is, he told me that when he was in Hawaii, the movement for the introduction of Chinese coolies in the islands for the sugar planters was in full swing, and men in the labor movement there were corrupted suborned, and perverted from the true defense of Americanism in favor of Chinese coolies being brought into Hawaii. He said there was a coachman or hack driver belonging to the local union there whom he thought might be the most easily won over by smiles, by cakes, by biscuits, or by kisses and other things, but he was the man who stood up and exposed the conditions existing in the Honolulu Federation of Trades. It broke up the entire gathering, and put the agitation of the sugar planters for Chinese coolies entirely out of business. If Congressman Nolan has not given that evidence it might be a good thing to have him appear before the committee.

Mr. Box. He has testified before the committee in opposition to this resolution.

Mr. GOMPERS. Did he testify in regard to this incident?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. GOMPERS. I have here the report of the executive council which was indorsed by the 1918 convention of the American Federation of Labor held in St. Paul. It bears upon this subject, and I think it would be an interesting contribution to this record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be inserted in the record. (The matter referred to is as follows:)

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL INDORSED BY THE 1918 CONVENTION OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, HELD IN ST. PAUL, JUNE 10 TO 20.

CHINESE COOLIE LABOR.

On May 29, 1917, Mr. Kalaniana'ole, Delegate in the House of Representatives from Hawaii, introduced House Resolution 93. The purpose of this resolution was to "provide for the admission into the Territory of Hawaii from the Republic of China, without right to proceed to any part of the United States, under such terms and conditions and subject to such rules and restrictions as it deems advisable, 30,000 Chinese laborers." On January 17, 1918, this resolution came before the House Immigration Committee, where representations were made in favor of the adoption of the resolution. A representative of the American Federation of Labor vigorously opposed the resolution, and it is still retained by the House Immigration Committee, no action having been taken.

As the result of agitation from sources which can be easily divined, there emanated from numerous portions of the country letters, pamphlets, and communications in the press advocating the abrogation of the Chinese exclusion law. On December 7, 1917, Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire introduced Senate Resolution 160, which is as follows:

"Resolved, That the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry is hereby directed to make careful investigation into the advisability of recommending legislation that will permit the importation of Chinese farmers into the United States under proper restrictions and regulations during the continuance of the war."

The various reasons assigned in favor of the modification of the Chinese exclusion law were partially predicated upon the fact that Chinese have been shipped into England and France to perform menial tasks, and partially because it is assumed by advocates of cheap labor that war conditions present a favorable opportunity to break down restrictive immigration legislation. The urgent necessity for transporting immense supplies of food to our allies, and with a consequent necessity for the stimulation of production of farm products, was seized upon by cheap labor advocates to give support to this campaign; notwithstanding the fact that the Department of Labor (based upon final reports) emphatically stated that during the harvest of 1917, there was not a single bushel of grain lost because of a dearth of labor.

Contemporaneous with the consideration of these resolutions a considerable number of communications were addressed to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, urging the necessity for the abrogation of the Chinese exclusion law upon the pretense of need for farm labor. In order to meet the campaign just starting, to modify, suspend, or abrogate the Chinese exclusion law, President Gompers answered these communications at some length. Following will be found an excerpt from one of these letters, which succinctly presents the attitude of the American Federation of Labor:

"There has been for some time an effort to create a sentiment favorable to the suspension or abrogation of the law prohibiting the immigration of Chinese coolie labor. Despite your expressed desire to advocate nothing that would be detrimental to the best interest of organized labor or all of America's workers, the plan you suggest would bring deplorable consequences. Our Nation is already confronted by an unsolved race problem that is acute and exigent in many localities. It would be an inexcusable error of judgment to intensify the present involved situation by a still further addition of racial complications.

"Prior to the declaration of war and immediately subsequent thereto, the employers of labor from every section of the country vociferously began an agitation for the repeal of all the labor laws of the various States and importuned governmental officials to recommend the repeal of the labor laws which applied to industries controlled by the Government. In other words, the employers of labor attempted to use the opportunity afforded by a declaration of war to destroy the standards of living and of work which had been brought about through the suffering and the sacrifice of the organized labor movement of our country. The men and women of labor of this Nation have struggled in their organized capacity for over 50 years to secure and to maintain a reasonable American standard, and it was urged that the benefits which have been secured to all the people of our country as a result of their effort be nullified by repealing all the protective laws which have been secured as the result of humane efforts and the awakening of the public conscience to the imperative needs of our present civilization. These laws do not represent arbitrary regulations that can be abandoned with impunity, but are founded upon principles of human welfare and conservation of producing power. To protect human workers by properly conserving

A like campaign has been started in Hawaii. In that country where the greater number of the inhabitants are Japanese, labor employed on plantations is paid about 77 cents per day. When an increase was demanded and denied many of these workers left the country. It was then that the sugar planters advocated the admission of 30,000 Chinese, both for the purpose of breaking the strike as well as to retain the low wage standard.

Within the past year complaints have been received that the Japanese are encroaching upon the work of the men employed in the shipbuilding industry on the Pacific coast. Many local unions have passed resolutions calling upon Congress to extend the Chinese exclusion act to cover all orientals. This subject was brought to the attention of the Members of Congress and the request was made for a definite statement as to the number of Japanese workers employed in the shipyards on the Pacific coast.

About this time California Senators and Representatives were also urged by the Secretary of State not to take any drastic action against Japanese immigration pending negotiations with the Japanese Government. The Senators and Congressmen agreed to withhold any action, thus permitting the Government to enter into negotiations looking to an agreement with Japan on the question of immigration, including "picture brides," now coming into the United States. Up to the present time no agreement has been reached on this subject and no legislation has been considered pending these negotiations.

Because of the extensive campaign again to open wide the gates to orientals, by reason of the unjust criticism directed against the attitude of the American Federation of Labor on this question and on account of the strained relations which exist at this time between Japan and our Government, the executive council deemed it essential that a careful survey be made of the immigration and land laws and policies which now prevail in Japan and China.

This investigation discloses that in 1899 Japan promulgated a new set of immigration laws. These laws prohibited the immigration of laborers from all countries to any part of the Japanese Empire, with the exception of the treaty ports, which are Kobe, Yokohama, Tokyo, Osaka, Nagasaki, Hakodate. While at the present time there are by lack of enforcement some European laborers working in Japan, they are very few in numbers. Under no conditions are Chinese laborers admitted into Japan except by special permit. Alien laborers are forbidden to engage in any kind of manual labor, such as agriculture, fishing, mining, engineering, architecture, manufacture, carriage and vehicle pulling, stevedore and other miscellaneous work. Aliens of all classes are also forbidden to become promoters of political meetings or to become members of a political party. Then, too, aliens are prohibited from engaging in the organization of banks. Aliens are forbidden to construct railways, or to engage in the carrying trade (coasting trade) between native ports. They are not permitted to become brokers in exchange, or to engage in mining and placer mining, or to fish or hunt in the territorial seas of Japan. Neither may aliens nor any firms with which aliens may be connected or in which they may be interested as partners or shareholders manufacture gun powder or explosives.

Individual foreigners are not allowed to own land in any part of the Empire. Foreigners may own land by forming a company, the company being required to register under the imperial laws of Japan. In that way these companies may enjoy perpetual leases over lots of land in the former foreign settlements in the open ports which were leased by the Government to aliens in the early days of the opening of the country to foreign trade. However, these leases have been taken largely over by Japanese. Foreigners may also lease land for industrial or residential purposes, but no agricultural lands can be leased under any circumstances. If a Japanese subject for any reason loses his nationality and becomes an alien, he at once loses his rights to land ownership, and in the latter case he must transfer all his property rights to Japanese.

The foregoing clearly evidence the amazing facts that the Japanese immigration and land laws are as strict as those of any nation in the world and much more so than are the laws of many of the nations. In the face of the above facts Japan does not come into court with clean hands when she objects to the land laws passed by the State of California or when she protests against the inclusion of Japanese in the exclusion of all orientals from this country.

Japan has left no stone unturned in her anxiety to protect her subjects against supposed injurious competition or to prevent the operation of any influence whatsoever upon their domestic, national, and international policies, conduct or relations from the peoples of other nations. If she takes this right unto herself, how can she deny the same right to any other nation?

The citizens of California are justified in viewing with alarm and apprehension the results of the Japanese invasion in that State. The Japanese colonize together and

have gradually driven out American citizens from the most fertile farm lands in the State. They already have under cultivation 92 per cent of the celery, 89 per cent of the asparagus, 79 per cent of the onions, 76 per cent of the tomatoes, 66 per cent of the cantaloupes, 79 per cent of seeds, etc. They undersell the American farmer because of their low standards of living. Not only have they acquired large areas of agricultural lands but they are gradually getting into the trades.

The "gentlemen's agreement" has proven to be a failure because the Japanese in a cunning and stealthy manner have outwitted the intent of the law. In 1918, 11,143 new arrivals came to America in spite of the fact that the above agreement is supposed to exclude all except diplomats, merchants, and legitimate students. In California alone there are over 100,000 Japanese.

This peril is not only a serious condition for California but it is a positive menace to our entire Nation. The American Federation of Labor is fully justified in taking a firm stand to do away with the "gentlemen's agreement" and in its place inaugurate a definite policy calling for total exclusion of Japanese with all other orientals. We should also go on record as favoring any legislation of the above character that may be presented in Congress by the California delegation in the Senate and House of Representatives.

The Chinese immigration laws absolutely prohibit Japanese of any class from entering the country except by special permit. This practically bars not only laborers but students, business men, travelers, etc., from entering the country except for a very short period of time.

Unquestionably, the workers of different races, colors, or nationalities throughout the world have a common interest in their respective countries. It is only by furthering that common interest that we can obtain the true objective of the labor movements the world over. While the methods of industrial and commercial enterprise, the supply of raw materials and of capital may have an equalizing tendency between nations, the interchange of viewpoints and the establishing of friendly relationship between workers of the various nations are of far greater importance and tend more readily and effectively to cement the peoples of all nations in a peaceful concord.

To-day, our people are confronted not alone with the possibility of greater competition with oriental labor and manufacture; they are also facing the development of tendencies leading to the possible dangers of war. No one recognizes more fully than do the American workers the burdens and sacrifices entailed in a contest between nations. We have just emerged from a war out of which it is hoped that the opportunity for future wars would be lessened to the lowest possible degree, if not foreclosed for all time to come. We are confident that the Japanese workers are equally desirous for continued peace as are the American wage earners. We feel sure that the workers of Japan would welcome whatever influence might be set at work to prevent a possible clash between the peoples of Japan and our country. Limited, suppressed, and tyrannized, the opportunity of these workers for protest is rendered almost voiceless and the American labor movement is looked to in the hope that existing industrial, commercial, and financial differences and difficulties may not be molded into tendencies leading to international conflict.

The executive council is of the belief that this entire subject should receive the most careful consideration and attention and that no effort be spared in protecting the interests of the workers here at home and in promoting good will and peaceful relations with the workers and nations abroad.

That report of the executive council was referred to a committee and reported upon favorably to and adopted by the convention by unanimous vote.

Here are two resolutions, which I shall not take the time to read, definitely declaring upon the subject of oriental immigration.

(Said resolutions follow:)

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

[Resolution 106, by Delegate T. A. Reardon, San Francisco Labor Council.]

Whereas there is a most persistent and determined effort to open the doors of the United States to Chinese coolies; and

Whereas those leading the campaign openly declare that the motive in breaking down the Chinese exclusion act is because the Chinamen know nothing of the 5-hour day and will work for wages upon which an American would starve; and

Whereas the plan being followed is first to obtain the admission of Chinese coolies into Hawaii on the plea that there is a shortage of labor in those islands; and Whereas the real truth is that the laborers of Hawaii refused to work for 77 cents a day and demanded a sufficient wage upon which to support themselves and families; and

Whereas the Legislature of Hawaii in furtherance of the conspiracy to degrade American labor has adopted a resolution appealing to Congress to permit the immigration of Chinese into the islands; and

Whereas a national organization of the enemies of labor and the people of this country have been working secretly for several years to break down the Chinese exclusion laws of the United States; and

Whereas there are said to be 500 Chinese coolies a month smuggled into the United States with or without the connivance of the Government or its agents; and

Whereas the people of the United States should awaken to the dangers threatened by the influx of a race that can not be assimilated and will be a curse instead of a benefit to the Nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor condemns this most despicable conspiracy to break down American standards in order that a few of the enemies of labor and the people may profit from the labor of Chinese coolies to the detriment of all honest employers; and

Resolved, That we call upon Congress to indignantly refuse the appeal of the Hawaiian Legislature in the interests of the sugar planters, to modify or amend in any manner whatever the laws that were enacted after years of agitation to forever exclude the Chinese; and

Resolved, That the executive council be directed to oppose by every means in its power any attempt to change the exclusion laws so that they would permit the admission of a single Chinaman to enter the United States and its possessions under any circumstances or excuse whatever: and, be it further

Resolved, That protests be made to the Department of Labor against the leniency that permits the smuggling into the United States of 500 or more Chinamen every month.

[Resolution 132, by Delegate M. M. McGuire, of Boiler Makers' Union.]

Whereas Japanese Exclusion League of California, representing officially such organizations as American Legion War Veterans' Native Sons and Native Daughter of Golden West State Federation, Women's Clubs, State Federation Labor, and various other patriotic, civic, and fraternal bodies have adopted statement of policy recommended for adoption by Government of United States as urgently required in protection of Nation's interest against growing menace of Japanese immigration and colonization; and

Whereas said declaration has been approved by organizations affiliated with League. Los Angeles Anti-Asiatic Association, and Japanese Exclusion League of Washington; and

Whereas said declaration is in words and figures as follows: First, absolute exclusion for future of all Japanese immigration, not only male but female, and not only laborers, skilled and unskilled, but farmers and men of small trades and professions, as recommended by Theodore Roosevelt. Permission for temporary residence only for tourists, students, artists, commercial men, teachers, etc. Second, such exclusion to be enforced by United States officials under United States laws and regulations as done with immigration admitted, or excluded, from all other countries and not, as at present, under an arrangement whereby control and regulation is surrendered by us to Japan. Third, compliance on the part of all departments of the Federal Government with the Constitution and abandonment of threat, or attempt to take advantage of certain phrasing of that document as to treaties, which it is claimed gives the treaty-making power authority to violate plain provisions of the Constitution and statutes in the following matters:

A. To nullify state rights and State laws for control of lands and other matters plainly within the States' jurisdiction.

B. To grant American citizenship to races of yellow color, which are made ineligible for such citizenship.

Fourth; for the Japanese legally entitled to residence in California fair treatment, protection in property rights legally acquired, and the privilege of engaging in any business desired, except such as may be now or hereafter denied by law to all aliens, or to aliens ineligible to citizenship, and, provided particularly they may not hereafter buy or lease agricultural lands.

Mr. RAKER. Those resolutions were passed in what year?

Mr. GOMPERS. The same year, at the last convention held in June, 1921, and on the particular case under discussion before this committee.

The fact that several thousand aliens have been released from the Federal works in Hawaii, construction and otherwise, would seem, in addition to the proposals made by the labor committee at the conference in Honolulu, and to which Mr. Wright in his testimony gave ample evidence, to help very materially, but in any event there are the Filipinos who, from the report of the Filipino labor commissioner, would undoubtedly have a splendid influence in bringing any number of workers which may be actually required by the sugar planters of Hawaii. But we can not expect that they will go from the Philippine Islands to Honolulu or any other part of the Sandwich Islands or that they will transmigrate to any other country unless there is something which may come to them of a better life than they have had to endure or enjoy in their own country. Men do not go from place to place where conditions and standards are only equal; the trend is to go where conditions are better. I believe that with a better concept on the part of the sugar planters as to the rights of these men a better understanding will result, because better will begets better will. The story of Will Fern in "The Chimes," by Dickens, would apply here.

Let me say this, that the Japanese Laborers' Association, of Hawaii, made application to the American Federation of Labor about a year ago for a charter, but issuance was declined. If war should come between Japan and America—and let us pray and hope that it never will—American labor will take the same position it took in the last great war. Three weeks before the President of the United States appeared before a joint session of Congress; that is, on March 12, 1917, American labor, through its official representatives and bona fide representatives, met in Washington, D. C., and in the executive council chamber of the American Federation of Labor we discussed at length the dangers which confronted our country, the dastardly acts committed by Germany against not only American rights and property, but against the concepts of civilization. At the conclusion of the session we declared, in substance, that come what may, whether we should be drawn into the maelstrom of the war or are dragged into it or whether we should enter it, American labor pledged its loyal support upon any field of action, whether it be upon the battlefield, in industry, or in commerce, and in making the supreme sacrifice if necessary. If there shall come a struggle between Japan and the United States American labor will stand foursquare upon that principle.

I call your attention to the fact that it is not wise to take the heart and the spirit out of America's workers. It is not wise to lead them into a position of fear, anguish, and anger where no loyal support comes, because no voluntary, loyal support comes to a Government that uses oppression and suppression.

Now, there was discussed before this committee the question of the suppression of reports of officials, and the name of Daniel J. Keefe, Commissioner General of Immigration, was brought in as one who had visited Hawaii and made investigations and reports and his reports were suppressed. Well, not only were Daniel J. Keefe's reports suppressed, but the reports of Frank P. Sargent, who was Commissioner General of Immigration before him, a fine man and a

man of splendid physique. He was appointed Commissioner General of Immigration. The suppression of his reports and the diversion of his reports were such that it broke the man's spirit and broke the man's heart, and he died very shortly after. For years before that he was the president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and could have held that position for life or so long as his mind was clear and his body capable of carrying on the work. He became Commissioner General of Immigration of the Government of the United States, and I repeat and emphasize that he was broken in spirit and health by reason of the perversion and suppression of his reports. Frank Sargent and I were intimate friends, and he told me the situation with which he was confronted with reference to his reports as to his visit to Hawaii and his investigation of Hawaiian conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of that?

Mr. GOMPERS. Well, that is easily ascertainable, Mr. Chairman: I can not readily recall, but probably 20 years ago.

Let me say this: I do not know whether any of you gentlemen have—but more than likely you have—read a book which has made its appearance recently, *The Rising Tide of Color*.

Mr. RAKER. It has been sent to all the members of the committee.

Mr. GOMPERS. I commend to you gentlemen who have not read it the reading of that book.

The CHAIRMAN. We have all read it, and when you get time that is the very phase of this matter we want to discuss with you.

Mr. GOMPERS. We appeal to you, as we have the right as men and as citizens, to maintain the American policy of Chinese exclusion by law and to make by law the exclusion of the Japanese and all other orientals. In my opinion the people of the Republic of the United States have only just entered upon the real mission of our Republic, to be the leader in industrial progress, in democratic government and humanitarian ideals. Do not let us depart from that policy, sound good, and progressive, but, rather, strengthen it.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you concluded?

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Chairman, I have just come in possession of a book published by the Hawaii Laborers' Association, Honolulu T. H., July, 1920, and entitled "*Facts about the strike on Sugar Plantations in Hawaii*." May I read the first two paragraphs which are not more than about 20 lines?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GOMPERS [reading:]

We are laborers working on the sugar plantations of Hawaii.

People know Hawaii as the paradise of the Pacific and as a sugar-producing country, but do they know that there are thousands of laborers who are suffering under the blaze of the equatorial sun, in field and in factory, and who are weeping with 10 hours of hard labor and with a scanty pay of 77 cents a day?

Hawaii's sugar. When we look at Hawaii as the country possessing 44 sugar mills with 230,000 acres of cultivated land area, as a region producing 600,000 tons of sugar annually, we are impressed with the great importance of the position which sugar occupies among the industries of Hawaii. We realize also that 50,000 laborers together with their families number about 160,000 are a majority of the total population of 250,000 in Hawaii. We consider it a great privilege and pride to live under the Stars and Stripes, which stands for freedom and justice, as a factor of this great industry and as a part of the labor of Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. Who is supposed to have gotten that out?

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to ascertain that. It says, "Hawaii Laborers' Association, Honolulu, T. H." There is a resolution at the bottom of the last page and it is certified:

I hereby certify that the above is the true copy of the resolution passed by the special meeting of the delegates of the Hawaii Laborers' Association, held in Honolulu, T. H., June 30, 1920.

T. KOYAMA, *Chairman.*

G. KAWAHARA, *Vice Chairman.*

Mr. BOX. That is dated 1920?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; during the strike. This is the plea and statement of the strikers, probably the Japanese strikers.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes; these are Japanese strikers, and it is issued by their own association.

Mr. RAKER. This is promulgated by the Japanese laboring people of Hawaii?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes. I saw it for the first time within the past 15 minutes; it was handed to me by Mr. Roberts.

The CHAIRMAN. I see no objection to putting the whole document in the record, and if there is no objection it will be inserted.

(Said document follows.)

FACTS ABOUT THE STRIKE ON SUGAR PLANTATIONS IN HAWAII.

[By Hawaii Laborers' Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, July, 1920.]

WE ARE PLANTATION LABORERS.

We are laborers working on the sugar plantations of Hawaii.

People know Hawaii as the paradise of the Pacific and as a sugar-producing country, but do they know that there are thousands of laborers who are suffering under the heat of the equatorial sun, in field and in factory, and who are weeping with 10 hours of hard labor and with a scanty pay of 77 cents a day?

Hawaii's sugar! When we look at Hawaii as the country possessing 44 sugar mills, with 230,000 acres of cultivated land area, as a region producing 600,000 tons of sugar annually we are impressed with the great importance of the position which sugar occupies among the industries of Hawaii. We realize also that 50,000 laborers who, together with their families number about 160,000, are a majority of the total population of 250,000 in Hawaii. We consider it a great privilege and pride to live under the Stars and Stripes, which stands for freedom and justice, as a factor of this great industry and as a part of the labor of Hawaii.

We love production. Fifty years ago, when we first came to Hawaii, these islands were covered with ohia forests, guava fields, and areas of wild grass. Day and night did we work, cutting trees and burning grass, clearing lands and cultivating fields until we made the plantations what they are to-day. Of course, it is indisputable that this would have been impossible if it were not for the investments made by the wealthy capitalists and the untiring efforts of the administrators. But we believe that the impartial public will not only magnify and praise the efforts of the capitalists, but will not hesitate to recognize the work of the laborers who have served faithfully with sweat on their brows. We are faithful laborers who love labor and production.

Look at the silent tombstones in every locality. Few are the people who visit these graves of our departed friends, but are they not emblems of Hawaii's pioneers in labor? Turn your eyes to the ever diligent laborers. They are not beautiful in appearance, but are they not a great factor of Hawaii's production?

We are faithful laborers, willing to follow the steps of our departed elders and do our part toward Hawaii's production. We hear that there are in Hawaii over a hundred millionaires, men chiefly connected with the sugar plantations. It is not our purpose to complain and envy, but we would like to state that there are on the sugar plantations which produced these fortunes for their owners a large number of laborers who are suffering under a wage of 77 cents a day.

When asked, "What is a laborer?" a certain plantation manager is said to have replied, "A laborer is an ignorant creature." We do not wish to believe such a statement, but when we look back over our own experience in Hawaii we regret that the above fact is undeniable.

Impartial and just ladies and gentlemen, we are laborers working on the plantations of Hawaii. Certain capitalists may regard us as ignorant creatures, but as we are working seriously and faithfully we wish it understood that we are willing to progress toward Hawaii's production and welfare the best we know how, hoping for the progress of civilization and endeavoring to safeguard justice and humanity as members of the great human family.

WHAT THE LABORERS DEMANDED.

It is almost unnecessary to repeat here the words so often heard and concerning the price of commodities during and after the great war, even in this part of the Pacific. We encountered hardships and sufferings in supporting ourselves during the war, but not desiring to cause any trouble to the industrial world amidst of that struggle we endured, persevered, and waited until the year 1919.

The dark clouds of war were dispersed and peace came, but living conditions were more pressing every day. Fortune appeared to those concerned in the ownership of the sugar world, and things looked brighter even after the dreadful war. The war taxes, the lowering of freight rates, the reduction of prices of fertilizers increased the net profits of the sugar planters.

We did not desire to entirely disregard the profits for the planters, but we did feel that our demands for increased wages at such a prosperous time were reasonable and justifiable. Was not this the reason that the cry for higher wages was raised throughout the islands in the latter part of 1919?

The desires of the laborers throughout the territory at that time were: Wages of \$3 per day, eight hours work per day, changes and amendments to agreements made by the various contractors, cane growers, etc., with the plantations. If we are to make a true confession in regard to the reasons for demanding \$3 per day, we must say that the demand was made with the amount of living expenses of a common laborer with a wife and two children taken as the basis for computation (the large majority of the laborers are married and have several children). We only feared the rise from 77 cents per day was too great a leap. Without doubt the amount of bonus is excessive when conditions in the sugar world appear favorable, but bonus itself is unstable, being secure and reliable and can not always be made to take the place of wages. Just in proportion as it is magnified and overemphasized by the capitalists it is so much the less certain. For this reason, we have earnestly desired the stability of our living by properly paid wages rather than through the benefit of bonus with conditions. Why then, you may ask, did we not make this demand for \$3 per day in the beginning. In order to answer this question, we must make you the situation and the reason which prompted us to demand \$1.25 per day with bonus.

At the meeting of the representatives of laborers of all the islands held in the latter part of December, 1919, when we were about to make the final decision in regard to the demands to be presented to the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, the following agreement was reached by the majority of the representatives present:

"It being our purpose not to disregard the sliding scale bonus system and the method used in encouraging the laborers' continued service, we deem it unbecomingly for laborers whose interest lies in the hearty cooperation of capital and labor to present the new plan immediately, although \$3 per day is quite reasonable. It should therefore be agreed upon that the amount of wages to be demanded be computed from the sum needed for a laborer to support himself. The bonus is to be left for the support of wife and children."

FOR UNMARRIED MAN.

Plantations.	Board.	Cloth- ing.	Tax.	Papers and maga- zines.	Clubs.	Social.	Sun- dry.	Total.
Oahu:								
Ookala.....	\$15.00	\$16.70	\$0.40	\$1.00	\$1.00	\$6.20	\$5.05	\$45.05
Kukaulau.....	15.00	6.45	.50	.35	.50	1.85	0.20	30.85
Kau, Pahala.....	15.00	13.50	.40	1.50	1.00	5.75	4.95	42.10
Pepekeo.....	15.00	6.00	.40	1.70	1.50	4.70	3.85	32.20
Kukuihaele.....	15.00	16.70	.40	1.00	1.00	6.20	5.05	45.05
Honokaa.....	15.00	9.65	.45	1.50	1.70	10.50	8.30	45.10
Kohala.....	14.00	5.45	.45	.80	.40	4.65	5.25	31.00
Kohala Union Mill.....	13.50	5.60	.40	1.00	.90	5.50	3.65	30.55
Kohala, Hawi.....	15.50	9.55	.50	1.00	1.00	7.00	6.30	40.85
Hamakuaopoko.....	14.00	4.90	.40	1.25	.70	2.65	5.90	29.80
Hakalau, Honohina.....	15.00	8.40	.45	1.00	.70	8.75	4.90	39.50
Kamuela.....	15.50	5.90	.45	.75	.75	3.75	3.00	30.10
Average.....								36.93
Molokai:								
Waimalu.....	15.00	7.60	.43	1.50	.50	4.00	4.55	33.58
Pauea.....	13.50	6.55	.40	.85	1.00	4.25	4.25	30.80
Kahului.....	15.00	7.05	.45	1.00	.25	4.10	2.35	30.20
Lahaina.....	15.00	8.75	.42	1.50	.10	8.20	3.00	36.97
Average.....								32.89
Maui:								
Kahuku.....	14.50	3.80	.42	.85		3.40	2.40	25.37
Wahiawa.....	13.00	6.05	.50	.85	1.00	4.50	2.55	28.45
Do.....	13.00	6.90		.85	.25	3.10	4.80	28.90
Aiea.....	15.00	11.35	.40	.75	.20	2.55	1.65	31.90
Average.....								28.65
Kauai:								
McBryde.....	12.50	7.35	.45	1.00	.50	4.75	7.00	33.55
Kilauea.....	13.00	8.45	.45	1.00	.30	2.40	6.20	31.80
Hanalei.....	13.00	5.20	.40	1.00	.50	5.75	1.95	27.80
Kapaa.....	13.50	8.05	.46	1.00	.30	4.10	5.40	32.81
Average.....								31.49

FOR MARRIED MAN.

Oahu:								
Ookala.....	\$31.75	\$22.10	\$0.40	\$1.50	\$1.50	\$9.20	\$4.20	\$70.65
Kukaulau.....	35.60	7.85	.50	.50	1.00	2.60	4.10	52.15
Kau, Pahala.....	34.00	15.50	.40	2.00	.75	7.25	7.05	66.95
Kamuela.....	30.00	6.00	.45	1.25	1.50	6.50	5.50	51.20
Pepekeo.....	28.65	6.55	.40	1.75	1.50	6.00	16.35	64.80
Honokaa.....	25.50	12.90	.42	2.00	2.00	15.50	7.50	65.82
Kohala.....	28.00	6.40	.45	.80	.40	7.15	4.10	47.30
Kohala Union Mill.....	28.50	10.10	.40	1.00	.95	8.75	3.25	52.95
Kohala, Hawi.....	25.00	12.55	.50	1.00	1.25	11.00	6.85	58.15
Hamakuaopoko.....	28.50	6.45	.40	.50	1.00	5.90	2.90	45.65
Hakalau, Honohina.....	30.50	16.55	.45	1.00	.50	12.25	6.35	67.60
Average.....								59.38
Molokai:								
Waimalu.....	29.55	9.05	.45	1.00	.25	6.10	4.05	50.45
Pauea.....	27.50	8.45	.50	.85	1.00	8.50	4.80	51.60
Kahului.....	33.00	12.50	.43	1.75	2.25	12.00	5.95	67.88
Lahaina.....	39.85	13.40						
Average.....								56.28
Maui:								
Kahuku.....	23.00	6.75	.42	.85	.25	3.65	4.98	40.40
Wahiawa.....	30.00	10.25	.50	.85	2.00	7.00	4.20	54.80
Do.....	30.00	8.05		.85	2.55	6.65	6.60	56.70
Aiea.....	32.30	24.20	.40	.75	.20	2.55	2.95	63.35
Average.....								53.81
Kauai:								
McBryde.....	27.10	10.55	.45	1.00	.75	8.85	8.45	57.15
Kilauea.....	28.10	9.95	.45		.50	3.75	4.45	47.40
Hanalei.....	13.50	5.85	.40	1.00	1.00	10.50	3.15	45.40
Kapaa.....	28.75	10.95	.46	1.00	.45	7.30	5.80	54.71

FOR MARRIED MAN WITH TWO CHILDREN.

Plantations.	Board.	Cloth- ing.	Tax.	Papers and mag- azines.	Clubs.	Social.	Sun- dry.
Hawaii:							
Ookala.....	\$46.85	\$27.60	\$0.40	\$1.50	\$3.00	\$11.90	\$14.10
Kukaiau.....	35.85	7.85	.50	.50	1.00	2.60	4.10
Kau, Pahala.....	48.00	17.50	.40	2.00	2.75	8.25	7.00
Pepekeo.....	38.55	8.65	.40	1.75	2.00	14.40	4.00
Kamuela.....	43.90	8.20	.45	1.25	3.50	7.00	7.25
Kukuihaele.....	48.40	10.40	.45	1.50	4.50	.50	4.50
Honokaa.....	35.50	19.70	.42	2.00	4.00	17.00	10.00
Kohala.....	35.50	7.90	.45	.80	1.15	7.65	3.25
Kohala Union Mill.....	42.75	17.00	.40	1.00	5.75	9.75	6.00
Kohala, Hawi.....	48.50	19.50	.50	1.00	5.50	14.00	5.00
Hamakuaopoko.....	36.00	8.95	.40	1.50	1.00	4.20	4.00
Hakalau, Honohina.....	41.75	20.55	.45	1.00	2.00	16.75	7.25
Average.....							
Mau:							
Kahului.....	48.65	12.10	.45	1.00	2.50	7.10	4.50
Pauea.....							
Waimalu.....							
Lahaina.....	54.35	17.80		1.00	.75	6.25	4.00
Average.....							
Oahu:							
Kahuku.....	33.50	10.05	.42	.95	1.55	4.65	3.75
Wahiawa.....	40.00	11.25		.85	2.55	6.65	6.75
Aiea.....	34.00	31.35	.40	.75	1.20	2.65	3.60
Average.....							
Kauai:							
McBryde.....	35.70	14.45	.45	1.00	.75	18.45	11.50
Kilauea.....	41.50	17.30	.45	7.00	.25	.90	8.10
Hanalei.....	37.00	8.60	.40	1.00	3.50	17.50	4.00
Kapaa.....	35.20	13.35	.46	1.00	1.20	7.80	7.00
Average.....							

THE DEMANDS—RESOLUTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY OF REPRESENTATIVES.

1. The wages of common man laborers, which at present are 77 cents per day be increased to \$1.25, and those of the higher-salaried men shall be increased in proportion:

And minimum wages for women laborers shall be fixed at 95 cents per day.

However, it is to be understood that the present bonus system shall be paid with changes hereinafter mentioned, and same to be paid in addition to the already mentioned above.

2. The present bonus system shall be changed in the following particulars:

(a) That the principal of the bonus system shall be made so that the laborer claim the same in court of justice as of right if it is not already so.

(b) That all men laborers who shall work 15 days or more and all women who shall work 10 days or more per month, shall be entitled to the bonus. and all cane-growing contractors who may be employed by the plantations to do for them, shall be paid their bonus irrespective of number of days they work at plantations:

(c) Seventy-five per cent of bonus shall be paid to laborers every month retaining 25 per cent to be retained by the plantation to be paid at the end of the bonus year: *Provided, however*, That whenever the laborers shall leave the plantations because of their intention of returning to Japan, or change of place of discharge, they shall be paid at once the whole remainder of the bonus which has been so retained.

3. Eight hours shall constitute a day's work, with the wages and bonus as in above mentioned.

4. Women laborers shall be excused from their work for two weeks before and two weeks after their delivery, during which time, however, they shall be entitled to wages and bonuses as if they were actually at work.

5. For work on Sundays, legal holidays, or overtime services the laborers shall be paid double their regular wages and bonuses.

6. Regarding the cane-growing contract, it is requested that the same be so changed, after deducting the marketing expenses, that the share of companies shall be 40 per cent and that of the planters shall be 60 per cent of the gross value of the market price of sugar.

7. That the price of cane paid to the cane-growing contractors be increased in proportion to the increase of wages and bonus as outlined hereinabove.

8. That the planters shall further improve the provisions made for the health and amusement of laborers.

RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED TO PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION.

The assembly of the representatives of Japanese laborers, which passed the above resolutions, submitted the same, accompanied by a letter, to the planters' association on December 4, 1919, through a delegation consisting of one representative from each island. It should be remembered that similar demands were also presented to the same association by the Filipino Laborers' Union on the same day.

It was our firm belief that a request so moderate in its nature as the one above referred to would naturally be accepted by the planters' association. This belief we held not without reason, for words and actions of the various plantation managers revealed in unofficial manner, the assurances that the demands would be accepted. But, contrary to our expectation, the annual meeting of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association resulted in the total rejection of our demands, excepting that single clause relating to the bonus system.

It was an unexpected issue. However, we were not entirely disappointed. Relieving that an honest explanation of our situation would cause our sincere desires to be acknowledged, we again submitted a similar request with the following reason in support of it on December 27, 1919.

REASONS IN SUPPORT OF REQUEST FOR HIGHER WAGES, SHORTER HOURS, ETC., FOR PLANTATION LABORERS OF HAWAII.

There is something astonishing in the price movement of living staples. In order to ascertain what effect the present high prices have had upon the life of the plantation laborers, our federation has chosen 45 articles of provisions, clothing, and kindred commodities, and has investigated the retail prices thereof. We find that the highest has increased as much as 207.70 per cent and even the lowest 40 per cent, averaging an increase of 115 per cent as compared with normal prewar prices.

Unfortunately, there are no authentic figures available which refer to the few years immediately preceding 1916. We have therefore adopted the latter as a basis of comparison with the present; but, in doing so, would ask you to remember that, even in 1916, the increase, as compared with, say, 1912, was already strongly marked.

Increased cost of living.—It is inevitable that such increase in prices should bring about an increased cost of living, and according to our investigation the present cost of living per month is about as follows, viz:

1. Single persons, May, 1916, \$24.81; November, 1919, \$35.19; increase, 41.8 per cent. 2. Married couples, May, 1916, \$46.81; November, 1919, \$57.05; increase 27.6 per cent. 3. Married persons with 2 children, May, 1916, \$52.36; November, 1919, \$75.72; increase 44.5 per cent.

Incomes of laborers.—Now, turning to the incomes of laborers at the present time, men earning \$20 per month are common and there are not a few who are working at 77 cents per day. Of course there is a bonus which increases quite materially their earnings. But the bonus is not sufficient to supply the discrepancy between the increased cost of living computed at prewar rates and the low present wages. And for those who, from sickness or other reasons, can not obtain the benefit of the bonus, their difficulty is still more emphasized.

A laborer's wage should be sufficient to support him and his family in decency and in comfort. Only so can his physical energies be reasonably conserved. But a mere existence or subsistence is not enough, and the laborer who must spend his entire earnings for living expenses is insufficiently paid. There should always be available a reasonable margin of earnings in excess of necessary expenses to set aside as an insurance fund to provide against the hazards of misfortune and the approach of old age. To provide less than this for a laborer is to place him in a class beneath the beasts of burden which are used on the plantations, and to treat him with less consideration than is accorded to a working mule. The latter beast, whether from motives of selfishness or of humaneness, is fairly certain of not only adequate support during his

working career, but of a humane provision for his needs when old age or accident shall have incapacitated him for further service. But where, let us ask, in the wage scale as now existing, can the plantation laborers in Hawaii find a guaranty or even a promise of provision for his maintenance when age or misfortune shall have placed a period upon his earning capacity? His condition in this respect compares unfavorably with that of the beasts of burden now in use upon your plantations. But if the laborer from the inadequate wage now in vogue should nevertheless endeavor to set aside something, even a trifle, each month to assist in such provision for the future, he can do so only at the sacrifice of his comforts, necessities, and even features of decency, of which he should not, upon grounds of morality and justice, be deprived. In short, then, and to epitomize the present situation, the plantation laborer is enabled to exist but not to live and support those dependent upon him in any just and reasonable sense of those terms.

To enforce upon labor, here, a wage scale that forbids a reasonable provision for the future as well as for the present, is tantamount to the destruction of the very basis of their lives, degree of contentment and for that absence of unrest among the laboring element, which are so desirable as promoters of efficient service.

The profits to the planters in Hawaii for years past, have been most generous, and late press dispatches indicate the certainty of enormously increased prices for our great sugar staple. In the light of these profits, and of this prospect, we again respectfully but urgently invite your reconsideration of your announced position upon this subject.

And it is for the skilled, and semiskilled labor now employed by you that we request this increase, as well as for the men and women who serve in the humblest capacities. The same arguments will readily apply to each and all of them.

Re request for partial revision of the bonus system.—We recognize that the bonus system is an advantageous scheme for the planters, as it will compel automatically the laborers to perform more labor, and, also from the laborers' point of view, we are not slow to recognize in it a virtue as a means of increasing their incomes. But as it is not obtainable unless the laborers shall work 20 days or more, if male, and 15 days or more, if female, in each month, it often happens that the laborers whose physical condition unfits them for labor in the field go to work in order to protect their bonus, which is inimical to their health. In order to avoid such conditions, we ask you to cut the number of days necessary to be worked in order to entitle them to bonus by 5 days per month for both men and women.

Re demand for an 8-hour day.—We observe throughout the world a general movement for shorter hours, some trades demanding even 6 hours a day. In view of the fact that Hawaii is a tropical country where physical labor has the most exhausting effect upon the health and strength of workers, we do not doubt that our request for an 8-hour day is a most proper and reasonable one. Such a change will not only have a very salutary effect upon the laborers, by bringing them a greater degree of contentment, but it can not fail to have a beneficial effect upon the interests of the employers as well by increasing the efficiency of labor.

Re protection of women laborers.—The women laborers, while on the one hand performing work in the field for the plantations, are under a very important responsibility in giving birth to and rearing the succeeding generation. It is, therefore, becoming that they should be allowed a quiet rest for a period of time, both before and after their delivery. This is demanded from the humanitarian point of view.

► *Re extra day for work on Sundays and legal holidays and for overtime.*—America is a Christian Nation, where very strict Sunday laws are vigorously enforced. Is it not most unbecoming for the Christian employers to offer a double pay for labor performed on Sunday, which their Lord God has ordained specially as a day of rest? The work performed on legal holidays, and also overtime labor, are performed beyond the usual exactions upon the life and strength of the laborer, and we feel that it is most fitting that the laborers should request double pay for it—and that the employers should meet such a just request.

Re increased compensation for cultivation contractors.—The wages of the laborers should be increased for reasons stated hereinabove, and in case their request be complied with the cultivation contractors will be obliged to pay higher wages to their employees, which in turn will require a greater fund to draw upon, and this is the reason why we ask for higher compensation for the cultivation contractors.

Reprovisions for health and amusements.—It is highly desirable that not only adequate provisions be made for the sanitation of camps and other plantation quarters, but also that the reasonable demands of the employees for recreation and amusement in their hours of respite from labor should be recognized and appreciated, as a material contribution toward their contentment, and, therefore, of their efficiency. While we are not slow in recognizing that certain efforts are being made in this direction

by some of the plantations, we would respectfully suggest a greater and more intensified endeavor in carrying this feature to a still more uniform and complete degree of efficiency.

Reproportion of distribution of profits between the Japanese cane growers and sugar companies.—We request that the division of profits between independent Japanese cane growers, cultivating their own land, and the sugar companies (capitalists), should be in the ratio of 60 per cent for the former and 40 per cent for the latter. We do not believe that we are making any exorbitant demand in this respect. This proportion of division is generally recognized as a just one. The governor of this territory has recognized its justice and applied the same to the contracts of homesteaders. We simply adopt the governor's position and request you to revise outstanding contracts accordingly.

In reply to the above request, we received from the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association on January 14, 1920, a note in which they put great emphasis on the bonus system, but flatly refused to grant our request for higher wages on the ground that it was merely the product of "agitators." We were simply astounded. What an absurd idea! How can the laborers who are in the very midst of the struggle with high cost of living, be so reckless as to cry for increased pay for the mere purpose of feeding the so-called "agitators"? We began to cast some doubt on the sincerity of the planters who, we thought, should be better acquainted with the conditions of the laborers. Still we did not lose hope. Trusting that a clear understanding of each other's situation would amicably settle the question, we submitted our demands for the third time. When, on January 20, the laborers of all the sugar plantations of the four islands appeared before their respective managers and explained their cause, we received the impression that the majority of the managers did not regard our demands unreasonable. We waited for a reply from the Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association with great expectation.

GENERAL LAY-OFF ON FIVE PLANTATIONS

On January 19, the members of the Filipino Labor Union on the six plantations of Aiea, Waipahu, Ewa, Waiialua, Waimanalo, and Kahuku, went on a strike. In reality, under the name of Filipino Labor Union, a large number of Spaniards, Portuguese, and Chinese were also among the number who struck. The 50 Koreans on Waipahu were probably the only ones who kept out. We the Japanese laborers, then awaiting the planters' reply to our last request, knew very well that it was not due time for us to join the strike. But we acknowledge the existence of morality among laborers. It would be against one of the codes of that morality for us to remain silent and watch the strike of our fellow workers who have lived and labored with us, who have undergone the same struggles with us, and who have endeavored to reach the same goal with us. Therefore, with the object of keeping faith with our fellow laborers and bringing about proper adjustment to the confused industrial circle, we, the laborers of the six plantations above mentioned called a general lay-off on January 23. We had not yet gone on a strike against the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. The fact of our lay-off was notified to the different managers beforehand, while the entire procedure was conducted in an orderly manner, giving little or no disturbance to the work on the plantations.

THE INEVITABLE STRIKE.

The industrial disorder gradually increased in its intensity. As yet we had received no sincere answer from the planters' association. We passed through uneasy days. We could no longer keep our patience. Hoping to bring about the long desired result in the shortest possible space of time by direct appeal and frank talk, we sent two of our secretaries to the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association office for the purpose of obtaining the privilege of an interview between the officers of Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association and our directors who truly represent the laborers. Unfortunately, Mr. R. D. Mead, the secretary of the planters' association, refused to grant the opportunity of such an interview. With the words "The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association will settle its own industrial troubles," our third request was once more turned down. The door was closed before our eyes; there was no more room for negotiation. The time had finally come when we were compelled to resort to our last means. For two months, ever since our first request, we had been pleading for our cause sincerely, honestly, seriously, and earnestly without a thought of plot or scheme. We had tried every peaceful method we knew of, with the hearty cooperation of capital and labor constantly in mind. We do not wish to strike. We want peace and order; we love labor and production. But when we think of the group of capi-

talists who show no sympathy whatever toward the struggling laborers, turn deaf ears to their cries and reject their just and reasonable demands under the pretense that they are formulated by "agitators," we can not remain silent. We must act. And so we went on strike.

In speaking of the capitalists we do not wish to be misunderstood. We do not mean that all the members of the planters' association are merciless and antagonistic; we admit that there are a number of sugar capitalists and plantation managers with clear understanding and full sympathy. We only regret that there was an undesirable element which went to work very intelligently, instigating the capitalists and constantly endeavoring to separate capital from labor. This element, we believe, was to a large measure instrumental in bringing about the deplorable result. But we were compelled to strike. So, strike we did, honorably and bravely, as laborers living under the great flag of freedom and justice. We were obliged to strike. This is a strike we disliked, a strike we tried to evade. We trust that the unprejudiced public will find out the true source wherein the fault lies before forming any judgment.

THE COURSE OF THE STRIKE.

On February 2, 1920, we formally went on strike against the planters' association. This meant that with the exception of about 50 Koreans on Waipahu plantation, practically the whole labor forces on Waimanalo, Aiea, Ewa, Waipahu, Kahuku, and Waiialua were on strike. Some, however, from financial and other reasons were obliged to go back to work, but these numbered very few. It was to our great surprise that on the 10th of the same month, Mr. Manlapit, who was the president of the Filipino labor union, issued orders to the effect that all the Filipino laborers then on strike return unconditionally to their former positions. But knowing very well that the strike was not planned out by the so-called agitators as some believe, we were confident that such an order as that issued by Mr. Manlapit would not have any effect whatever upon the morale of our laborers for Mr. Manlapit was not a laborer. It was our pride that none of our laborers were influenced by his words. Their spirits were unmoved and dauntless as ever. The 18th of January is a day we can never forget. It was the day when we were expelled from our homes on the plantation, just as the terror of that cruel "flu" had reached its height. A pitiable and even frightful scene that day presented to us—household utensils and furniture thrown out and heaped up before our houses, doors tightly nailed that none might enter, sickly fathers with trunks and baggage, mothers with weeping babes in arms, the crying of children, and the rough voices of the plantation police officers. Across the wide ocean did we travel at the request of the sugar capitalists; and here we were, 3,000 miles from home and country, and this was the situation in which we found ourselves—"be satisfied with 77 cents a day, or get out." Alas, poor wanderers, where were we to find ourselves at the next break of day?

THE EXPULSION.

We are laborers. We do not wish to consider ourselves as wanderers. The desolate camps which we were first given had been colored and beautified with flowers and plants carefully nursed by our hands. There were pretty vegetable gardens to adorn the back yard, and pet dogs for the babies to play with. But this severe order to leave gave us no time to look over these things. We had to leave them. We hesitated and reconsidered only to find our resolutions wax stronger. Yes; we must go, we must stand for our cause; 77 cents per day is too cruel. And so we left our camp homes. When we thought of the cruel, unsympathetic treatment which we received at the hands of the plantation officers, and the merciful, tender care with which some of our fellow laborers received us at their homes, our hearts were moved with anger and gratitude at the same time. The following will show the number who were forced to evacuate their camp homes:

Plantation.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Kahuku.....	229	170	377	786
Aiea.....	746	478	661	1,885
Waipahu.....	1,171	680	1,075	2,926
Ewa.....	812	564	469	1,845
Waimanalo.....	170	92	143	405
Waiialua.....	911	628	1,041	2,580
Total.....	4,039	2,643	3,665	10,347
Filipinos.....	1,038	153	281	1,472
Grand total.....	5,067	2,796	4,147	12,010

Besides the above, there were about 300 who were compelled to leave their plantations because, out of their sympathy toward us they also struck, although their plantations had no connection with the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association.

THE INFLUENZA—A TRAGEDY.

The expulsion order mercilessly brought us to the heart of the "flu" district. In our new homes in Honolulu the great epidemic made its appearance. One by one it grasped us with its mighty hands. Out of the 5,000 who took up their temporary abode in the city, over 1,200 were made victims of the horrible monster, a large number having been struck down to the ground where they will remain silent forever. Immediately after this, the dreadful disease threatened the plantations of Aiea, Waialua, Waimanalo, and a few other districts. There were in Waialua on one occasion 800 patients; there were deaths every day; 43 died in 10 days. With one plantation hospital and one Japanese physician, these poor laborers struggled and suffered. Matters became worse and worse each day. The school building was changed into a temporary hospital. Wives weeping with their sick babies over the loss of their husbands, children made orphans overnight, husbands burying sons and wives on the same day—these could not be looked upon without tears. Lives went out like candle flames in a gust of wind. Standing at the edge of the sea of death, these dauntless people were nevertheless firm and unmoved in their determination; their last words were always: "Don't give up. Fight for the righteous cause." What tragedy! What spirit!

THE FEDERATION OF JAPANESE LABOR IN HAWAII.

Feeling the need of cooperative bodies among the laborers working on the plantations, we had made attempts to form such bodies in various districts since several years ago. The young men's association and the cane-growers' association could be cited as fruits of such attempts. During 1919, when the cry for higher wages was raised, the necessity and the importance of labor unions were proclaimed throughout the islands. At this time Mr. Pablo Manlapit, beginning his campaign for the organization of labor unions, with Oahu as the center, succeeded in forming the Filipino Labor Union including Filipinos, Spanish, Portuguese, and Hawaiian. Almost simultaneously Japanese labor unions begun by young men were formed on nearly all plantations, and in the early part of December of that year, with the meeting of the delegates in Honolulu, the Federation of Japanese Labor in Hawaii came into existence. Thus it is evident that the movement to organize labor unions was launched almost at the same time by laborers of all races. Some may question the reason for the existence of two separate labor federations and may insist on the advisability of the consolidation of these two unions, but, unfortunately, the circumstances which then existed and the conditions in Hawaii have not permitted such amalgamation. In case of the Japanese labor federation, the individual plantation labor union is the unit of organization. This organization is a self-governing body. It takes up and settles all questions of the plantation where it exists. This individual organization, together with the others on the same island, combines to form the labor association of the island, and of these island associations the Federation is composed. Therefore this Federation has no power beyond that of representing the opinions of the various island associations in regard to problems which touch all in common. On the other hand, the Filipino union was a well-ordered organization, with the local associations as branches, from the beginning. Moreover, this union grew up with Oahu as its center, while our Japanese Federation sprung up from the different plantations. For these reasons we were unable to unite at least in body. But the affinity and good will between the two federations increased as days passed by. It is a well-known fact that to-day, when the Filipino union is totally dismembered, we are helping each other and striving together for the victory of our cause. We believe that in time there will spring up in every district a labor union including laborers of all races.

OBJECTS OF LABOR ASSOCIATIONS.

Our labor associations were organized with the object of bringing about a closer cooperation of capital and labor, of increasing production by increasing labor efficiency, improving living conditions, and rendering mutual aid. It would probably be of interest to refer to a section of the constitution governing the labor association of the islands of Hawaii as a typical example.

ART. 11. The objects of this association shall be as follows:

- (1) To labor for the progress of Hawaii's productive industries.
- (2) To cultivate sound moral character of laborers, to train their working skill, broaden their knowledge and thereby increase labor efficiency.
- (3) To work for the change and improvement of wages, working hours, and other laboring conditions.
- (4) To strive for the just distribution of the fruits of labor, proper execution of contracts, and thereby increase the rights of laborers.
- (5) To protect women and aged laborers.
- (6) To help and support the sick, the crippled, and the bereaved families.

We are ignorant laborers, but fortunately we were given the intellect to comprehend the opinions of our elders and the ability to get in touch with the general trend of society. We were not satisfied with the behavior of the laborers in Europe and America immediately after the war—strike after strike with little or no thought for the progress of the industrial world or the peace of society. For this reason, from the time of our organization, it has always been our aim to look for the harmonious cooperation of capital and labor, the growth of industries, and the improvement of social life. It is because of this that we have selected the most peaceful methods in submitting our requests to the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, negotiation after negotiation, for two long months, without threat or force. It was because of this that we have been able to endure all persecutions and harsh words heaped on us and intended to hurt or defame us. We sincerely request the fair-minded public not to misunderstand our associations. The Federation of Japanese Labor exists for the mere purpose of establishing unity and connection among the many independent labor unions.

HEAD OFFICE OF THE FEDERATION OF JAPANESE LABOR.

The head office of the Federation of Japanese Labor has been attracting the eyes of the people both Americans and Japanese, lately. The head office department is very simple in its organization. It is composed of eight directors elected by the different island labor unions and a few secretaries. All important matters are discussed and settled by the delegates. The directors either represent the federation or act as an executive body. The secretaries carry out the orders of the directors. When occasion does not permit the calling of a meeting of the delegates for the discussion of any grave questions, the directors usually assume the responsibility of settling the matter involved. Of course, the directors being common laborers, can not always be required to remain in the office. For this reason, they remain here alternately, and decisions are rendered by the directors who happen to be in Honolulu at the occasion. The delegates and the directors are all common physical laborers. We do not insist that they be such, but since the labor unions are associations consisting of laborers (only laborers are recognized as regular members), we believe that the above fact is a natural result. The secretaries who do office work, could not be found among the laborers, and we were therefore obliged to look for them from outside source.

The following will show the officers at present:

Delegates: Maui, 6; Oahu, 6; Kauai, 6; Hawaii, 8

Directors: Oahu, Mr. B. Kato (Waipahu), Mr. G. Abe (Waimanalo), Mr. K. Korogi (Ewa), Mr. S. Hanaoka (Waipahu). Kauai, Mr. T. Nishikawa (Hanapepe), Mr. R. Kanzaki (Waimea). Maui, Mr. Y. Mizutani (Lahaina), Mr. K. Umemoto (Makawao), Mr. K. Saito (Paia). Hawaii, Mr. C. Hoshino (Pahala), Mr. S. Tamura (Papaloa), Mr. M. Nishimura (Papaiko).

Secretaries: Mr. I. Goto, Mr. H. H. Miyazawa, Mr. T. Tsutsumi.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND ERRONEOUS OPINIONS ABOUT THE FEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE STRIKE.

It is to our great regret that there has been circulated a great deal of erroneous matter in regard to our federation and the present strike. Believing that facts would reveal all truth, we have not attempted to go into any discussion with the sophistical, prejudiced, and irresponsible persons who, either knowingly or otherwise, have spread such misunderstandings and erroneous opinions concerning our stand. But that the public may not form wrong conclusions and misjudge us, we shall here explain ourselves.

1. "The Federation of Japanese Labor is working to obtain control of the sugar industry of Hawaii."

This is a statement which was widely published at the time of the calling of the strike, and which is at present believed by some people. Those who know the true situation in these islands will not for a moment hesitate to deny a statement so absurd. They know that the Japanese laborers have no such ambition and that for poor Japanese to attempt such a tremendous work is impossible and unbelievable. But the English papers which seem to believe that to exaggerate is their duty, have constantly insisted that the statement is true, and have tried to incite strong anti-Japanese feeling among the English-speaking community. But we only asked that our wages be raised from 77 cents to \$1.25 per day. Seeing that the honest public would not be fooled by them, the English papers then created a new idea, stating that the Japanese with their great numbers were going to bring pressure upon the Americans. A very clever fabrication! From the indications of the present and past, it seems that the oppression comes from the other side. The Japanese are a people who do not hesitate to champion the cause of justice, to die for a righteous cause. If the planters will be broad-minded and sympathetic enough to grant the laborers their request, the latter will, without doubt, perform diligent labor in return. For justice, for favor shown, they will do their utmost.

2. "The present movement does not involve any economic question; it was started out of the antagonism of the Japanese against the Americans."

When we submitted our demands for increased wages, the public sympathized with the laborers and considered our requests reasonable. But the local English papers, which have always tried to create an anti-Japanese feeling, either in defense of the Planters' Association or in the effort of crushing the strike, have skillfully transformed this purely economic movement into one of racial antagonism. This has brought about great misunderstanding on the part of the public and even among some of the laborers. But that this is not a Japanese nationalistic movement based upon political considerations, we trust, is clear to those who truly understand the situation. Some, moreover, charge this strike as being of racial character on the ground that some outside Japanese are aiding the strikers. The great majority of the Japanese in these islands have come here as laborers, worked as laborers, and therefore understand the sufferings of the laborers. Furthermore, they have all witnessed with what cruelty and terror the "flu" has ravaged the people. Who under such conditions and circumstances will not sympathize and aid the poor struggling laborers? Is this a racial question? If that were so, we grieve for Hawaii, which boasts of being the melting pot of the races, and as a land of humanity and brotherly love. It is out of love and sympathy that some of the Japanese are aiding the strikers. Yet there are some cold-hearted, stubborn people who insist on branding this as a racial agitation and who are secretly engaged in persuading American citizens of Japanese parentage not to join the labor unions. We presented our demands for higher wages simply as laborers, without regard to race or color.

3. "The cry for higher wages is not the true voice of the laborers but that of agitators."

This was a clause contained in a note from Secretary Mead of Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association to us, and one frequently published afterwards. We believe we have not yet lost our senses to allow ourselves to be fooled by so-called agitators, losing our jobs and struggling under all sorts of adverse circumstances now and in the time to come. The Planters' Association has constantly attacked the Japanese language press, Japanese teachers, and priests as agitators. Our federation has no connection whatever with the Japanese press. For fear of any misunderstanding, we have always followed the policy of rejecting it, for which reason we have been criticized as being narrow-minded. There are instances where the Japanese teachers and priests have stood on the planters' side, endeavoring to stop the strike, but as for their agitating the strike there is no evidence. We feel sorry for the representatives of the press, the teachers, and priests who are looked upon as agitators, and at the same time are surprised at the lack of reason and sagacity on the part of certain capitalists who so accuse them.

4. "The laborers are satisfied. They can live easily on their bonus."

We have heard wonderful lectures on the existing bonus system from the members of Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, but we have a far better knowledge of the bonus by having actually received it than what Secretary Mr. Mead possesses. We have too strongly felt the unreliableness of the present bonus system.

On the 12th of February the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association posted bills which read as follows:

A GREAT LOSS WHEN LED BY AGITATORS.

January:

For 26 days' work—	
Wages.....	\$20.00
Bonus.....	23.00
Total.....	43.00
For 20 days' work—	
Wages.....	15.40
Bonus.....	17.71
Total.....	33.14

The remaining bonus will be paid in October.

February:

For 26 days' work—	
Wages.....	20.00
Bonus.....	35.00
Total.....	55.00
For 20 days' work—	
Wages.....	15.40
Bonus.....	26.85
Total.....	42.25

The remaining bonus will be paid in October.

When we read the above notice, we were at once able to figure out as follows:

For 10 years without change:

Wages for 1 day.....	\$0.77
Wages for 1 week.....	4.62
Wages for 2 weeks.....	9.24
Wages for 19 days.....	14.63
Wages for 19.75 days.....	15.20

One-fourth day's leave for births, children's sickness, friends' visit, disease, or mishap.

No bonus.

We know that the amount of bonus is enormous, but bonus is bonus and can not be regarded the same as wages.

OTHER WILD RUMORS AND FALSE OPINIONS.

Besides the foregoing statements, numerous wild and false ideas are current. We regret that the actions taken by the members of Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association have largely been prompted by sentiment rather than by reason. "We were irritated by irreverent words used in the laborers' note." "We will not increase their wages even at the sacrifice of all Oahu." "Crush the unions"—these expressions, we believe, are too sentimental. We grieve to hear them. Will the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, the largest corporation in Hawaii, will the gentlemen, the officers of the association manage Hawaii's greatest industry by emotion and sentiment? Is it their purpose to quarrel with the labor unions which have organized under a just and peaceful principle even at the loss of Oahu's sugar? Is it not too rash; too narrow-minded? We sincerely hope that the planters will come to face the question with cool-headed reason, and lend their ears to the honest voice of the laborers with sincerity and good will.

REV. PALMER'S SUGGESTION.

One of the most interesting features of the controversy between the laborers and the sugar planters is the so-called Palmer plan, which Rev. Palmer and a few others suggested in February, 1920. The following is the text of the proposal:

A PROPOSAL FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

To the FEDERATION OF JAPANESE LABOR.

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned men, residents of Hawaii and profoundly interested in the public welfare, submit the following proposals to the Japanese Federation and to the Planters' Association.

"We take this action in the interest of no party or faction, but simply as independent men who are unconnected either with the Japanese Labor Federation or the Planters' Association, and who seek only the common good of all who live in these Islands.

We believe that the longer the present strike continues the greater will be the injury to public health, to food production, and to the spirit of aloha and good will between races which has been one of the noblest characteristics of Hawaiian life.

The present trouble, as we see it, has become seriously complicated by the widespread suspicion that the causes of the strike are not only economic but racial and nationalistic. We do not discuss the foundation of this suspicion, but recognizing its existence, we realize that, so long as it obtains, settlement is practically impossible. If this condition were removed, the purely economic problem would be capable of solution at the hands of just and reasonable men.

We therefore recommend:

(1) To the Japanese Labor Federation, that it recognize the unwisdom and peril of any such organization along national lines and that it therefore call off the present strike, abandon the field of plantation labor, and thus leave that field clear for an organization of the employees within the sugar industry itself, and so arrange as to be interracial in scope.

(2) To the Planters' Association we recommend that, as an expression of its progressive spirit and purpose to treat its employees in the most generous and enlightened fashion, it announce that it will arrange for an election by secret ballot on each plantation of an employee's committee to confer with the plantation manager in securing the utmost cooperation between the management and the men. Such election to be held within one month of the date the men return to work.

Without attempting to go into the details of the organization and function of such a committee, we suggest that it embody the following principles:

(a) That it consist of several laborers, a member of the office or laboratory force, and the manager *ex officio*.

(b) That less than half the members shall be of any one race.

(c) That it should have regular meetings with entire freedom on the part of each member to present complaints and make suggestions without prejudice to his position and standing in the plantation organization.

(d) That all matters of wages, hours, living conditions, etc., be considered by said committee.

(e) That at least once each year one member of the committee on each plantation shall, at the expense of the plantation meet with similar delegates from all the plantations in a meeting with the officers of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association to consider and settle general labor problems affecting the entire industry for the coming year. Such a meeting should be held this year within two months after the cessation of the present strike.

In an organization along the line suggested above, wherein the members of the Planters' Association meet representatives of their own employees for the purpose of arranging the affair, common to both, we feel that the matters of wages, and working and living conditions can be fairly and freely discussed and adjusted without suspicion, or danger of outside influence or racial issues prejudicial to the best interests of all, especially if some adequate provision be made for impartial arbitration in case of disagreement.

We earnestly request both the Planters' Association and the Japanese Labor Federation not to dismiss this proposal without giving opportunity for one or more of the undersigned to be heard in an informal discussion of the solution suggested herein.

ALBERT W. PALMER.

IGA MORI.

W. C. HOBBY.

M. KAWAHARA.

ARTHUR L. DEAN.

G. NAKAYAMA.

What attitude we assumed toward the above proposal the papers have already made clear.

On February 27 our directors and secretaries in an interview with the proposers of this plan heartily agreed to accept the plan.

"The directors and secretaries of the Federation of Japanese Labor accept the general principles laid down in Mr. Palmer's plan and stand ready to take the steps to put it in operation just as soon as it shall appear that the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association has accepted the general principles of the said plan and also stand ready to put it in operation.

"I. GOTO,

"H. H. MIYAZAWA,

"T. TSUTSUMI,

"Secretaries."

But, on the other hand, the planters' association not only refused to consider proposed plan, but absolutely declined to open negotiations with us. We heartily thank Rev. Mr. Palmer and the other gentlemen concerned for their kind efforts, at the same time express our regret for the attitude taken by the planters, who have little or no regard for the noble principle laid down in Mr. Palmer's plan, namely, that of hearty cooperation of capital and labor.

On March 1, 1920, the federation issued the declaration:

"The Federation of Japanese Labor in Hawaii recently accepted the general principles laid down in the plan proposed by Rev. Palmer, Dr. Iga Mori, Dr. H. K. Mr. M. Kawahara, Dr. Arthur L. Dean, and Mr. G. Nakayama, whose interests are in the welfare and happiness of the people of Hawaii. If the planters' association truly and sincerely hope for the prosperity of Hawaii's industries and the good of the people at large, they should, without the least hesitation, take steps to accept the proposal as well as put it in operation. We stand ready to negotiate with the planters' association for the purpose of putting the new plan into practice as soon as they accept the principles laid down in Mr. Palmer's plan and also stand ready to put it in operation. But to our great astonishment and regret, the planters' association has rejected the said plan and has absolutely refused to open negotiations with the so-called Federation of Japanese Labor."

"Our earnest request for increased wages, a request just and reasonable, has been rejected, we were compelled to strike. There exists no agitation, no plot, no conspiracy in the present movement. Facts speak louder than words. We have no course to take other than continue our strike until the voice of labor shall be heard and its request granted. Fellow laborers, let your hearts be ever united and your spirits ever strong and determined. Let us firmly resolve that we shall stand together for our righteous cause and for the rights of laborers now and hereafter."

"This we believe will bring about an awakening of the capitalists who seem to be unfamiliar with the general trend of the time and the fundamental principles of capital-labor cooperation, social welfare, a lasting peace to the industrial world in Hawaii, and a security of livelihood to the laborers."

"We hereby pledge ourselves and declare that we will continue this strike until the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association express their sincerity and show their willingness to increase our wages, make changes in the bonus system, and take necessary steps for the improvement of our living quarters as well as the social life on the plantations."

At the meeting of the delegates representing all the labor unions held on April 1, 1920, a resolution was unanimously passed confirming the above pledge to fight to the last for the just cause.

Honorable ladies and gentlemen, we have here tried to present the situation in the clearest light. We sincerely trust you will not err in your criticism and judgment.

(NOTE.—The name "Federation of Japanese Labor in Hawaii" was changed to "Hawaii Laborers' Association" at the meeting of delegates on April 23, 1920, on which occasion the constitution was also changed.)

DECLARATION.

The Hawaii Laborers' Association has the honor to announce this 1st day of July of the year 1920 to our 25,000 members and the 200,000 residents of Hawaii that the great controversy between capital and labor on the sugar plantations of Hawaii, which has lasted for the past six months, has been completely settled by the mutual and confidential understanding between the magnanimous capitalists and the sincere laborers, and that it will henceforth endeavor to materialize the true spirit of capital-labor cooperation and bring about industrial advancement and prosperity to Hawaii.

Ever since the rise of the sugar industry in Hawaii, for a period covering half a century, there has always been a close cooperation and assistance between the energetic and industrious capitalists and the skilled, diligent laborers, working for the progress of the industry, but unfortunately with the change in the general trend of the world and the oppression of the high cost of living we were obliged to organize labor unions and launch movements for demanding higher wages, which resulted in the great controversy between the sugar planters and the laborers, in the general strike on the plantations of Oahu.

We regret that during the past six months of the struggle which created such a deep gulf between capital and labor we were unable to come to any clear understanding and amicable solution of the great problem in spite of the kind suggestions and untiring efforts of a number of honorable gentlemen whose interests lay in the social and industrial welfare of Hawaii. We sincerely express our gratitude and heart thanks to these venerable gentlemen for their sympathetic endeavors.

To our capitalists who have been separated from us for over 150 days, necessitated by the strike which was initiated by us, we wish to announce our warm-heartedness and joy for this understanding and solution, and for being able to meet you once more with open hearts and welcome hands. We laborers have always known that industry could never exist without capital, and we believe that the capitalists are not slow to recognize that industry can not advance without labor. The two must stand and work together, side by side, helped along by sincerity and sympathetic understanding.

With thoughts for the future, we here wish to solemnly review the past. The following can be regarded as factors which led to the creation of a breach between the laborers and the sugar planters in the past conflict:

(1) The existence of an estrangement between the capitalists and laborers due to psychological, conventional, and speech differences.

(2) The existence of a swarm of small fry purposely attempting to bring about separation and injury, taking advantage of this natural estrangement.

We do not hesitate to mention the above two factors. The first, namely, the estrangement due to psychological, conventional, and speech differences, we believe, has been happily melted away, and should this obstacle rise again at any time in the future, we would try to clear it away under all circumstances for the maintenance of the spirit of Aloha which leads to mutual understanding and close cooperation. For the welfare and happiness of all those concerned in the industries of Hawaii and for the purpose of establishing sound permanent society, we are ready to do our part to exterminate any undesirable elements which seek to bring about misunderstanding and separation among the people of this country. This, we believe, will not only be for the good of the industrial world but will also be a service to Hawaii.

To think that in spite of all these differences and troubles, the grave question has been at last peaceably settled by the generosity and the intelligent insight of the sugar capitalists, the sincerity and the fervour of the laborers, and the sympathy of the public, gives us, as it does undoubtedly to the sugar planters as well as the public, great joy and delight. We hereby return our hearty thanks to the public and pledge ourselves to place our confidence and reliance in the capitalists and transmit the glory and joy of this day unto the future.

To the persons directly concerned during the maintenance of the strike and to the general public, we express our appreciation and gratitude. The troubles caused by the strike, carried on by thousands of laborers for a duration of half a year—social unrest, economic and financial changes or abnormalities, and numerous other inconveniences—we believe, have been very great. In despite of these troubles, our strikers have been shown the most generous treatment and hospitality. We fail to find words to adequately express our thanks.

Finally we wish to say a word to our members of this association. You have faithfully stood to the last of this long strike, as inhabitants under the rule of the United States, respecting and obeying its laws, as members of this association, and as laborers, preserving your honor and dignity. Indeed, our members have done their part well. The fair-minded critic will, without hesitation, recognize your action, and praise your attitude. You have demonstrated no divided opinion nor personal jealousies and envies, but harmony and brotherly love. May you continue in this beautiful spirit and attitude that you may bring about the realization of capital-labor cooperation and industrial advancement to Hawaii. There is no victory or defeat in the struggle just ended. Do not speak of the past strike. The separation of capital and labor was only a variation of the moment; the cooperation of the two is the natural state of condition. It is for the maintenance of this normal condition that we should strive.

Saying nothing of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association or the Hawaii Laborers' Association, Mr. John Waterhouse representing the capitalists and Mr. T. Baba, Mr. U. Sato, Mr. K. Miyama, Mr. S. Sakai, Mr. K. Watanabe, Mr. S. Hamaoka, Mr. Manuel, Mr. Fedenand, Mr. M. Nishimura, Mr. H. Enomoto, Mr. K. Mori, Mr. C. Kanada, representing the laborers, have heartily shook hands. We hope that this joining of the hands of the capitalists and of the laborers will bring forth the flower of peace that will continue to bloom forever.

The Hawaii Laborers' Association hereby announces the event of this happy solution to its members to share this gladness, and also pledges itself to do its utmost for the welfare of all.

By HAWAII LABORERS' ASSOCIATION.

RESOLUTION.

The controversy between capital and labor on the sugar plantations of Hawaii since January, 1920, has been amicably settled by the magnanimity of the capitalists and the sincerity of the laborers after an unreserved understanding, and the capital-

labor cooperation, the fundamental principle and aim of this association, has been brought to realization. We therefore deem it proper and just to terminate the present strike, beginning July 1, 1920, and to gently take steps along the line of capital-labor cooperation.

By HAWAII LABORERS' ASSOCIATION.

I hereby certify that the above is the true copy of the resolution passed by the special meeting of the delegates of the Hawaii Laborers' Association held in Honolulu, Hawaii, June 30, 1920.

T. Koyama, *Chairman.*

G. Kawahara, *Vice Chairman.*

Mr. RAKER. This seems to have been prepared by the Japanese labor organization.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Stating their case?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; that is my understanding of it, that it was published by the Japanese Laborers' Association. Mr. Roberts, who is the chairman of our legislative committee and the custodian of most of these things, tells me just now that he received it some time last fall, the fall of 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know from whom?

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Tyson.

Mr. GOMPERS. He was then president of the Honolulu Central Labor Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Tyson was pretty active in supporting this strike.

Mr. GOMPERS. He may have been, but I am not conscious of it, according to the news coming to me.

The CHAIRMAN. We have statements in our record showing that he was pretty active.

Mr. GOMPERS. More than likely he was, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you finished, Mr. Gompers?

Mr. GOMPERS. May I just say this word? That there is a Federal law of the United States providing for a survey to be made in the Hawaiian Islands, industrially and otherwise, every five years. It has been urged, and I second the suggestion, that that survey ought to be made under the authority of the Government of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee is urging that, too.

Mr. GOMPERS. The time for the survey, I am advised, is this year, and there is sufficient time now for that survey to be made in this year, 1921.

(Thereupon the committee recessed until 2.30 o'clock, p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled pursuant to the taking of the recess, Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

STATEMENT OF MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS—Resumed.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Gompers, I will ask you one or two questions.

Mr. GOMPERS. Before you do, as I presume you have in mind, Mr. Chairman, the matters about which you desire to ask, there are two things I want to bring to the attention of the committee, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. GOMPERS. One is that in the Hawaiian labor paper, the Labor Review, the last page is composed of different languages and it is called "The language section." On that page are published articles or editorials which appear in the Hawaiian language, in the Portuguese language, and in the Japanese language.

The CHAIRMAN. We will undertake to have translations made of the other languages; but if you will remember, I undertook to draw out from Mr. Wright the method of editing the Japanese section, as to how he could possibly know what was put up in Japanese type.

Mr. GOMPERS. The article appearing in the issue of July 12 is substantially the matter which was translated from the Japanese into English by the Library Bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. I think I so stated. My impression is that one article there is a clear translation from English into Japanese for the information of the Japanese, that Chilton and Wright would come on; but the other article is clearly, in my opinion, a Japanese-written article, written in the Japanese style, calling for a survival of the fittest, and so on.

Mr. GOMPERS. Frequently we find a very peculiar situation by translations into one language and then retranslation into the original language—like Mark Twain's Jumping Frog.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had a good deal of experience with that. But on top of that matter to which you call attention, it must be borne in mind that the Portuguese and Hawaiians are members of the American Federation of Labor in Hawaii, while the Japanese are not. There is that situation.

The first question I want to ask you is this: I understood you to say that your only criticism of the American Federation in Honolulu was that they had not supported the strike with more vigor, and if you had been there that you would have assisted it as far as possible, or something to that effect?

Mr. GOMPERS. I would have assisted them in the attainment of the purposes for which they inaugurated their strike in 1920 and as set forth in the account—the purposes of the strike as set forth in the Japanese Laborers' Association, a pamphlet of which I submitted this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GOMPERS. And in that pamphlet a scale of the wages demanded is incorporated, and a statement, further, that when there was a refusal on the part of the planters to consider anything in regard to it, to consider the scale and demands made by the men, that a clergyman intervened and undertook to conciliate and mediate, and he met with a rebuff and refusal.

Mr. RAKER. That was Palmer?

Mr. GOMPERS. I could not tell you.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Rev. Dr. Palmer.

Mr. GOMPERS. And then the men called the strike off. Yes, sir; I would have supported it; that is, I have not any money of my own and the American Federation of Labor is not a moneyed institution, but if there would be anything in an appeal for financial and moral support in order that they might attain the demands by them presented to the sugar planters, I would have supported them, by appeal by encouragement, by address, and by conferring with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Now I have thought, as much as I am able to do to this effect, that if we were able to send out of this committee an act to pass through Congress an amendment to the Chinese exclusion law by which all oriental peoples were excluded, we would then leave Hawaii with that 110,000 Japanese there. They raise a great many children. We would shut out all other oriental immigration. We have arranged our own immigration laws so that the illiterate and very poor are not likely to go to Hawaii and we would, by the passage of a Japanese exclusion law, mainly for the United States, leave Hawaii to be absorbed by the Japanese, in my opinion. Now that is quite a problem.

Mr. GOMPERS. It is, sir. But continuing—I do not want to enter your question or the importance of your statement, sir, but I just want to add to my previous statement just finished before you members, that this labor movement of Japan has developed and the unrest has become accelerated and accentuated and so much so that within this past month there have been strikes of Japanese workers in Japan; that the workers in the largest ship yard in Japan, employing about 40,000 people, were out on strike for better conditions for shorter hours, for higher wages and better treatment. And there have been strikes within this past month, I believe, or a week or two longer, involving nearly a million and a half of Japanese workers. Would anybody consider these men, just evolving out of feudal conditions, slavery conditions, existing in Japan—that that is political or nationalistic? It is the natural, normal, human development.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Gompers, would it not be a fair deduction if you have stated (and it is confirmed by the published reports) about forty-some-odd thousand are out on a strike in the shipyards, that there are about a million and a half or more who are interested in the labor movement for the first time in the history of Japan of the people who have come from under peonage within the last 40 years—that if their nationals should go to another location or to any part of the United States or any foreign countries, from theirs, and there was a sufficient number of them and they could get together, they would be most likely not only to follow out what their own people were doing at home, but what had been taught them by the people with whom they lived—that they had a right to better their conditions?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. I think it is in line with the industrial history of the whole world. You may know of the six men in Lancashire who were sent to the penal colony in that wooden boat *Success*, where they were tortured because they were overheard discussing questions of wages. In the July issue of the *American Federationist* I publish a poem, taking nearly three pages, of a tribute to these six men. The poem was written by James Lord, president of the mining department of the American Federation of Labor—a coal-miner poet, and dedicated to me.

Years before that, during the struggle from slavery to freedom were the wars of primitive men—tribe upon tribe. Then followed wars of conquest for possession of land or materials of value.

Then the captives of the opposite army or opposite tribe were made prisoners, they were put to death. The reason why they were put to death was because the tools of labor and the weapons of war were the same. The prisoners of war who were captured, if they were

Mr. GOMPERS. I was going to say Mr. Suzuki speaks excellent English and he is a brainy man. He has been in the United States several times and appeared at two of our conventions, which he addressed. I do not know that I ever listened to a more intelligent presentation of a subject than I did when Mr. Suzuki addressed the convention upon labor conditions in Japan. He recognized that the antagonism of America and oriental exclusion was not racial, was not nationalistic, but that it was economic as well as the diverging civilizations.

Now, Mr. Suzuki in a semiofficial way, I think—I have no reason to say that it was either official or semiofficial, but I simply inferred that—has extended to me an invitation to visit Japan and to make an investigation of the conditions there and be the guest of what exists of the organized labor movement in Japan. Up to the few years ago to which I referred whatever there was of a resentment or democratic expression was that of a few radical socialists. In the past six years, they have tried to organize a labor movement bona fide in character and they have what they call the Friendly Society of Labor. I think it is probably primitive and probably just as well for the newly developed industrial conditions of Japan. I may say that I have declined the invitation. During the Denver convention, another cable dispatch from Mr. Suzuki came in the same way, repeating the invitation to me to visit Japan.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it would be in the nature of a duty.

Mr. GOMPERS. Oh, yes; if I had not any other duty. My duty is to be on this job now here.

The CHAIRMAN. And incidentally to stop in Honolulu and visit the various islands.

Mr. GOMPERS. I have already expressed to Mr. Dillingham and Mr. Thurston, proprietor of the Honolulu Advertiser, my appreciation of the courtesy of an invitation to visit Hawaii. Mr. Thurston said that all arrangements, travel and all that, would be arranged for me. Of course, when I go to Honolulu, and some time I hope I will, it will be when I have saved enough money to do it, or I go as a delegate of the American Federation of Labor; but not otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuing that matter just a little further, I think we have all seen the troubles that arise from 100,000 or more Japanese in California. What is the census, giving the figures; 80,000, is it not, Mr. Raker?

Mr. Box. The official census I think makes it a little less than that, but the people of California, I think, contend it is 100,000.

The CHAIRMAN. One hundred thousand or less Japanese in California, which in itself has a population in excess of 3,000,000. Certainly we have seen those troubles and we who have studied it know there is something to it. It does not down, but keeps bobbing up in this committee over and over again. The Japanese population in my own State is 25,000, out of a total population of a million and a half, making the same trouble. Now we see that here in continental United States. I have not visited Hawaii for six years, but I made an incidental study of it and then made a few observations, and I know that with a population of 110,000 Japanese out of a total population of 255,000, there is some problem there.

Mr. GOMPERS. Indeed there is.

or a reversion to the old reaction and the old-time conditions of the life of labor, and so long as there is a spark of life within me I am going to make my fight; not for myself. I do not want anything from anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as you know, these hearings have extended to the Japanese question a little bit.

Mr. GOMPERS. To the Japanese question?

The CHAIRMAN. The hearings generally. We have not been able to carry them on without a continual discussion of the Japanese question. That keeps coming in. Now, you admit there is a shortage of labor in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know sufficient of the situation to warrant my saying anything upon that subject. I must depend upon the statements made and I have no hesitancy in believing the statement made by the sugar planters that there is a shortage of labor. That it exists to the extent they claim, I very much doubt. I have heard the statements made by Mr. Wright and by Mr. Chilton, and they admit that there is—has been—a lessening in the production of sugar in the islands. They have given some reasons for it—the refusal of the plantation owners to consider the matter of wages and hours and conditions of employment; refusal to give the men a hearing or a conference, to establish better and friendlier relations; that this has resulted in a sort of a resentment; that these men, probably without knowing the term, are adopting the idea of Bukenin, sabotage, have little or no interest in their work except for their subsistence. With the men released, several thousand men released, as aliens, because they are aliens, from the Federal governmental work, with the establishment of better relations between the employers and employees, of whatever nationality they are, I am inclined to believe with the committee from Hawaii—I mean the labor committee; not the official labor committee, but the volunteer labor committee—that very much better results industrially can be obtained with the better feeling established. The labor commissioner of the Philippines, who came to Hawaii, declared in his report if the conditions in Hawaii were made a little more attractive in the matter of wages and conditions, that he would recommend that the Filipinos go to Hawaii and work on the sugar plantations.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I have a telegram here which may clear up, in a measure, this point in regard to the number of laborers which will be released by this homestead act.

The CHAIRMAN. I have been trying to get that; I would be glad to have it.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. When this matter was brought up for discussion a few days ago, I wired to the governor of Hawaii to ascertain the number of men that would be made available for work.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, aliens being released from Federal employment?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. From Federal employment on public works. And I have this wire under date of August 1, signed by the governor, apparently:

Army waiting official order before replacing aliens. Believe all departments same—

That is, I take it, they are all awaiting the official order.

Approximately 1,200 liable to discharge.

FARRINGTON.

The CHAIRMAN. I have heard it stated all the way from 2,500 to 10,000. I did not think there was any such number, because it would have attracted a great deal of attention if there had been that number.

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know the number either, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If it were that number, it would be out of proportion to all the people employed in Hawaii.

Mr. GOMPERS. I only know it in the way it has been presented to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, just a moment here. We keep getting away. We have collected here in this first volume of these hearings a large number of reports from the sugar plantation people and the pineapple plantation people, signed statements, which were brought here by this commission, on their labor shortages. Of course, you can not undertake to study it now, neither have the members of the committee had very much time to do more than to sketch through it; but here is the Waialua Agricultural Co., normal force 2,200, shortage 600, and so on through. Now, in other places, and particularly in the pineapple industry, they hope to get through with the employment of children. There are a large number of children in the islands, mostly Japanese, a very large number under 12 years of age, and they seem to work on those plantations, and that brings about a labor condition that is foreign to anything we have here. Now, these pineapple plantations, as I understand it, a large number of them, are homestead propositions. The Japanese are getting in on the homesteads. That situation is badly in need of labor. The islands are not quite in the position of any place in the continental United States, where labor, casual labor or other labor, can move. It is all there. These industries, of course, are in competition with the industries of Java, Cuba, Porto Rico, and I do not know what other places. Now, there is the situation as I think it is. I can not see how, as long as any Japanese remain there, and Chinese, too—if I remember, there are 13,000 or 14,000 Chinese there—that European white labor will be attracted to the islands, and I can not see how you will ever get those out who are there. So there you are. I can not see how any American labor is likely to go from the main land, no matter how bad conditions might become in the United States, to Hawaii to do any labor.

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Chairman, you asked me a hypothetical question a while ago about the strike of the Japanese in the future, a strike of the Japanese in Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GOMPERS. I would like to have your opinion upon how do you think you are going to get rid of the Japanese from Hawaii if you pass this law.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think you are going to get rid of them at all.

Mr. GOMPERS. And the problem will not be then changed?

The CHAIRMAN. No; not entirely; except this, there will be labor. In the first place, there is a labor shortage. A labor shortage, of course, interferes with business, and will for several years. First, we have testimony here that the sugar crop there is a two-year proposition. Of course we have to remember all the time that nearly half of the Japanese in Hawaii are American citizens. When this next strike

comes, personally I think the Japanese people over there, both in the stores, in the cities, and on the plantations, will be very much encouraged by what they read in these reports. I think they have their emissaries at work and will immediately produce another strike, and soon it will come to the point of striking the way their fishermen do—that is, when the market is a little full of fish they will all quit.

Mr. RAKER. The question involved is, Can we, by bringing in under contract another alien race, by a contract of peonage, relieve the situation? Even assuming we could under the Constitution—which of course we can not; but assume we did—this will be driving them out of the fields, and it will be driving into the other places of business, and the American-Japanese that are there will be entitled to be employed on the Government works in Hawaii and on the Federal works.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, this resolution, if it goes into effect, will not permit any Government officer, either the President or the Secretary of Labor, to bring men in under contract, nor under a condition of peonage, nor under slavery conditions. The matter is in their hands to proceed legally to adjust a labor shortage and reserving or protecting the control of American interests in the Territory of Hawaii. That is the object of this resolution.

Mr. GOMPERS. And the American interests, so far as this joint resolution is concerned, is the sugar planters—about 43 in number.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. This represents the interests of the whole Territory and has the indorsement not only of the legislature and the governors but of all the business interests in the islands, and is opposed, so far as I know, principally by the Japanese and the American Federation of Labor in Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. Do you want to answer that?

Mr. GOMPERS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask have you given any thought or study to the admission of Mexicans into the United States without the payment of the head tax, first as a war measure and then, twice later, as a labor measure?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir. And I may say about that, about four years ago, I participated in a meeting at Laredo, Tex., right on the edge of the Rio Grande River, which divided the American from the the Mexican border. At Nuevo Laredo, over the International Bridge between Laredo and Nuevo Laredo, I entered Mexico, as I have been in other portions of it, but it is not very much different than in the interior of that country. I found not only of my own observation but particularly through the reports made to me from workingmen at San Antonio, El Paso, and other American points, on or near the Mexican border, that Mexicans had been brought over to the United States by some means or other, lawful or unlawful, and that as a result of the slump in our industrial conditions (our, the United States), there were thousands of Mexicans who were leaving and lying upon the streets of hunger because of their unemployment. Last January I attended the meeting of the Pan American Federation of Labor, of which I have the honor of being president, and composed of the representatives of the labor organizations of the Pan American countries. I was in Mexico City, Mexico, and there I met not only the representatives of Mexico but many of the other South and Latin American countries. The conditions of labor in

Mexico were discussed. I learned then to my satisfaction that the Mexican agricultural workers were largely returning to their holdings, their little tracts of land, and cultivating them.

For 10 years that country had been in turbulence, in revolution and counter-revolution, and when one revolutionary body would be in the neighborhood of an agricultural district they would levy upon the holder of those products; and then, if they were beaten back or retreated, the counter-revolution would come upon them and take the balance, so that the agriculturist had little or nothing for himself. The men, during this period of 10 years of turbulence and civil war and revolution and counter-revolution, made up their minds they would just take pot luck and not work; not work their soil and produce, but to take their chance and join some revolutionary bands for the purpose of existence and subsistence, but that these men, since the inauguration of the present administration in Mexico and President Obregon, have a feeling of safety. They are returning to their farms and beginning cultivation.

Now there are still conditions here rather apart. I am informed very reliably that within this past three months the Government of Mexico has expended, I believe, nearly \$2,000,000 for the purpose of repatriating the Mexicans who are in the United States; further, that within two months the Congress and the Government of Mexico have enacted a law excluding the immigration of Chinese to that country, and that in all likelihood it will have also the effect of precluding the possibility of any number of Chinese coming to the United States or its possessions through Mexico.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they get by three times, under orders of the Secretary of Labor, or under regulations—the admission of these laborers under contract or involuntary servitude, perhaps? How does it come that that was not taken up?

Mr. GOMPERS. It was taken up.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it taken into the courts?

Mr. GOMPERS. No. We have got enough of the courts. We have enough of the courts; we are glad to keep out of them, either as defendants or as plaintiffs, or prosecutors. Relieve us from the courts. Now we do not want to go into a court; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, there was a dead-open-and-shut chance.

Mr. GOMPERS. Well, probably; I am not a lawyer and I only know just about as much law as has been rubbed up my fur the wrong way, and I know enough to eschew it whenever I can. I will say this, that it was taken up and a protest made to the Secretary of Labor of the United States against bringing in, the letting in, of these Mexican laborers.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is all the questions I have.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Gompers, did you investigate that Mexican situation sufficiently to know, after those men were brought over here, that when they quit work they were arrested by various State and Federal officers and then turned over to the immigration authorities and sent home; in other words, that they were under arrest when they did not work?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir; that is, I have not that of my own observation, but from reports made to me.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Oxnard admitted that that was the fact and he had some of that kind of labor, and he said they were arrested at another hearing before this committee. And that is a fact that the right of peonage to exist in this country, so far as you know, was not taken up by anyone in any of the courts, when these men were arrested, to have this question determined—their right to release?

Mr. GOMPERS. I know there was no intervention, no application, made, upon our part for relief and protection from the courts.

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. GOMPERS. Let me say, Judge, that I said incidentally a while ago that the American Federation of Labor is not a financial institution. I suppose it would be a revelation and a shock to some men if they knew upon what revenue the American Federation of Labor exercises all its functions and duties. We receive 1 cent per member per month, or 12 cents per year, from each member for the maintenance and for the operation of all of our work—12 cents a year. To that extent, we are sucking the life blood out of our poor working men. And we have no funds for the prosecution of cases.

Mr. RAKER. In your visit to Mexico and your observation of the labor situation—I have been trying to get, but have not been able to secure definitely, when since the conquest of Mexico by Cortez and on down, when all of the Mexicans, the originals, were under bondage (I think they became slaves or serfs and it went from father to son and on down through, just like the Orientals) that was abandoned. Do you know whether Mexico has abandoned by law its involuntary servitude or peonage?

Mr. GOMPERS. It has, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Could you tell the committee about when?

Mr. GOMPERS. With the deposition of Portfiro Diaz as president, his overthrow, with Madero as the leader and Suarez as his first lieutenant and aid after the overthrow of the Diaz régime, they abolished peonage by law. Then, when Gen. Huerta, the general of the army of Mexico undertook a coup d'état and arrested or dethroned or ousted Madero and Suarez as President and Vice President of the Republic of Mexico, Huerta then suppressed the orders, or revoked the orders which Madero had issued. Then, when Carranza lead the countermovement for the overthrow of the usurper Huerta, Carranza issued orders, and by his representatives, entered into agreements with what was permitted to exist and existed, the organization of the workers of Mexico—I think it was the Casa del Obrero Mundial. The name was taken from the English translation of "Industrial Workers of the World," and that was supposed to be the Mexican branch of it. It has changed entirely from that phase to the present Federation of labor of Mexico, which, by the way, held a convention two weeks ago in Orizaba, Mexico, and at which the representative of the International Association of Machinists, Mr. Lavison, was there as representative of American labor.

Mr. RAKER. Now, to go just a little further: In 1877 peonage existed in its highest form in Cuba. Cuba was then under the Spanish Government, and contract laborers from China were in Cuba, many of them, as peons, and there was a treaty entered into between China and Cuba through the main Government, abolishing or prohibiting any more peon or contract laborers to come to Cuba, freeing those who had not entered into a contract but continuing under peonage,

and those who had entered into a contract voluntarily. Now, do you know whether or not peonage exists in Cuba to-day?

Mr. GOMPERS. It does not exist there, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Does it exist in Japan?

Mr. GOMPERS. It is a condition of serfdom rather than peonage; only a difference in degree. May I call attention to a historical fact, which developed in Porto Rico after the American occupation and after peace was declared with Spain? The United States had not changed the laws as they existed and operated in Porto Rico under Spanish domination. There were a number of men arrested, two men whose names I remember—Santiago Iglesias and Martinus Rivera, who, with about 20 others, were arrested, tried and sentenced under the Spanish law dealing with the subject of master and servant. The charge against these men was—or the charges, varying in detail, were—that the men had conspired to rob their employers of their labor power. Mr. Iglesias (who, by the way, had lived in the United States for several years and is a carpenter by trade) cabled me stating the facts as briefly as he could. It was necessary for the American Federation of Labor, out of its meager funds, to put up a bond of \$500 in order that these men might be liberated pending an appeal. It was cabled over there, and they were liberated. When the Government of the United States—whether by law or by order of the President, or by the Governor of Porto Rico, I am not sure which—declared that these old-time Spanish laws were void and inoperative.

Mr. RAKER. I want to ask you just a question and then to read a statement here to bring it right down to this resolution. Have you had the opportunity to ascertain whether or not the Chinese Government to-day recognizes in its own government slavery, involuntary servitude, or peonage?

Mr. GOMPERS. I think that has been abolished since the establishment of the Republic.

Mr. RAKER. I will read this statement and then I am going on for another question. I have a letter here from the chief biographer of the legislative reference service of the Congressional Library. He says:

We do not find any countries which now recognize slavery or involuntary servitude. Such conditions exist only in certain parts of Africa, which are still in a barbarous condition and concerning which there are no laws.

I just read that to show that so far as we can ascertain, over the world, and that has been within the last few years, involuntary servitude, peonage, and slavery have been wiped out by the consensus of opinion of the people of the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the Chinese that were sent, a thousand a month last year, to Cuba, in bond through the United States, did not go into involuntary servitude?

Mr. RAKER. I am going to try to develop that in this very condition. Then if a resolution of this kind were to be passed, and I want to read this sentence from it:

That such aliens shall be admitted only for the limited periods of time for the purpose of engaging only in the class or classes of labor as to which the emergency has been found to exist—

and then can be deported, or deported if they do not work at that wage, this would be the only country in the world to-day, so far as

I know, and this is a part of the United States, where involuntary servitude, or peonage, would exist or would be permitted.

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes; that is the fact.

Mr. RAKER. And you, as an American citizen, as well as a member of the American Federation of Labor, appear before this committee protesting against any such conditions existing in the United States and are raising your voice against the enactment of such legislation?

Mr. GOMPERS. That is my position, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Might I ask a question just there and relative to what the chairman has just said about the number of Chinese being carried through the United States into Cuba? Is there any way by which we might control that by legislation?

Mr. RAKER. I have not been fully advised, but the Librarian of Congress is working on that now. They have sent one of their experts who is familiar with the language to the Chinese Legation. He was unable to get it from the legation because they had a convention on, but they turned over to him the records and the papers covering this matter and they are now proceeding to translate this matter so that I may submit it to the committee at the present time, by which I hope and expect to show that the Chinese Government does not permit or would not enter into an agreement with any country to send its nationals away in involuntary servitude or as peons.

Mr. GOMPERS. Mr. Chairman, responsive to the questions of Judge Raker and the committee, let me relate this incident which happened in Paris. The President of the United States honored me by appointing me as one of the two delegates to represent our Government in a commission on international labor relations. The commission represented the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Cuba, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Japan and two or three other countries which I can not recall. I had the honor of being elected president of that commission by unanimous vote. We drafted what was then known as the labor charter. In the course of the discussions of the proposals, or, rather, in the course of the proposals and the discussions thereon, among them I proposed that the language of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States should be made part of the international labor conditions of the whole civilized world. Mr. Cable this morning read article 13 of the Constitution which prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude.

Mr. RAKER. Here it is right here.

Mr. GOMPERS. Will you read it please for me?

Mr. RAKER (reading):

SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Mr. GOMPERS. I proposed that section with a change of the last few words—"shall exist within any country parties to this treaty." And it was discussed. I tried my level best to have it incorporated. It was rejected upon this ground and this alone, that it would be a humiliation to the civilized countries to adopt a principle which had already been established in their countries.

Mr. RAKER. Now I want to read, as part of my question, part of this letter. It is short. I want to read this first so as to make my

statement clear. I wrote to the Librarian to get me all the laws of all countries that could be had where slavery, involuntary servitude, or peonage existed at the present time. I will read his general answer. In regard to China, he writes:

The present law of China exists only in Chinese. We expected to secure a translation of this from the Chinese Legation, but they find it impossible to do this because of a convention in the city which they have on hand. They have offered, however, to place the material at our disposal and we are sending Mr. Huean, who is temporarily employed at work in the Library, to the legation to make this translation, which we hope to send you in a day or two—

which I have not received. Now I want to read to you section 5510 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, keeping in mind, now, the provisions of this resolution before the committee, with reference to aliens in the United States. It reads as follows:

Every person who under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, subjects or causes to be subjected any inhabitant of any State or Territory to a deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, or to a different punishment, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment of not more than one year, or by both.

Now let me ask you, with that statute on the statute books, with this resolution, that a man should be employed and engaged only in one class or work or classes, if he stopped, or left it, and was arrested for deportation, would that be the same kind and character of a right and privilege that is accorded to the other citizens of that community?

Mr. GOMPERS. There is no doubt in my mind, sir, that that is a fact. I regard that provision of the statutes which you have just read as a complete bar against any legislation of the character now before your committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Now let me ask Judge Raker a question there, for the record. I will ask him if he regards that statute as a bar to the registration, for a fee, of aliens in the United States?

Mr. RAKER. No, sir. I have a complete answer and complete authorities covering that question. I will answer it. The Supreme Court has repeatedly held and rightfully held, that the United States is sovereign and can say who can come and who can not come, as aliens. We can permit them to come under certain regulations and conditions, which they must comply with. But having once landed, we can not, except on certain fundamental questions, fix them in any different condition, deprive them of their life, liberty, or pursuit of happiness, different than we can of the ordinary citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I am getting at. Then there is nothing in this proposal to register and take a fee from 14,000,000 aliens now in the United States?

Mr. RAKER. No; it is absolutely constitutional.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it is constitutional? They are here.

Mr. RAKER. Surely.

Mr. CABLE. According to your answer, you can not do it.

Mr. RAKER. No; we can.

Mr. CABLE. According to your answer, you said they come here subject to the laws, and they are here to-day.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; but that is a different question altogether; that is another sovereign right that we have, to find out who is here, and we can compel him to register and to pay a fee for registration—just like I have a right, as an American citizen, born here, to vote; but if I fail to live in the county or State a year, if I fail to live in the county 90 days, or the precinct 30 days, or if I commit an offense or crime, I can not vote; I have lost my right, although I have a constitutional right to it.

Mr. WILSON. That is not on a par with the question of forcing the alien to go and register.

Mr. RAKER. Oh, yes.

Mr. CABLE. No; it interferes with his circulation.

Mr. RAKER. No; there is a distinction.

Mr. GOMPERS. In addition, you are required to register and if you do not register you can not vote.

Mr. CABLE. But this is a different proposition. We have made them register according to the idea of the law.

Mr. WILSON. The one is a result of failing to do an act which the law prescribes; and the other is prescribing that you shall do an act. That is entirely different.

Mr. RAKER. There is no comparison and there is no analogy.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want to get you on record.

Mr. RAKER. You always have me on record.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have you fixed in advance.

Mr. RAKER. You do not embarrass me, nor do you get me into any hole, because I think I have given the subject enough consideration to realize the distinction wherein the American citizen has rights that the alien has not—wherein we can impose conditions on his coming here that we can not impose on a citizen.

Mr. WILSON. Now, Judge, I can agree with you on that, but that is not what you said. You discussed the proposition of making an alien register and then come right back to this and applied it to American citizens. So that I say I think your conclusions are right but your reasons are wrong. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Read that statute once more.

Mr. RAKER. I have decided a number of cases and I think the Supreme Court once said that my conclusion was right but my reasons were wrong. I will read this again; it is worthy of deep consideration. This is section 5510:

Every person who under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom subjects or causes to be subjected any inhabitant of any State or Territory to a deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States, or to a different punishment, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment of not more than one year, or by both.

The CHAIRMAN. Now can you tell me how it is that the Japanese born in the Hawaiian Islands without the right of coming to the other parts of the United States?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; it was a condition precedent in that.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that statute have anything to do with it?

Mr. RAKER. Now, just a moment; let me complete. That gave the President the power to say that those born in Hawaii could not come to the United States if conditions were not met.

that they ought not to come. He issued that order. They can not come to the mainland unless they have passports, which we have absolute control, as a sovereign power, to determine; and it does not affect his individual right as to any other thing, because the Jap in Hawaii, laboring there, can go to each plantation, can quit when he wants to, can commence work when he wants to, can make any kind of a contract he wants to. But the very minute, under this resolution, that he fails to do that particular class and kind of work and fails to work—what? He is arrested. Namely, his right of volition, his right of circulation, is barred and interfered with. Therefore it is an infringement upon that person's right and is involuntary servitude, because if he does not continue in the service he will be arrested by the power of the Government. Therefore it is involuntary servitude clearly in contravention of the Constitution of the United States; just like when one of the Southern States passed an act saying that if a man were on the streets why you could arrest him if he did not go to work. They did not convict him; they simply picked him up and put him in jail and put him at work. He took his case to the Supreme Court of the United States. They thoroughly discussed it and said you can not imprison a man of that kind because he has not been convicted; it would be involuntary servitude to do it, to pick him up on the streets and make him work, because the Constitution says he must be convicted.

Mr. WILSON. Suppose they left him in jail?

Mr. RAKER. It is false imprisonment. He has a right to be discharged on the ground of false imprisonment, because he has not been convicted.

Mr. WILSON. Oh, I understand; he has not been tried.

Mr. RAKER. No; they put him at work, and that was the statute of the State, you see. Just one other illustration—

The CHAIRMAN. Now I want to ask one question. Have we Chinese citizens in Hawaii who can not come to the United States?

Mr. RAKER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. We have not?

Mr. RAKER. No. And your rehabilitation bill you are talking about, having read that provision, you can not pass a law in the United States, whereby you can say that one American citizen can buy a piece of property and another American citizen can not buy a piece of property. I do not care whether it is Chinese or Japanese. You have to apply it the same to citizens.

Mr. CABLE. I want to ask a question. Section 5510 is a law of Congress, is it not?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. This resolution, if it became a law, would in effect suspend the operation of the previous law, because it is in conflict with the previous law, would it not? Do you agree with me?

Mr. RAKER. No.

Mr. CABLE. Therefore section 5510 would not apply to Hawaii?

Mr. RAKER. No.

Mr. CABLE. In other words, you can repeal this if you want to, so far as the subsequent law is concerned?

Mr. RAKER. No. You can repeal the law, making it a crime to interfere with the alien's rights, yes. There is no question about that

on earth. But this resolution does not attempt to repeal the criminal law.

Mr. CABLE. Yes it does. It is in conflict with it and therefore it repeals it.

Mr. RAKER. No; it does not repeal it.

Mr. CABLE. It suspends it.

Mr. RAKER. It just permits those people to come over here and do certain work and, if they do not do that work, you arrest them; and if a man does arrest them, he is guilty of the penal offense provided for by statute.

Mr. CABLE. Not if you give him full authority to do it. There is legal authority, and it is in conflict with the criminal laws, and therefore the criminal laws are suspended just the same as section 5510 would be suspended under the resolution.

Mr. RAKER. No; I do not think so. I realize and recognize what you said this morning and I think it is a correct interpretation, that a subsequent statute, bearing upon the same subject, in conflict with a prior act upon the same subject, by implication repeals it.

Mr. CABLE. Why does it not do it here, then?

Mr. RAKER. Because it is not on the same subject.

Mr. CABLE. It is a conflict of law, though.

Mr. RAKER. No; I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a question you wanted to ask, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes; I want to ask how this law, as cited by Judge Raker, giving all residents equal rights, works in regard to handling the Chinese merchants who come to this country and become residents of this country, to change from the status of a merchant to the status of a laborer?

Mr. RAKER. That does not work at all.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. What procedure is adopted in a case like that with regard to arrest and deportation?

Mr. RAKER. If a man comes under the Chinese exclusion law to-day that permits him to come under an excepted class as a resident or otherwise, and he violates that permission given to him by the sovereign government and proceeds into another occupation within a reasonable time designated, he can be deported.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Arrested?

Mr. RAKER. Arrested and deported. That is the fundamental right of the Government. We permit a man to come in here and if he commits a crime within five years we can deport him; if he comes in here and becomes a beggar we can deport him; if he comes in here and makes a splendid showing at the time and afterwards plies his profession as a pimp or a woman as a prostitute, within a certain length of time, we can deport him. They come in with the understanding they will abide by our laws, rules, and regulations. Sovereign is the Government.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. All right. Now, Judge, under this resolution, is not the same arrangement, the same sovereign right, given the alien, otherwise nonadmissible, to come in and take up his walk in life here in a certain line, not bound to any one particular employer, not bound to any one particular company, but under a limitation of performing a certain class of work, and otherwise debarred? He can

come in under this sovereign right to do that particular sort of work for a particular length of time.

Mr. RAKER. No; but the Constitution says you can not make a difference in the right of labor.

Mr. CABLE. Where is that in the Constitution? You read an ordinary law of Congress?

Mr. RAKER. I am talking about the Constitution now.

Mr. CABLE. What section?

Mr. RAKER. Section 13.

Mr. WILSON. About this section 5510, of course I stated my views about that yesterday, that any law of Congress that provided that you could take charge of any sort of people from anywhere within the territory of the United States and tell them they must do a certain kind of work for a certain period of time, and then prescribe the punishment in the event that they did not do that work, would be unconstitutional, because it would conflict with this article 13. But I do not believe that this section 5510 is applicable to that situation.

Mr. RAKER. I do not offer it for the purpose of affecting the constitutional amendment 13 or as bearing on it, except only as an expression of Congress. It was enacted subsequent to and to carry out the provisions of section 13.

Mr. CABLE. How do you know it does?

Mr. RAKER. Well, it could be for no other purpose.

Mr. WILSON. Your contention is, though, that this resolution will be illegal because it comes in conflict with section 5510 of the Revised Statutes.

Mr. RAKER. No; I did not put it that way.

Mr. WILSON. In other words, your position would be that if any citizens in Hawaii were to attempt to punish or to handle the Chinese coolies for not complying with that resolution that those citizens would come under this section?

Mr. RAKER. That is the point I make, exactly.

Mr. WILSON. That is the point you make. I was just going to suggest that this section 5510, without looking at the way it reads, would not apply to a temporary resident, because it reads "inhabitant"; so that I think that would be an alien who comes here to reside permanently. Anyway, these legal questions would keep us all night.

Mr. CABLE. Yes; two or three days. Let us get through with the witness.

Mr. WILSON. I want to get through with Mr. Gompers.

Mr. GOMPERS. Would it not be in effect that after these Chinese coolies were imported into Hawaii for five years that practically the same thing would occur of a continuous performance and that others again would be brought in?

Mr. WILSON. Yes; every time the President would issue a proclamation saying there is an emergency. Of course, you could make that permanent.

The CHAIRMAN. We have been over that several times.

Mr. GOMPERS. It was not gone over in my presence.

■ The CHAIRMAN. The emergency would repeat itself. We have been over that time and time again. That appeared to us here that the poorest European, even if we should amend the laws to let illiterates into the country, would not be likely to work

with the orientals. You have not had time to read the matter that has gone ahead in these hearings, but we had before us here one suggestion in lieu of this amendment, a substitute to the effect that the operation of the immigration laws be lifted sufficiently to permit the illiterates to come to the Territories of the United States, that is, Hawaii and Alaska. Now we have not gone into that carefully enough to see whether that would run counter to some of the things Judge Raker proposes; but there is one solution by which the same type of European that came to the United States when opportunity was large here and found his way west and pioneered, might help fill up Hawaii and fill up Alaska. That proposition is one of the sidelights on this thing here. What do you think about that?

Mr. GOMPERS. I have been so engrossed with the thought of bringing Chinese coolies into Hawaii that I have not given that any consideration. I am not in a position just at this moment to give anything like a definite opinion.

Mr. RAKER. I want to ask Mr. Gompers another question, but I just want to read one statement in this connection, where the court spoke in the case of *Hodges v. United States* (203 U. S., pp. 1-38). Judge Brewer, among other things, uses this language, after quoting the constitution:

* * * Slavery or involuntary servitude of the Chinese, of the Italian, of the Anglo-Saxon are as much within its compass as slavery or involuntary servitude of the African. Of this amendment it was said by Mr. Justice Miller in *Slaughterhouse cases* (16 Wall, 36, 69), "Its two short sections seem hardly to admit of construction." And again: "To withdraw the mind from the contemplation of this grand yet simple declaration of the personal freedom of all the human race within the jurisdiction of this Government * * * requires an effort, to say the least of it."

I want you just to think about that. Now, Mr. Gompers, you have said you talked with Dr. Gulick?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. You and the doctor did not agree upon the subject of the Chinese exclusion law?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not know that he and I discussed the Chinese exclusion law. We discussed the Japanese-American situation. He had lived in Japan for several years and seemed much interested in Japan.

Mr. RAKER. Well, I take it for granted from what you say, you are unalterably opposed to repealing the Chinese exclusion law?

Mr. GOMPERS. In any way, or its modification.

Mr. RAKER. Yes. You are opposed to admitting Japanese?

Mr. GOMPERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. And you are opposed to making Chinese and Japanese citizens of the United States by naturalization?

Mr. GOMPERS. I should oppose it; yes, sir. I have opposed it and will.

Mr. RAKER. Did your organization make any effort to defeat this provision in the bill now pending before Congress, Sixty-second Congress, first session, S. 1253?

Mr. GOMPERS. I do not recognize it by the title and number.

Mr. RAKER. You do not remember it by that?

Mr. GOMPERS. Not by the number.

Mr. RAKER. I just wanted specially to call your attention to it, as this bill is pending before Congress. I do not think any one has

introduced it in the House, but there has been extensive propaganda going abroad for the enactment of it.

Mr. WILSON. Is that the percentage plan?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. The Gulick plan?

Mr. RAKER. The Gulick plan to repeal the Chinese exclusion law and admit Japanese and to naturalize Chinese and Japanese over here who are native born.

Mr. GOMPERS. Dr. Gulick is, in my opinion, more of a pro-Mongolian than he is a pro-American.

Mr. RAKER. That ends all of my examination now.

Mr. GOMPERS. You remember that during my remarks this afternoon I referred to a conference with Dr. Gulick and, when he asked me as to what should be done in Japan to bring about a better condition of affairs and better conditions industrially, I called in a stenographer and dictated a statement which was then written out and then, later, put in the form of a letter. By having one of the legislative committee men of the American Federation of Labor in attendance here at the committee hearing, he telephoned over to the office and I have a copy of the transcribed notes that I dictated at that time. It was on February 24, 1917. I would like to read it.

Mr. WILSON. Very well.

Mr. OYSTER (reading):

DR. SIDNEY L. GULICK,
*Care of Dr. H. H. Guy,
332 Pine Street, San Francisco, Calif.*

There ought to be no misapprehension in regard to the development of the labor movement in Japan. Like the individual, the aggregation or association of humans can not escape the pitfalls and errors that are common attributes of the human. The movement of labor which seeks to redress for wrongs, improvement of the material, economic industrial conditions may and does take on various forms, particularly according to the national and racial, as well as industrial, circumstances.

Any organized effort of the workers which is antagonized on the part of governmental authority is likely to develop into secret effort, and hence so-called radical and oftentimes impractical, so far as the attainment of any tangible results are concerned, except as it manifests antagonism to constituted authority.

On the other hand, any organized labor movement pampered by governmental agency will tend to make the organization ineffective.

My idea of what the governmental attitude should be is to accord freedom of the right of organization, freedom to the right of expression, freedom to exercise the normal activities of the human being. The workers hold in principle that which is legal for any one person to do is not illegal when done by two or more persons, but the act in itself must be held to be either legal or illegal; that it is no more illegal for two or more persons to do a legal act than it is for any one person to do it; that is, the right by associated effort to agree to perform labor or to withhold labor, to give patronage or withhold patronage.

The exercise of these activities by the workers may in the beginning find crude expression and possibly going beyond a mark which has been frowned down by Governments such as Japan. Even in its present development, but it is the only way by which men and associations of men learn to do the right thing, learn to limit the exercise of their own activities and the new found power which comes from association.

I hold that it is a common attribute of man to endeavor by every honorable means to improve their condition.

There are no people for whom improvement in conditions is so essential as the working people, and even the errors and mistakes which are part of the human development whether as individuals or in association, are in themselves educational to the workers, to the employers, to the Government, and to society at large. Nothing can be done by the workers for themselves for their own improvement, the improvement of those dependent upon them, but will find its reflex in industry, in commerce, in Government, in societary conditions, and make for the entire uplift of all.

You will observe that I am speaking, or rather thinking aloud, upon the subject which has grown upon me with my years of life and activity and experience.

I do not underestimate the difficulties in the way of a Government's changing its policy so that the full freedom to exercise these activities can be tolerated or permitted or sanctioned by law or by governmental agents.

But I say this from my experience and observation, not in America alone but of a study as well as observation of the history of the development of the organized labor movement in every country on the face of the globe, wherever such an effort has been made, and it holds good wherever it is undertaken and wherever it has developed and grown.

If those in authority in Japan can and will take the position outlined, it will make for the increasing and best development of the Japanese people and the Japanese Government and for the Japanese taking their place among the advanced nations of the world, it will prove an incentive and impulse in the most effective way.

Respectfully,

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

President American Federation of Labor.

Mr. GOMPERS. As I say, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, that in a conference with Dr. Gulich, when he asked me to give an explanation as to my opinion as to what could or should be done in Japan for the establishment of better conditions and better relations between the workers and the employers, between the workers and the masses, and the government, I, off hand, called in a stenographer and off-hand dictated the statement which has just been read to you.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a very interesting statement.

Mr. GOMPERS. That was about four and a half years ago, which by the way was published in Japan broadcast and brought to the attention of the Government, to the friendly society of which Mr. Suzuki is president, and it was generally and freely discussed, and perhaps may be that on account of the general publicity and the discussions of this subject that the invitation was extended to me to visit Japan.

The CHAIRMAN: Now, if there are no other questions, we will adjourn to meet at the call of the chairman.

(Whereupon at 4.15 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, August 10, 1921.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the commission have something in addition to offer this morning?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir. Mr. Chairman, we have some indorsements which I would like to have put into the record. They have come from Hawaii since the opposition of the American Federation of Labor has been put forward. They are not very long and if I may have them included in the record I will submit them.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be inserted in the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

HONOLULU.

WALTER DILLINGHAM,

Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

Honolulu Welding & Machine Co. employs dozen skilled mechanics, who individually and collectively indorse and urge the importation of oriental labor, as requested by your commission. It is only solution save Hawaii's chief industry, which will collapse under present conditions.

FRANK HOWES, *President.*

HONOLULU.

RETLAW,

Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Father Harding, Catholic priest of New Orleans, extensive traveler, publisher, after five weeks' investigation in Hawaii, at lecture before Columbus Welfare Club, leading Catholic organization Hawaii, affiliated National Catholic Welfare Council, strongly advocated admission Chinese absolutely necessary preservation prosperity here; praised conditions on plantations; stated provisions for comfort, health, safety workers; Hawaiian Pineapple Co. finest he had seen anywhere in world.

CREEDON, *President.*

HONOLULU.

RETLAW,

Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Honolulu chapter, American Association of Engineers, 80 members, by letter ballot favor indorsement, overwhelming majority.

GEORGE COLLINS, *Secretary.*

HILO, HAWAII.

RETLAW,

Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

Board of trade, Hilo, approved labor resolution.

HONOLULU, *July 17, 1921.*

CHILLINGWORTH,

Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Hawaiian Civic Club indorsed resolution regular meeting July first. Kamehameha Alumni Association indorsed resolution last meeting.

DUNCAN, *President.*HONOLULU, *July 26, 1921.*

RETLAW,

Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.:

Legion executive committee sending Withington following to-day. "Expect you to support report of Americanism committee as adopted by second national convention, which covered this department's instructions to its delegates, especially that part which calls for a diversification of alien population with a view to military, social, and economic safety. Present this to National Legion officials and urge their support to legislation now proposed to give Hawaii this diversified alien population in the interests of Americanism and American control here. Above department executive committee action to-day."

BUTLER.

NOTE.—"Retlaw" is a code word meaning "Walter F. Dillingham," used as an address to save cable tolls.

HONOLULU, *July 28, 1921.*DILLINGHAM, *Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.:*

Maul Post, No. 8, protests against declarations made by president American Federation of Labor regarding importation of Chinese labor for Hawaii.

O'SULLIVAN.

HONOLULU, *August 2, 1921.*DILLINGHAM, *New Willard, Washington, D. C.:*

Our society of 600 women unanimously indorse Hawaii emergency labor bill.

KAAHUMANU SOCIETY,

LUCY K. PEABODY, *President.*

HONOLULU, August 6, 1921.

DILLINGHAM, *New Willard, Washington, D. C.:*

Mailing you to-day resolutions adopted by Kohala Post, Kauai Post, American Legion, protesting attitude American Federation Labor and supporting Hawaiian emergency labor bill. You already have similar resolution Maui Post.

O'SULLIVAN, *Adjutant.*

HONOLULU, August 6, 1921.

DILLINGHAM, *New Willard, Washington, D. C.:*

Our society, numbering 325, unanimously indorse Hawaii emergency labor bill.

DAUGHTERS AND SONS OF HAWAIIAN WARRIORS.
M. A. TAYLOR, *Premier.*

HONOLULU, August 9, 1921.

DILLINGHAM,

New Willard, Washington, D. C.:

Continued prosperity of more than 150 homesteading families dependent upon prosperity of Makee Sugar Co., to whom we sell our crops of cane. Said company face destruction through labor shortage. Myself and neighbors urge passage labor relief bill now in Congress.

ELMER M. CHEATHAM.

WAIALUA, HAWAII, June 28, 1921.

HAWAIIAN LABOR COMMISSION.

Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: At the request of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, I herewith submit my views of the labor situation on this plantation.

It is indeed critical and becomes more so each day, as men are leaving for the pineapple fields and Japan: every steamer to Japan takes as many as can get passage.

This mill is grinding about 70 per cent of normal and doing that at the expense of future crops, as nothing has so far been done for the 1923 crop. Our output this year is, to date, 14,554 tons, as against 25,037 tons on the same date in 1919, or 10,483 tons behind normal. I am taking 1919 as a standard, as the Japanese strike started on January 19, 1920, and lasted till July 12, 1920. Even then our grinding between the same dates was only 503 tons less than this year, about three days' grinding.

This crop which should end September 1, 1921, will run well into 1922 and will mean we will have to throw out about 2,500 acres of cane land. We are finishing up what work we have started about the factory, but it will be necessary for us to abandon any future work.

Our present labor is not over 50 per cent efficient. After my experience of about 22 years on sugar plantations in Hawaii, I must say the Chinese are the best laborers we have.

I am an American, born and brought up in the United States, and believe in America first, but I think the only salvation for the sugar industry in Hawaii is to get Chinese labor.

W. A. KINNEY.

Chief Engineer, Waialua Agriculture Co. (Ltd.).

(Mr. Kalaniana'ole submitted for the record the following cablegrams:)

[Telegram.]

HILO, HAWAII, August 10, 1921.

Delegate KALANIANA'OLE,

Washington, D. C.:

North Hilo Civic Club urge passage Hawaii emergency labor bill.

MAKANUI, *Secretary.*

HILO, HAWAII, August 7, 1921.

Delegate KALANIANA'OLE,

Washington, D. C.:

Waiakea Homesteaders' Association urge passage Hawaii emergency labor bill.

KEOLA, President.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition, I think it would be a good plan to put in the record a letter in opposition to the resolution from E. Clemens Horst, a hop grower, of San Francisco, who is known to the members of the committee, Mr. Horst having appeared before the committee.

Mr. RAKER. What is his attitude?

The CHAIRMAN. In opposition. His letter is as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, August 3, 1921.

Hon. ALBERT JOHNSON,

Chairman Committee on Immigration and Naturalization,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. JOHNSON: In my opinion, the United States should allow no further importations, and, in the case of the Hawaiian sugar planters' demand for Asiatic labor there is an especially good reason why it should be denied. Our sugar production is roughly 2,000,000,000 pounds per year. Our sugar exports are roughly 1,000,000,000 pounds per year. Let us cut out our exports of sugar instead of trying to compete with foreign markets by lowering the American wage scale to the level of Asiatic labor. An export trade that needs importation of Asiatic or any other cheap labor, or any other foreign labor, should not be supported. If we were to support such a policy on sugar, there would be no excuse for refusing the same support on every other product of the farm, the factory, and the mine.

We import 5,000,000,000 pounds of sugar per year. We should sufficiently increase sugar tariffs so that American sugar planters can sell their product at home at a price high enough to enable them to pay a proper American wage scale. The same policy should apply to everything that can be produced in the United States.

Faithfully,

E. C. HORST.

The CHAIRMAN. I have here a long telegram in opposition to the resolution, signed by Gilbert J. Waller, jr., of San Francisco, which was forwarded to me by Congressman Julius Kahn, and which may be inserted in the record.

(The telegram referred to is as follows:)

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., August 6, 1921.

Hon. JULIUS KAHN,

Congressional Building, Washington, D. C.:

On the suggestion of Mr. Sam Bissinger, I again address you the following telegram, hoping that you may see your way clear to aid me in my opposition, and I take this opportunity of again thanking you for your many kind favors of the past. As a citizen of Hawaii, I oppose the emergency alien labor resolution now before Congress which the planters are strenuously trying to force. It will retard civilization of the Territory, indefinitely postponing solution of labor problem, creating an aggravated condition later. Present schemes lead from pan to fire. Planters desire domination labor.

No sincere effort yet made to introduce citizen labor spite of idleness in mainland, and my personal experience justifies statement that one white laborer equals two orientals in capacity for work. Present unemployment mainland affords planters unprecedented opportunity for sincere effort to try out citizen labor. Congress ought at least delay action pending such experiment. Planters' motives purely mercenary. Americanization and welfare of Territory appeals to them only when sensitive pocket nerve is touched. Planters responsible present alien population—Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Porto Ricans. Within decade planters publicly supported Japanese to dominate labor market. Now regret and, realizing pulse of America, magnify Japanese menace in their statements. Americanization Territory all poppycock. Sole motive mercenary,

cheaper labor. Personally am strongly anti-Japanese, but know importation Chinese labor can not solve present or future problems. Will increase difficulties. All interests independent of planters' control oppose equalization American with oriental working, living standards at expense of former. Result, retrogression. Firm I am treasurer and director of now passing through the most stressful period existence due Chinese competition, which competition planters now are and have for years been assisting. My firm is cooperative grazing company, which during World War sold beef to American Army at lower prices than Army purchased anywhere in America. Policy purely public spirited at time necessity for cooperation. Army lack of transportation confined Army's source supply to Territory. If advantage were taken prevailing conditions, 10 cents pound more could have been charged Army. Even then would have bought cheaper price than California or eastern supplies. Record War Department will confirm statement. Comparison of this record with planters invited. During war largest stockholder of firm employing me refused to employ aliens claiming exemption grounds alien subjects. Planters encouraged aliens to claim exemption on same grounds. Same stockholder paid annual bonus of Liberty bonds. Plantation managers informed me planters did not for fear of dissatisfaction to aliens. Nineteen hundred and seventeen Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, a planters' tool, elected German president. Motive, placate German element, mercenary reasons. Lack of more general opposition due mostly fear of consequences of opposition to planters' interests. Residents of Pacific Coast States realize the passage of bill will mean increased influx Hawaiian-born Japanese, Chinese, and others who are American citizens. I seek your valued opposition to this bill and would court an investigation by a commission that might be sent there.

GILBERT J. WALLER, Jr.

Mr. RAKER. In that connection, I received a cablegram from Mr. Hindle, urging the adoption of this resolution, and I answered it. I also received two letters from business men in San Francisco in favor of the resolution, and I answered them. I would like to insert that cablegram and the letters, with my answers, in the record.

(The letters referred to are as follows:)

HONOLULU.

Representative RAKER,
Washington, D. C.:

Labor here is not opposed to Hawaiian Delegate's bill, importation Chinese for agricultural purposes. You know the previous bills, as well as this one, are clear and deserve your support, not opposition. Try and see the light, as placed by the labor commission from this Territory.

W. H. HINDLE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., August 9, 1921.

Mr. W. H. HINDLE,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

MY DEAR MR. HINDLE: Your wireless, regarding the Hawaiian bill, authorizing importation of Chinese in Hawaii, at hand. I remember very clearly the hearings had before the Committee on Immigration on the two separate bills which you sponsored, and your appearance before such committee.

This Chinese importation legislation does not have a ghost of a chance to pass and become a law. There is every argument against it. The importation of Asiatic coolie labor into the United States or any of its Territories would be a severe blow to the principles for which America stands. We want free labor, not involuntary servitude, no peon nor serf labor.

This method of dealing with men was abolished by the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States and the laws enacted subsequent thereto, and there is no possible chance of going back to the conditions existing before the passage of the thirteenth amendment and there should be none. This bill permits and authorizes involuntary servitude and peonage, as well as violating the organic act of the Territory of Hawaii admitting it as a Territory into the Union.

I am, yours, most truly,

JOHN E. RAKER, M. C.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., August 9, 1921.

Hon. JOHN E. RAKER,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

We respectfully ask your support for the Hawaiian immigration measure now before Congress. This measure is vital for the prosperity of the Hawaiian Territory, and their prosperity is very necessary to the Pacific coast. We have extensive business connections there, and we are assured by reliable business men that this measure is vital to the prosperity of the islands.

W. P. FULLER & Co.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., August 9, 1921.

W. P. FULLER & Co.,
San Francisco, Calif.

GENTLEMEN: Your telegram of August 8 regarding the Hawaiian immigration measure, now before Congress, at hand.

This measure violates the thirteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States, the organic act admitting Hawaii as a Territory, and would establish in a Territory of the United States involuntary servitude, peonage, and serfdom. It is violative of the Chinese exclusion act. Its features are contrary to the public policy of America. America stands for free labor and against involuntary servitude, peonage, serfdom, contract labor, and coolie labor (Chinese as well as Japanese), so you can see that the resolution is having my personal and most careful consideration.

I am, yours, most truly,

The CHAIRMAN. A great many letters are coming to the committee on this subject, but I will not put them in the record, because I do not wish to encumber the record any more than is necessary.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The cablegrams I have submitted for the record are from different societies, individuals, etc., including the American Legion posts in Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. Are the American Legion posts in favor of this legislation?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir; they are.

Mr. RAKER. Let us hear that.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I will read this resolution:

Whereas it has been brought to the attention of Maui Post, No. 8, American Legion, Department of Hawaii, that Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, has made public certain declarations, as published in an Associated Press dispatch from Washington dated July 11, 1921, regarding the House resolution which authorizes the President of the United States to suspend temporarily the laws excluding oriental labor, to wit:

"That the Hawaiian planters desire the importation of Chinese labor, because they find the coolie the most easily exploited, the least resentful of exploitation and brutality, and the most easily kept in bondage.

Further:

"Time after time the true situation in Hawaii, where poverty and profiteering have been pictured in terms almost unbelievable, has been presented in Government reports and these have been suppressed. Present reports to the Department of Labor and Congress are meaningless.

"Investigators have so thoroughly learned their lesson by experience that they now include in their reports only a few tables on the cost of living and wages. They make no effort to depict conditions and analyze the great questions affecting employment in Hawaii."

Which statements are entirely without foundation and absolutely misrepresent the true situation.

Therefore, be it resolved, that Maui Post No. 8, American Legion, Department of Hawaii, protests the acceptance of these declarations without a close and impartial investigation.

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to all posts of the American Legion in the Department of Hawaii, requesting that they take action.

Be it further resolved, that the executive committee, American Legion, Department of Hawaii, be requested to forward the results of the action of the posts

of this department to the national legislative committee of the American Legion, requesting it to present the matter to the Committees on Immigration of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Be it further resolved, that the executive committee, American Legion, Department of Hawaii, be requested to send the results of the action of the posts of this department to the Committees on Immigration of the Senate and House of Representatives.

Be it further resolved, that we, the members of Maui Post No. 8, American Legion, Department of Hawaii, do petition Congress to act favorably upon and pass the joint resolution introduced in the United States Senate under the date of June 20, 1921, permitting importation into the Territory of Hawaii, for limited periods, of sufficient agricultural labor to relieve the present labor shortage, the passage of which resolution is vital to the best interests of the Territory of Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. By whom is that signed?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. That resolution is by Maui Post, No. 8, American Legion. I will read you this cablegram dated August 6, 1921, addressed to the chairman of the Hawaiian Emergency Labor Commission, as follows:

Mailing you to-day resolution adopted by Kohala Post, Kauai Post, American Legion, protesting attitude American Federation of Labor and supporting Hawaiian emergency labor bill. You already have similar resolution Maui Post.

O'SULLIVAN, *Adjutant*.

That refers to the resolution that I have just read and to two others whose complete text I have not yet received.

Mr. RAKER. How many men are there in that post?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not know how many men there are in the different posts, but Hawaii was very well represented on the roster of the last war. There was a very high percentage of service men, and a great many of them are members of the American Legion posts.

Mr. RAKER. Do you suppose there are as many as 10 members of that post?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I am very sure that there are a great many more than that.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. At the time America went into the World War Hawaii was one of the few places that had 100 per cent efficiency in her National Guard, or sufficient to replace every man in the regular service. At that time there were some ten or twelve thousand men in the Territory available.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Out of the population down there, including American, Hawaiian, etc., we had, when the draft came on, about 10,000 men in service.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Chairman, I have a telegram from the University of Illinois Alumni Association of Hawaii, which I think might be inserted in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You have that permission.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

HONOLULU, August 7, 1921.

Representative GUY L. SHAW,

Congress Hall Hotel, Washington:

We strongly indorse Hawaii's emergency labor bill now before Congress. We live here and know that diversified alien field labor, which will not replace or compete with citizens' labor, is necessary to prevent Japanese control Hawaii and her industries.

ALUMNI UNIVERSITY ILLINOIS.

By A. B. CLARK.

AUGUST 9, 1921.

Mr. A. B. CLARK, *Honolulu, Hawaii.*

MY DEAR MR. CLARK: I received your cablegram of August 7 last Sunday in regard to the alien field-labor condition in Hawaii.

I was indeed glad to receive this information from you. I am heartily in accord with the question of preventing Japanese control in the islands.

Very truly, yours,

GUY L. SHAW.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, the attorney general of the Territory of Hawaii has prepared, at your request, a statement for this committee. Mr. Mead has prepared a statement covering some points raised by Mr. Gompers in his testimony, which I would also like to have inserted in the record. Unfortunately, Mr. Mead has been called out of town and will not be here this morning. If that could be placed in the record following Mr. Irwin's statement—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Who is that?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Mead. He has been here before the committee. I have not the statement here, but Mr. Mead has it.

The CHAIRMAN. If we do not place it in the record we will hear him.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I would prefer to have Mr. Mead appear before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. There will be a few questions we will want to ask him.

STATEMENT OF MR. HARRY IRWIN, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, this is a statement that I have prepared after some search and study of the authorities, relating principally to the constitutional questions involved and which have been raised during these hearings. The statement is as follows:

BRIEF IN SUPPORT OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 171.

Very early during the hearing before this committee it was suggested by Judge Raker that the resolution under consideration, if enacted into law, would be declared unconstitutional, as being repugnant to the principles of the thirteenth amendment and as contemplating a system of peonage and enforced servitude.

Such a system was so far from anything which the members of this commission had in mind that the suggestion was not taken very seriously, and it was only when Representative Cable filed his brief on this point that we began to realize that some members of the committee entertained serious doubts as to the constitutionality of the measure now under consideration. I was impressed with the idea that if a constitutional question is involved at all it should have been settled at the outset rather than at the conclusion of these extensive hearings.

I am very well convinced, however, that the doubts which have been expressed relative to the constitutionality of this resolution are the result of a misconception of the entire labor proposition in Hawaii. I take it that the reasons urged by Mr. Cable against the constitutionality of the resolution cover practically every ground of objection that can be raised.

Mr. Cable bases his opinion upon two grounds only, namely:

(1) That under the terms of the resolution an immigrant would be compelled to repay his passage money, and would therefore be compelled to work out a debt, under which circumstances his service would amount to peonage; and

(2) That under the terms of the resolution a person would be brought "within the jurisdiction of the United States * * * as a slave or to be

held to service or labor," in violation of a statute which Mr. Cable contends was enacted by Congress as a "result of the thirteenth amendment," and pursuant to the power vested in Congress by the second section of the amendment.

It is quite possible that this misapprehension as to the way these laborers would be treated is due to a failure on our part to lay before the committee a detailed plan of operation. We have at all times believed, however, and still believe, that those details might be safely left to the sound wisdom and discretion of the President of the United States and the Secretary of Labor, who are directly charged with the power and duty of carrying out the terms of the resolution. The resolution provides that (a) when the President shall have found, and by proclamation so declared, that an emergency exists in the Territory of Hawaii by reason of a shortage of labor (b) the Secretary of Labor may, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, admit into Hawaii a sufficient number of aliens, otherwise inadmissible, to overcome such shortage. We are therefore safeguarded by the fact, first, that the President must first determine and declare that such an emergency exists; second, that the Secretary of Labor must find and determine the actual shortage and admit only a sufficient number to overcome the shortage; and, third, the aliens can be admitted and employed only pursuant to the regulations and conditions to be by him prescribed.

While the statements made by Mr. Gompers and others to the effect that the resolution contemplates the bringing in of 50,000 Chinese are not particularly germane to the purposes of this brief, the attention of this committee is called to the fact that by the terms of the resolution no such result could by any possibility be achieved. We claim a total shortage of only 14,500 laborers, and it is hardly likely that the Secretary of Labor will declare the shortage to be any greater than it really is. Before we could believe that we would have to assume that the Secretary of Labor would, in the execution of the powers conferred on him by this resolution, willfully fail to carry out the plain provisions of the law, and we do not intend to indulge in any such presumption.

Our failure to give the committee the details of the plan by which this labor would be handled is due entirely to our belief that those details could be safely left to the wisdom and discretion of the Secretary of Labor. We have at all times been absolutely certain that in the promulgation of the regulations and conditions under which these aliens might be admitted and employed the Secretary of Labor would properly protect them from the evils which Mr. Gompers imagines would follow on the heels of this resolution. We did not nor do we now imagine that those regulations would permit of any "system of peonage," of any "enforced servitude," of any laborer "being shackled to the job," of any laborer "being held to service," or any other method of oppressing labor. We have the utmost confidence in the ability and desire of the Secretary of Labor to protect labor. Mr. Gompers and other opponents of the resolution either do not join with us in this expression of confidence or they have entirely overlooked the fact that every detail by which this labor is to be handled is entirely within the control of the Secretary of Labor.

We do not for a moment believe that the Secretary of Labor would promulgate any regulations which would permit of any form of peonage, nor do we desire him to do so. Mr. Cable's idea of the laborer becoming "indebted" to some person or persons, sincere as we believe it to be, is founded upon a misapprehension of the facts and the purposes of this commission. Even in the days of the monarchy, when the people of Hawaii were uncontrolled by any such constitutional restrictions as now govern us, no contract laborers which were brought in were ever compelled to repay their passage money. The Territory of Hawaii has expended in the past millions of dollars in bringing in European immigrants in an attempt to build up a white population, not one dollar of which has been charged up to such immigrants. So far as we may be allowed to make suggestions as to the details of the plan, we guarantee to advocate that the passage money of any such alien will not be deducted from his pay or otherwise charged against him.

Mr. Cable's further statement, sincere though we believe it to be, that these aliens would be "held to service" contrary to the slave trade act, is also founded on a misapprehension of the facts and the purposes of this commission.

We do not for one moment believe that the Secretary of Labor would permit of any such alien being contracted out to any particular employer for a definite period of time, nor is it our desire that he should be so. The only restriction that would be placed upon such aliens upon their entry into Hawaii would be that they would engage only in agricultural work or such other class of work

as they might be admitted for. They would have absolute freedom of movement throughout the Territory, with the right to engage in agricultural pursuits on their own account or to choose their own employer; to go and come as they choose, with the sole restrictions that they can remain for a limited time only; and if they attempt to engage in a class of labor other than the general one for which they were admitted they would be subject to deportation.

If there remains any doubt in the minds of the members of this committee as to whether or not under the general terms of the resolution as now framed these details may be safely left to the wisdom and discretion of the executive officers of the Government then we recommend that the resolution be amended so as to provide in terms against repayment of passage money, and for entire freedom of movement.

The foregoing statement, which is preliminary in its nature, appears to us to be necessary for the purpose of clearing up some misapprehensions as to the real purpose of the resolution and of this commission.

THE EFFECT OF THE RESOLUTION ON EXISTING LAW.

The question was raised during the hearings as to whether or not before this resolution could become effective it would be necessary to amend certain of the Federal statutes. Mr. Cable has very ably discussed this feature in his brief and has undoubtedly arrived at the correct legal conclusion. Without further discussing this feature, it is sufficient to say that a special law such as this resolution would be, amends, repeals, or suspends all previous law to the extent that the same are inconsistent therewith.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION.

It has been said during the hearings that the resolution under consideration is unconstitutional because it violates the principles of the thirteenth amendment. That amendment reads as follows:

"Neither slavery, or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Whether the resolution is or is not constitutional must be determined upon a consideration and interpretation of its language and the language of the thirteenth amendment. The distinction between the constitutionality of the resolution and its antagonism to the terms of existing law must always be kept in mind, even though some of those existing laws have been enacted pursuant to the second section of the thirteenth amendment. In other words, the unconstitutionality of the resolution must be proven by bringing it squarely within the prohibitions of the thirteenth amendment and not by bringing it within the terms of any act passed pursuant to the second section of the thirteenth amendment. And unless it can be brought squarely within the terms of the prohibitions of the thirteenth amendment it would operate as an amendment pro tanto of those existing statutes.

The amendment abolishes (1) slavery and (2) involuntary servitude. The cases all recognize a distinction between the two terms. It is well recognized that the term "slavery" as used in the amendment refers directly to the form of slavery which existed in the South when human beings were bought and sold as chattels. The expression "involuntary servitude" has been held to have a wider meaning than the term "slavery" and includes such forms of servitude as are generally described as peonage. If, therefore, the resolution is unconstitutional it must be so declared because of some system of "involuntary servitude" which it permits or sanctions.

If we are justified in our belief in the wisdom and integrity of the executive officers of our Government—and as to that we have no doubt—and if the plan should be worked out along the lines suggested in the preliminary statement herein contained, it is impossible for us to see how such service or employment can be characterized as "involuntary servitude." Under the terms of the resolution the Secretary of Labor would invite a certain number of laborers to come to Hawaii for a definite period of time to engage in a certain kind of employment, agricultural or otherwise, upon the express condition that if they attempted to engage in other employment they would be deported. According to our conception of the plan, the laborers would be brought in without expense to themselves, without any definite contract with any particular employer, with the utmost freedom to work for themselves or for any employer whom they

might select, and with entire freedom to leave that employment and another employer. The laborer is restricted only in the class of labor which he may do and is acquainted with all the particulars before he leaves his employer. Absolutely every step in the plan is voluntary and not involuntary. A voluntary agreement for service, while it might, under certain circumstances, be repugnant to the peonage act, can not be brought within the prohibition of the thirteenth amendment.

"Thus, if one should agree for a yearly wage to serve another in a particular capacity during his life, and never to leave his estate without his consent, such contract might not be enforceable for want of a legal remedy, or might be void on the grounds of public policy, but the servitude could not properly be termed 'involuntary.'" (*Robertson v. Baldwin*, 165 U. S., 275; 17 Sup. Rep., 326-328.)

I desire now to analyze Mr. Cable's arguments and his conclusion that the resolution is unconstitutional. This conclusion is based upon an interpretation of the language of the thirteenth amendment in conjunction with the section of the slave trade act which prohibits the "bringing of slaves into the United States." We have attempted to point out above that the Constitution can be interpreted with the aid of a statute passed pursuant thereto, and that, under the law, before it can be declared unconstitutional, must be brought within the prohibitions of the Constitution without regard to other laws. In addition to this argument Mr. Cable's conclusion is based upon an assumption. He argues that because the act prohibiting the bringing of persons into the United States as slaves, or "to be held to service or labor," was passed as "a result of the thirteenth amendment," the present resolution is therefore unconstitutional, because it violates the provisions of that act. As a matter of fact, the act to which he refers was not passed as "a result of the thirteenth amendment," but was passed in 1818, approximately a half century before the adoption of the thirteenth amendment, and was later amended by substituting the word "person" for the words "negro, mulatto, or person of color." The act upon which Mr. Cable relies had no reference to voluntary labor contracts at all, and was aimed solely at the slave trade.

"The purpose of the statute (35 Stat., 1139), as interpreted by the courts, was to put an end to the slave trade and to prevent the introduction of slaves into the United States from other countries." (*U. S. v. Ship Garonne*, 110 U. S., 9 U. S. L. ed., 637.)

It appears clear, therefore, that the act under consideration was not passed pursuant to the second section of the thirteenth amendment, and any conclusion based upon any such theory must of necessity be unsound.

As a matter of fact, it was the peonage statute which was enacted pursuant to the thirteenth amendment.

"It is not open to doubt that Congress may enforce the thirteenth amendment by direct legislation punishing the holding of a person in slavery or in involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime. In the exercise of that power Congress has enacted these sections denouncing peonage." (*Clyatt v. United States*, 197 U. S., 207; 25 Sup. Ct. Rep., 429-431.)

But, as above pointed out, the resolution under consideration can not be regarded as even antagonistic to the principles of the peonage act for the reason that the element of indebtedness is lacking. "What is peonage? It is defined as a status or condition of compulsory service based upon the indebtedness of the peon to the master. The basic fact is indebtedness." (*Clyatt v. United States*, supra.)

Under the terms of the resolution and the outline of the general plan as developed it is impossible for us to see how it can further be contended that the resolution permits of any form of involuntary servitude or of any person being "held to service or labor" or any form of peonage, either as prohibited by the Constitution or the acts under discussion. Some mention has been made of the fact that by the terms of the resolution a laborer who failed to comply with the conditions upon which he was allowed to enter Hawaii would be arrested and deported. That would undoubtedly be true, but we can not see any distinction between that procedure and the procedure which is now followed by our laws relative to the entry, for example, of a Chinese merchant. Under the resolution a laborer may be admitted to Hawaii to engage in agriculture upon the condition that if he engages in any other occupation he will be arrested and deported. A Chinese merchant, under present law, is admitted to the United States upon the condition that if he becomes a laborer he will be arrested and deported. We can see no difference between the two cases, yet no

been heard to say that "involuntary servitude" has been imposed upon the merchant.

THE POWER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO ADMIT OR EXCLUDE ALIENS.

There can be no doubt as to the power of Congress to enact legislation of this kind, and the books are full of adjudicated cases on this point.

"It is an accepted maxim of international law that every sovereign nation has the power as inherent in sovereignty and essential to self-preservation to forbid the entrance of foreigners within its dominions or to admit them only in such cases and upon such conditions as it may see fit to prescribe." (*Nishimura Ekin v. U. S.*, 142 U. S., 651-659.)

"It is an accepted maxim of international law that the Government of a State may prohibit the entrance of strangers in a country, and may therefore regulate the conditions under which they shall be allowed to remain in it or may require and compel their departure from it." (*Phill. Int. Law*, 3d ed., ch. 10, sec. 220; *Fong Que Ting v. U. S.*, 149 U. S., 698; 13 Sup. Ct. Rep., 1016.)

In my opinion the resolution would be held constitutional.

HARRY IRWIN,

Attorney General of Hawaii,

For the Hawaii Labor Emergency Commission.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 10, 1921.

It is a rather remarkable thing, I will say for the attention of the lawyers present, the extent to which that last case goes in holding the authority of the Government to expel from its borders aliens rightfully therein, or even though rightfully therein. In that case it holds that the power of the sovereign is sufficiently broad to expel those people at any time, even though rightfully within the borders of the country.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Irwin, your position is that this resolution, in so far as it contravenes the statutes or acts of Congress or is inconsistent therewith, would be to that extent construed to be an amendment of such statutes whether it directly refers to them or not?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. And that the only basis upon which its unconstitutionality could be argued would be that it came in direct conflict with the Constitution?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir; that is exactly my position.

Mr. WILSON. Well, as a general proposition that is unquestionably correct. Now, then, you cut out all of the questions of enforced labor except the limiting of these immigrants to agricultural labor in Hawaii?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. And the act of departing from that class of labor and going into some other employment you make a cause for deportation?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir. It would be such a violation if he went into some other class of labor.

Mr. WILSON. There could be no question of the right of the Government to say to the immigrant, "You may come to the United States and remain for a certain period of time and then your stay ceases and determines." That, of course, would be conceded. Then the question would revolve around the proposition of the Government deporting him when he ceased to do that class of labor specified in the legislative measure under which he came.

Mr. IRWIN. And which he impliedly agreed to when he came.

Mr. WILSON. That, in substance, is your whole position on this subject of peonage?

Mr. IRWIN. Briefly stated, I think that is true.

Mr. WILSON. You referred to the fact that we should intrust the matter of the details of these regulations, relative to the time of their coming in and the number to come in, to the executive department or the President and the Secretary of Labor.

Mr. IRWIN. That is not entirely correct. I did not say that you should do it, but I say that that is the reason why we have not gone into greater detail in the formulation and presentation of plans. That would be the attitude of the Hawaiian Commission; that is, we are perfectly willing to intrust the details to the executive officers of the Government, but I do not attempt to advise the committee as to what it should do in that regard.

The CHAIRMAN. The resolution before the committee assumes that.

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. I do not think it would be possible or practicable to pass a resolution without leaving its execution largely in the hands of the executive department. Of course, somebody will have to declare the emergency.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you if you think that the position of merchants or students coming in under the terms of the Chinese exclusion act is on a par with the position of persons coming in, or being permitted to come in, under this resolution to work for wages?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not see any distinction in principle. There is a distinction in the facts but not in the principle. The Chinese merchant is allowed to come in for a certain length of time and is tied down to that job just as much as the laborer would be tied down to his job.

The CHAIRMAN. He is restricted as to what he shall do, and in some part his movements or activities are impeded.

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. It is your opinion that a resolution which would authorize the Secretary of Labor to arrange for an immigrant to come to the Territory of Hawaii and agree to stay there for a certain period of time and to engage in a certain class of labor during that period, or, say, for five years, and, in the event of his failure to follow that particular employment, or in the event he should seek other employment—

Mr. IRWIN (interposing). Outside of that class.

Mr. WILSON. Outside of that class; yes. It is your opinion that a resolution making him subject to deportation on account of those facts would not be in violation of any of our statutes or of the Constitution?

Mr. IRWIN. That is my honest and considered opinion.

Mr. WILSON. Is it your opinion that that is not violative of the spirit of the thirteenth amendment?

Mr. IRWIN. I have no doubt of that whatsoever. I do not think that anything of that sort was ever intended either by the letter or spirit of the Constitution.

Mr. Box. Mr. Chairman, I did not hear the beginning of the gentleman's statement, but from his answer to one of Judge Wilson's questions, I understand that his position is that certain features of the resolution are eliminated, but that the provision that a man may

be brought over there to engage in certain industries is carried, and that the penalty of deportation is provided to enforce it.

Mr. IRWIN. Perhaps you did not hear the first part of my brief. I was merely referring to what our conception of it has been or our general conception of the way the resolution would work out. It is our belief, our suggestion, advice, and insistence that the general plan would work out in that way. I further stated that if the committee had any doubt in their minds as to whether or not the Secretary of Labor could be safely intrusted to execute the plan along such lines as would prevent involuntary servitude, peonage labor, or contract labor, we would suggest that the resolution be so amended as to provide in terms against those particular things.

Mr. Box. That is about what I understood in connection with your answer to Judge Wilson's question. I understood you to say in answer to Judge Wilson that it was contemplated that these men would still be subject to deportation if they left the labor they were brought here to perform.

Mr. IRWIN. That is true; yes, sir.

Mr. Box. I want to ask you how they would be segregated from the rest of the population. In other words, if they were brought over there, and were turned loose with perfect freedom to come and go as they chose, how could you prevent them from mixing and mingling with the several hundred thousand people already there, many of whom are of kindred race, or how would you keep them so that you could gather them together, or how could you keep them employed in that particular work without holding them in some sort of custody?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not see why that would be at all necessary. The whole matter could be handled through the Territorial board of immigration or through some simple system of registration. Of course, that is simply a suggestion of mine, but it could be done through a system of registration whereby those Chinese who were brought in could be required to register and reregister, say, every six months or year.

Mr. Box. You would bring the men over and they would be allotted in some way to the different employers?

Mr. IRWIN. Our board of immigration would undoubtedly select some places where they could go if they wanted to go.

Mr. Box. As they entered the service of their employers, you would have to keep some sort of check on them, or some sort of record of them and their movements, in order to be able to enforce the provision providing for their deportation.

Mr. IRWIN. That is true; yes, sir.

Mr. Box. Is it your judgment that that of itself would not be such custody or supervision as would be inconsistent with your idea of American freedom?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not see anything inconsistent in that, Judge. It is exactly the same proposition that was enacted in the Chinese exclusion law, which provided that Chinese residing in the country must within one year after the passage of that act—that being the act of 1892—furnish a certificate to the Department of Labor, with evidence, including the testimony of one white person, that they had been lawfully in the country prior to the date of the passage of that act.

Mr. Box. That was simply proof that they had been in the country, but not proof that they had been in the service of any one man or group of men.

Mr. IRWIN. What is the distinction?

Mr. Box. I wanted to get your view. I do not wish to argue with you about it, but I wanted to get your view. Now, as I understand it, they would be deported at the end of a certain period, say, five years, and leaving out of the question the matter of their serving particular masters or groups of employers, you would have to keep up with them for the purpose of deporting them at the end of that time?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir; you would have to keep some sort of identification of them.

Mr. Box. So that you would keep tab on them for two purposes—one to require that they continue in the service of certain men or groups of men—

Mr. IRWIN (interposing). No, sir; the condition is that they shall engage in one particular kind or class of labor, but they would not be confined to one service or to the employment of one person or one group of persons.

Mr. Box. I understand that your agricultural classes or the sugar interests are well organized and united and that it is contemplated that these men shall be parceled out when brought under some system. I do not mean to say that in an offensive way, but, as I understand it, they will be allotted, and, of course, that allotment would have to be regarded by the laborers, would it not?

Mr. IRWIN. As an original proposition, when they first came there undoubtedly that would be true, but there is nothing at all that would prevent any one of those persons who had been allotted to one plantation or one employer from the next day leaving that employer and going into the service of another employer of his own free will.

Mr. Box. If each one of the 15,000 or 20,000 brought over has full freedom to do as he likes, what would your allotment amount to, so long as they are laboring in an agricultural service?

Mr. IRWIN. It does not make any particular difference to the territory as a whole where they labor, so long as it is agricultural labor.

Mr. WILSON. Following Mr. Box's line of questions, let us suppose you have this registration and you keep in touch with these laborers. Take an individual case. Here is a Chinaman who has been working on a farm. He is found working at the carpenter trade, and is apprehended. What is the charge against him?

Mr. IRWIN. There is no charge. The United States Supreme Court has held time and time again that in cases of that kind it is not a criminal charge at all, but it is simply—

Mr. WILSON (interposing). I did not mean a criminal charge.

Mr. IRWIN. It is simply a charge of having failed to comply with the conditions of his entry into the Territory of Hawaii.

Mr. WILSON. That could be put in another light, too. He is arrested because he is working at the carpenter trade.

Mr. IRWIN. No; he is arrested because he has violated the conditions of his entry into the United States.

Mr. WILSON. But is he not arrested because he exercised the right to change his occupation?

Mr. IRWIN. But he came into the country upon the express agreement that he would not do any such thing.

Mr. WILSON. That is exactly where I think we are in danger of running into this constitutional difficulty.

The CHAIRMAN. We will assume that he comes to do agricultural labor, and he understands that. He is parceled out; he is one of a squad that is sent to a sugar plantation, and he understands that; but after he has been there for about three weeks he decides that he would rather work on a pineapple plantation, so he leaves the sugar plantation and goes to a pineapple plantation and wants to work there. They either employ him or they have no work for him, and he then hangs around without work and refuses to go back to the cane plantation. Now, under those conditions what are you going to do with him? He is still seeking agricultural labor.

Mr. WILSON. I do not think you could do anything with him.

The CHAIRMAN. But suppose 400 do that?

Mr. IRWIN. He would be at entire liberty to go into the pineapple fields at any time that he wanted to do so. The mere fact that he started to work on a sugar plantation would not prevent him from going to a rice field, to a pineapple field, or into any other class of agriculture.

Mr. WILSON. Take the case we were discussing. Suppose you apprehend this man because he is working at the carpenter trade, and you say that is in violation of the agreement by which he entered or came to the United States. He does not owe anybody, but he has merely exercised what he thought was his right to change his occupation from farmer to carpenter. He is apprehended on account of doing that, and he is held for deportation at whose expense?

Mr. IRWIN. At the expense of the government.

Mr. WILSON. Of Hawaii?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. If this resolution passes, what will be your first step? You will send somebody to China, will you not; or how will you go about it in China to bring these men to Hawaii?

Mr. IRWIN. The first step, of course, would be the promulgation of rules and conditions by the Secretary of Labor. That will be the first thing; and what has been done heretofore in the matter of bringing immigrants into Hawaii, I assume, will be followed in this case, namely, that the Territorial board of immigration would send its agents to the different countries from which they desired to recruit labor. The whole thing would be handled under Government supervision, and always has been.

Mr. CABLE. Then you would send your agents to China?

Mr. IRWIN. I assume so.

Mr. CABLE. That would, in fact, repeal the law which provides that you can not enter into an agreement with an alien before he comes to the United States.

Mr. IRWIN. So far as Hawaii is concerned, undoubtedly.

Mr. CABLE. Then you would, or somebody would, provide for the passage of these Chinese to Hawaii?

Mr. IRWIN. The government of Hawaii.

Mr. CABLE. Where would they get the money with which to pay the passage?

Mr. IRWIN. As we have done before, by a special income tax, a surtax of 1 per cent on incomes over a certain amount.

Mr. CABLE. Your intention, then, is to pay the passage of the Chinese who come in?

Mr. IRWIN. Except those that want to come in at their own expense.

Mr. CABLE. How would they be selected in China—by the agents of the Hawaiian Immigration Commission or by the agents of the planters?

Mr. IRWIN. By the agents of the Territorial immigration commission.

Mr. CABLE. What kind of labor do you expect to get—young men or married men? Would they bring in any women?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not think it would make much difference, but I suppose they would pick out young, able-bodied men, whether married or unmarried. I do not think that would make any difference.

Mr. CABLE. Would they bring in any women at all?

Mr. IRWIN. I have never considered that proposition, but I assume that if a domestic labor proposition were involved in the resolution that possibly women would be brought in.

Mr. CABLE. That is a pretty important question, and in my opinion the minute you raised that on the floor of the House and showed you were going to bring in 10,000 Chinese women, and that there might be that many Chinese children born who would become citizens, there would be a storm of protest, and I think that is one of the facts we ought to have made clear before the committee.

Mr. IRWIN. As a matter of fact, it is very improbable that any considerable number of Chinese women will come, and whether the Secretary of Labor, in preparing his regulations and conditions, would feel entitled to allow only single, unmarried men, to come I do not know, and I can not guess at that. But the history of Hawaii in the past shows that when Chinese could come to Hawaii very few women came with them.

Mr. CABLE. Have you a general idea as to how many Chinese women are now in Hawaii who are unmarried?

Mr. IRWIN. Who are not married?

Mr. CABLE. Yes.

Mr. IRWIN. You mean Chinese women born there?

Mr. CABLE. Yes.

Mr. IRWIN. I could not say.

Mr. CABLE. In other words, is there any probability of these Chinese marrying American citizens?

Mr. IRWIN. I should say that would be almost an impossibility.

Mr. CABLE. Why?

Mr. IRWIN. The Chinese girls there are well educated; they are brought up in American fashion and are just as good Americans as the majority of the people of any of the other races in the United States.

Mr. CABLE. Then, those you expect to come in are coolies?

Mr. IRWIN. They would undoubtedly represent the coolie class.

Mr. CABLE. What is a coolie? Can you give me a definition of a coolie?

Mr. IRWIN. A coolie is a peasant laborer. I suppose that would be a definition of him.

Mr. CABLE. As distinguished from Chinese in business of any kind?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. You would have to suspend the literacy test when you bring them in?

Mr. IRWIN. So far as Hawaii is concerned, undoubtedly.

Mr. CABLE. The head tax?

Mr. IRWIN. So far as Hawaii is concerned.

Mr. CABLE. And the 3 per cent immigration?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. How many islands have you in Hawaii?

Mr. IRWIN. There are five large islands and some smaller ones scattered around.

Mr. CABLE. What means of communication have you between the different islands?

Mr. IRWIN. There is transportation by water.

Mr. CABLE. Is it accessible to any person on any island?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. What is the distance between the different islands?

Mr. IRWIN. Well, a distance of about 60 miles between Oahu and Maui; a distance of about 180 miles between Oahu and Hawaii; and a distance of about 80 miles, if I recall the mileage correctly, between Oahu and Kauai. Kauai is on one extreme and Hawaii on the other.

Mr. CABLE. Would these men be permitted to go from one island to another?

Mr. IRWIN. Absolutely.

Mr. CABLE. What means of transportation would there be?

Mr. IRWIN. Steamers; there are three or four steamers a week between the different islands.

Mr. CABLE. Are there any identification requirements before you can go from one island to another?

Mr. IRWIN. That is a detail I had not thought of.

Mr. CABLE. I mean at the present time?

Mr. IRWIN. No.

Mr. CABLE. Suppose you bring in 10,000 at one time. Where would you bring them in the first place?

Mr. IRWIN. They would land at Honolulu; they would have to land there.

Mr. CABLE. And do you expect to make them all register?

Mr. IRWIN. I should say so; yes. Of course, in the first place, they would have to have their passports to come in; they could not come in without a passport and without a picture on it; they would have to go through the immigration office in Honolulu, and they would be identified there.

Mr. CABLE. Just who would divide them up among the plantations?

Mr. IRWIN. The plan would be followed as has been followed heretofore, that of having the agents of the board or the board itself, the board of immigration, look after the welfare of these people and divide them around among the different places.

Mr. CABLE. Would you require any building in which to house and take care of these people until they were divided up?

Mr. IRWIN. Of course, they would have to be cared for.

Mr. CABLE. I just wondered, on account of the climate, what kind of a building you have or would require.

Mr. IRWIN. You would not have to have a very substantial building, but you would need a covering of some kind under which they could be cared for.

Mr. CABLE. Then they would go to these different plantations?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CABLE. Altogether, how many plantations are in the islands?

Mr. IRWIN. Of large ones, it runs in my mind 52.

Mr. HORNER. Forty-three.

Mr. CABLE. Then you would divide them up among 43 different plantations?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. And they are to do agricultural work. Just exactly what is that?

Mr. IRWIN. Work in the sugar-cane fields, pineapple fields, and rice fields.

Mr. CABLE. How many different kinds of agricultural work are there?

Mr. IRWIN. In the islands?

Mr. CABLE. Yes.

Mr. IRWIN. Well, there are sugar, pineapple, rice, coffee——

Mr. CABLE (interposing). I do not mean that. You are going to limit these men to agricultural work?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. That means going out and hoeing the cane?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CABLE. Cutting the cane and loading the cane?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CABLE. Does it go further than that?

Mr. IRWIN. Irrigating the cane.

Mr. CABLE. And everything else about the cane?

Mr. IRWIN. Loading it on the wagons, loading it on the cars, and transporting it to the mills. The pineapple operations are practically the same, and the rice operations, to a very large extent, are the same.

Mr. CABLE. Suppose one plantation should get 500 men and these 500 men would not be satisfied to work for that plantation and they would go to plantation B?

Mr. IRWIN. You mean in a body?

Mr. CABLE. Yes. They would not have much of a chance to get work there because B plantation would be filled up, would it not?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. And C would be the same?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. Therefore you are not going to say to those men, "You have got to stay on that plantation or you go back home."

Mr. IRWIN. Not necessarily. It is rather an impossible hypothetical case, but that would not necessarily follow, because if they went to one plantation and could not get work there is other agricultural work they could do; they could go into the pineapple orchards, they could go into the rice fields, and they could go into agricultural work on their own behalf, I assume, if they wanted to.

Mr. CABLE. In other words, it would be just the same as if we passed a law saying to all lawyers, "You have got to stick to the law business or leave the country."

Mr. IRWIN. I should say that if you were considering the same proposition, if you were considering the entry of Chinese lawyers into Hawaii or into the United States, you could very properly say that if they wanted to come in they would have to stick to the law business and nothing else.

Mr. CABLE. The same as you would say to a man who happened to be a farmer, "You must stick to farming or get out"?

Mr. IRWIN. If that were the condition of entry into the United States, yes.

Mr. CABLE. In other words, you hold that over him all the time and make him work all the time. He has to work and keep on working all the time or go back to China?

Mr. IRWIN. No; I do not think that is correct.

Mr. CABLE. That is what I wanted to get at. In your opinion, how long can he quit work before you would send him back?

Mr. IRWIN. I should say the test would be if he went into any other employment outside of the particular class for which he was admitted.

Mr. CABLE. In other words, if they should come over, stay a year, and get enough money so that they would not have to work for two or three months, would you permit them to rest for two or three months?

Mr. IRWIN. I should say that would be entirely reasonable.

Mr. CABLE. Do you think that is the way the resolution reads?

Mr. IRWIN. I think the resolution would permit that; yes.

Mr. CABLE. Do you intend to permit them to buy passage from one island to another if they so desire?

Mr. IRWIN. If they so desire.

Mr. CABLE. This would repeal the Chinese exclusion law of Hawaii, would it not, or suspend it so far as the time they were in there is concerned?

Mr. IRWIN. Are you referring to the law of Hawaii?

Mr. CABLE. Yes.

Mr. IRWIN. There is no such law.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the general Chinese exclusion law?

Mr. CABLE. Well, the organic act of Hawaii. Did not that provide for the exclusion of Chinese?

Mr. IRWIN. That is the law of the United States.

Mr. CABLE. That law provides that no more Chinese can come to Hawaii?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CABLE. And that law would be repealed or suspended?

Mr. IRWIN. Suspended.

Mr. CABLE. And the Chinese trade law the same?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. It suspends in a way the exclusion of aliens under the general immigration law, except so far as the rules and regulations of the Department of Labor would prescribe?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. And it would suspend the law prohibiting the importation of aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor?

Mr. IRWIN. So far as Hawaii is concerned.

Mr. CABLE. The head tax and the 3 per cent immigration law?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. But you do not think this would be a peonage law?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not.

Mr. CABLE. Because peonage being based on debt, no debt would have been contracted up to the time they landed?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. How will these people get their food? Will they get it from money advanced to them? In other words, how often is a day over there?

Mr. IRWIN. It varies on the different plantations; some plantations I think, pay twice a month, but I think the usual rule is once a month.

Mr. CABLE. Then for one month they would have to depend on the plantation owners for their sustenance?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CABLE. To that extent they would owe some one—chiefly the people they are working for—a small amount of money?

Mr. IRWIN. Undoubtedly.

Mr. CABLE. In a way, they would have to keep on working for a man until the month was up?

Mr. IRWIN. Not by any means. We have on the statute book—Hawaii at the present time a law which makes it a criminal offense for any employer to deduct any amount of money from a man's wages without his written consent.

Mr. RAKER. This resolution will repeal that, will it not?

Mr. IRWIN. No; it will not.

Mr. CABLE. You refer to a certain section of the law that I can find as found in Thirty-fifth Statutes at Large, 1139, and I will say that is the old law against slavery. According to the book I have here—Sixtieth Congress, 1907-1909, that law appears as chapter 10, and the title is, "The slave trade and peonage."

Mr. IRWIN. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. CABLE. Do you not believe that at the time Congress passed that law it had in mind the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not.

Mr. CABLE. Do you not think it clearly carries out that intent when it says whoever brings into the United States any person from a foreign country to be held to service or labor? Do you not think that particularly refers to the thirteenth amendment?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not.

Mr. CABLE. And that that is what Congress had in mind?

Mr. IRWIN. No; because that is exactly the same language that was used in the act of 1818, and the act you refer to is merely a reenactment of the act of 1818, and it merely changes about four words in the old act.

Mr. CABLE. But it was reenacted after the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. And in substance carries out the intent of the people to prohibit the bringing into this country any person from a foreign country for service or labor.

Mr. IRWIN. I think it refers entirely to the slave trade.

Mr. CABLE. And do you not want to bring into this country or into Hawaii Chinese coolies for the purpose of service or labor?

Mr. IRWIN. But not to hold them to service or labor.

Mr. CABLE. Those are the exact words of the section. How do you distinguish between what you want to do and this law?

Mr. IRWIN. We do not hold them to service; they can go home at any time they want to go home.

Mr. CABLE. It does not say that.

Mr. IRWIN. It says to be held, and we do not hold them; they can go at any time they want to go.

Mr. CABLE. Do you not expect to hold them in the islands?

Mr. IRWIN. We do not; they can go at any time they want to go.

Mr. CABLE. Back to China?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. CABLE. In other words, you hold them to work—compel them to work or get out?

Mr. IRWIN. We do not compel them to work, and they come in voluntarily.

Mr. CABLE. They either work or get out?

Mr. IRWIN. They work or go home.

Mr. CABLE. And you hold the threat over them that they will have to go back to China or work, one of the two?

Mr. IRWIN. We do not hold any threat over them; it is their own agreement, their own contract.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been able to ascertain whether the Chinese Government, in the sending out of any of its nationals to any other country under this system, plays any part in it or requires any money to be put up, any bond to be put up, any return passage to be put up, or any sums of money to be paid to the families of those sent out?

Mr. IRWIN. Only very generally. I am not very conversant with the details of that and I have not been able to find out. However, I have general information that the Chinese Government requires certain satisfactory assurances as to the proper treatment of its nationals. I do not know anything about the sending home of money to relatives, or anything of that kind.

Mr. CABLE. I think that is under the treaty found in Twenty-second Statutes at Large, page 826, which provides:

If Chinese laborers or Chinese of any other class now either permanently or temporarily residing in the territory of the United States meet with illtreatment at the hands of any other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its powers to devise measures for their protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation and to which they are entitled by treaty.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the treaty, but in addition to that I have been pretty well informed that special terms have been made with some countries. Both England and France secured Chinese for war work, and I understand that terms were made with the Chinese Government and that the terms with one country were a little different than with the other country.

Mr. RAKER. That is not only the treaty, but it is the fourteenth amendment, which prohibits any State, as well as Congress itself,

from making any distinction between one person and another except under certain conditions.

Mr. IRWIN. May I be allowed to say, in regard to the fourteenth amendment, that it has been held time and time again that the fourteenth amendment is a limitation on the power of the States only and is no limitation upon the power of Congress itself.

Mr. RAKER. No; you can not find that.

Mr. IRWIN. I can find that inside of a half hour.

Mr. RAKER. No; but you can find this: That the fourteenth amendment relates to the States, and that the States can not enact any law that will place a different responsibility or restriction upon one man that it does not place upon another, while the thirteenth amendment is an inhibition not only against the States but against individuals and Congress itself.

Mr. IRWIN. That latter statement is undoubtedly true.

Mr. RAKER. So that the United States can not, through its Congress or any State, permit the Chinese, having been admitted, to receive different treatment than certain of its own nationals.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you account for the fact that the Chinese now in Hawaii are not permitted to come to the United States and that the Japanese in Hawaii are not permitted to come to the United States?

Mr. WILSON. You do not contend that an alien in any part of the United States must be accorded the same rights?

Mr. RAKER. No; and I do not think I said that.

Mr. WILSON. In your brief, Mr. Irwin, you stated, as I understood you, that the essential condition of all peonage is indebtedness?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. In your judgment is that exclusive?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes. That has been determined by the United States Supreme Court time and time again.

Mr. WILSON. I have not read that recently. Of course, in those cases the question of indebtedness was involved?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes; and they have said time and time again that that is the basic element of peonage.

Mr. WILSON. But I was not quite ready to accept that definition as exclusive.

Mr. IRWIN. I can give you a list of definite cases.

Mr. WILSON. Can there be peonage without the preexisting condition of indebtedness?

Mr. IRWIN. There can not.

Mr. WILSON. That is your judgment?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. BOX. There are five or six forms of involuntary servitude, one form being peonage, and the gentleman, I think, is substantially, if not exactly, correct in his definition of that particular type of servitude called peonage.

Mr. RAKER. Where there is an indebtedness?

Mr. BOX. Yes. That is still an essential of that, but there is the padrone system, and there are five or six other forms, and he is dealing with just one type of the five or six forms of servitude with which the United States has had to deal.

Mr. WILSON. It is your opinion that it must be a money indebtedness?

Mr. IRWIN. No; not exactly. It all depends upon what you mean by a money indebtedness. Do you mean an actual cash advance?

Mr. WILSON. No. When you say "indebtedness," is it an obligation upon the part of the person to pay?

Mr. IRWIN. To pay cash?

Mr. WILSON. No; some indebtedness for which there is an obligation to pay.

Mr. IRWIN. Yes; some obligation to pay; the statute says some obligation in satisfaction of some indebtedness.

Mr. WILSON. Such as could be recoverable in an action at law?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. To pay something?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. The last decision on this question was rendered by Justice Hughes when on the Supreme Court Bench in a case in Georgia, in which he discussed that feature fully. He makes a very clear analysis, going over practically all of the Supreme Court cases and the State cases, and holds that where a man can be apprehended in any way and has a fear in his mind that it gives his employer or some one else, no matter who it is, an opportunity to apprehend him it is involuntary servitude and a feature of peonage.

Mr. IRWIN. Was not the apprehension which you refer to in that case an apprehension for some charge under which he could be arrested and punished criminally?

Mr. RAKER. It involved this: That there was a statute passed by Georgia—

Mr. IRWIN (interposing). I am familiar with the statute.

Mr. RAKER (continuing). Making it prima facie evidence of his intent to defraud if he left his labor at any time during the contract. Now, he got the first month's wages; he worked out his first month and more, but if he left that man's employ and worked for anybody else then and in that event he was subject to arrest and had no defense on earth, because his mere leaving was prima facie evidence, and therefore he could be convicted.

Mr. WILSON. Did that decision hinge upon the rule of evidence?

Mr. RAKER. Well, it said that that was a deprivation of his rights, a deprivation of due process of law. They discussed involuntary servitude and the thirteenth amendment for three pages and held that it was contrary to the thirteenth amendment of the United States, just as you have made a very clear presentation of that matter.

Mr. BOX. Is that based on the peonage statute or on the Constitution?

Mr. RAKER. On the Constitution.

Mr. BOX. That is what I was getting at.

Mr. RAKER. It wipes out all statutes and goes down to the Constitution.

Mr. BOX. And does not deal with any particular form of servitude, but all servitude.

Mr. RAKER. All servitude and at any place. Where a man stands in fear that if he does not do his work he will be arrested—

Mr. IRWIN (interposing). And punished.

Mr. RAKER. Can there be any greater punishment on earth to a man who is in the United States than to arrest him and send him back from where he came?

Mr. WILSON. Of course, there are two distinctions. In this case you have, of course, they are dealing with American citizens, and you will have to work that up to the point of bringing their cases within the category of cases where the Government is deporting aliens because they are violating the conditions under which they came in.

Mr. RAKER. I want to discuss that with the witness. There is a number of late decisions on that subject, and later than the one referred to by the Attorney General. Under the head of "The Power of the Federal Government to Admit or Exclude Aliens," you cited the case of *Nishimara Ekin v. United States* (142 U. S., 651-659). Now, undoubtedly, that is the rule—that is, "It is an accepted maxim of international law that every sovereign nation has the power as inherent in sovereignty and essential to self-preservation to forbid the entrance of foreigners within its dominions or to admit them only in such cases and under such conditions as it may see fit to prescribe. Now, is there any case where this last provision was in force, and where a man violated the law?"

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Where?

Mr. IRWIN. In the case of a Chinaman in 1892.

Mr. RAKER. What did he do?

Mr. IRWIN. He was unable to furnish his certificate. He did not violate the law, but he was unable to find one white witness to make proof of the fact that he was legally in the United States prior to 1892. The judge who tried the case said that the evidence entirely satisfied him that the Chinaman was in the United States rightfully, but the mere fact that he was unable to produce a white witness who could testify to it rendered him subject to deportation.

Mr. RAKER. That was something that the Government as a sovereign power had the right to do—that is, it had the right to say, "You can come here and stay here," or it could say to those that were here, "You can stay if you can present a certificate and oral evidence in proof of the fact that you were lawfully here prior to a certain time." That is the law of the land, and if he fails to present that certificate or fails to supply the defect of not having one, he can be deported.

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. He has free volition, and he has the right of free circulation, or can come and go as he pleases.

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. There are other cases where that has been held. One of them was the case of a party who came here and was a pauper and started a life of prostitution, and there was one case in St. Louis where the party practiced prostitution for three years.

Mr. IRWIN. There were dozens of cases of Chinese merchants who were admitted in this country to do business as merchants with this same threat of arrest hanging over them; that is, if they left off dealing in merchandise and went into some activity as a laborer of any kind they had that threat of arrest hanging over them all the time. Those cases have been decided time and time again, and it has been uniformly held that those provisions were entirely within the power of Congress to impose.

Mr. Box. Have you found any case involving the obligation to perform service in this country?

Mr. IRWIN. I have not found any case exactly in point with this.

Mr. Box. Have you found any case involving an obligation to service?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. Box. With deportation as an alternative?

Mr. IRWIN. No, sir; I think not.

Mr. RAKER. Not with deportation as an alternative?

Mr. IRWIN. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. That is the law under which they are admitted here; that is, this sovereign country says to them, "You can come here only as a merchant, and as long as you remain here you can come and go as a merchant. As long as you do that we have no restriction upon you as to the length of time you can stay." He can come here and stay 30 years or 40 years, and if he follows that occupation he is not molested.

Mr. IRWIN. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. However, under the authorities, even though he is legally here, the sovereign Government can exclude him if it wants to.

Mr. IRWIN. That is a pretty severe doctrine, but I think it is pretty well sustained.

Mr. RAKER. That is the power of the sovereign State. Now, if we admit a man into the United States with the distinct understanding that he may remain here for five years if he follows a particular line of business or a particular work, and that he will go into no other kind of work, with the condition that if he does leave that job he will be sent back, do you think there would be no difference between that case and the case of a Chinese merchant?

Mr. IRWIN. Absolutely none in principle. In that case the Government says to the Chinese merchant, "You can come here and stay as long as you like so long as you confine yourself to the activities of a merchant," and this resolution says, "You can come to Hawaii and stay for five years, provided you confine your activities to agricultural labor."

Mr. RAKER. He must confine himself to the particular class of labor for which he is admitted?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Now, suppose there is only one class of work for which there has been an emergency determined by the President and for which the Secretary admits him for labor, and that is in the rice fields. Now, he quits work in the rice fields and says he will not work there any more—

Mr. IRWIN (interposing). I do not think this resolution will bear that interpretation.

Mr. RAKER. That is what it says.

Mr. IRWIN. That depends on what it means by "class or classes of labor." A class of labor would be taken to mean a general class of labor, such as agricultural labor, and not any one particular division of agricultural labor. It means the general class of agricultural labor.

Mr. RAKER. I am reading from the resolution:

Provided, That such aliens shall be admitted only for limited periods of time for the purpose of engaging only in the class or classes of labor as to which the emergency has been found to exist.

Mr. IRWIN. The interpretation that I put on that language. If the President of the United States by proclamation should say that there was an acute shortage of labor in the agricultural or in domestic service, which are the two services mentioned—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). I want to confine myself to the question before the committee, and this has nothing to do with service.

Mr. IRWIN. It refers to class or classes of labor. In other words, the President of the United States in his original proclamation might say there is a shortage in agricultural labor or a shortage in domestic service. He would mention the classes, and they are admitted for either one of those classes of employment; they must remain in those classes.

Mr. RAKER. If a party comes here and goes into domestic service and quits, saying that he wants to go into the business of raising peanuts or raising potatoes, or that he wants to go into the drug store or merchandise store, then he is violating his admission?

Mr. IRWIN. I should say so, from the way it is framed.

Mr. RAKER. And, under that authority, he would be subject to apprehension and deportation?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. That is something that would always be hanging over them, if they did not follow that particular kind or class of labor?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. If he refuses to work in any business, what would happen? Suppose you should bring them in and that 1,000 should refuse to perform work of any kind—what would you do with them?

Mr. IRWIN. Admitting that rather improbable hypothesis, say that if 1,000 of them actually refused to work for a certain length of time to show that they intended to violate the law upon which they were admitted, they would be deported.

Mr. RAKER. That would always be hanging over them—the threat of deportation if they refused to work?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Who would fix their wages?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not know. I presume that the wages are fixed by the ordinary law of supply and demand. I do not know any other answer to that at the present time.

Mr. RAKER. Suppose they should strike in some class of labor in the class for which they came in, what would be the result? If they were getting 77 cents per day as the basis wage, with a bonus, and they wanted \$2.50 per day, and struck on that account, would you do with them then?

Mr. IRWIN. That question is, perhaps, difficult to answer if the demands were so unreasonable—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). Well, I will put them so that it will not be unreasonable. I will say that they demanded \$1 per day, and the planters refused to pay them that much.

Mr. IRWIN. I do not think there would be any disposition on the part of the authorities to deport them for that reason.

Mr. RAKER. If they quit work entirely?

Mr. IRWIN. They would not be quitting work entirely, but they would be saying, "If we get a satisfactory wage we will work."

Mr. RAKER. But suppose they refused to give that wage, and you had 1,000 men idle about town?

Mr. WILSON. You could not deport them for that under the resolution. They would be here for agricultural work.

Mr. RAKER. I am asking what would be the rule.

Mr. IRWIN. I do not think there would be any disposition on the part of the authorities to deport them for that.

Mr. RAKER. They could still remain there for the whole term?

Mr. IRWIN. If you can imagine a situation like that; yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. If the sugar planters would not pay them that much, and they should go into other work, or if they should go into the city and take up other occupations of various kinds, then they would be deportable?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. If a man struck for higher wages when he was really entitled to it, and, failing to get higher wages, if he went into other occupations and did actually get a wage higher than that he was receiving at the time he struck, he would, nevertheless, be subject to deportation?

Mr. IRWIN. I would not like to answer that question. It is too close a question, and I will have to have some time to study that. It is too close a question to answer now. I would not care to give a hasty opinion on that.

Mr. WILSON. Before you leave that question, would the fact that the laborers who might come in under this resolution are employed under contract by some person in any way distinguish their case from the case of the Chinese merchant who is not employed by anybody but who selects his own employer?

Mr. IRWIN. There would be a difference in the facts but not in principle. When you talk about arrest and deportation hanging over a man, the principle is exactly the same in one as in the other, and the effect must be exactly the same. The effect in one case is to confine the man to agricultural labor and the effect in the other case is to confine him to a particular activity.

Mr. WILSON. The agricultural laborer has a superior or employer over him, while the other man does not. Would that have any effect upon it, in your judgment?

Mr. IRWIN. None whatever, in my judgment.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Do you understand that under this resolution an agriculturist coming in here is bound to work for somebody else, or can he go into an agricultural business of his own?

Mr. IRWIN. Absolutely, yes. He can engage in agricultural labor on his own account whenever he chooses to do so.

Mr. WILSON. One who had his own farm would be on exactly the same basis as the merchant, but my understanding was that as a general proposition these people would come in under an agreement to work as employees.

Mr. IRWIN. That is the proposition in general; yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. The point I had in mind was whether if they should be before a court that particular difference would have any effect in the legal construction.

Mr. IRWIN. I do not think it effects the legal principle in the slightest.

Mr. WHITE. Referring to those laborers whom it is proposed to secure, do they have an opportunity to know what wages they will receive and what will be the circumstances of their employment before they embark for the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. IRWIN. Absolutely; yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. They would have a full opportunity?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir; a full opportunity.

Mr. WHITE. As a rule, do you think they know?

Mr. IRWIN. We know that they know. We know that from experience.

Mr. WHITE. The act is voluntary on their part?

Mr. IRWIN. Absolutely so.

Mr. WHITE. The limitations are understood by them?

Mr. IRWIN. Absolutely so.

Mr. WHITE. Just the same as the legal limitations are known to the Chinese merchant before he comes to the United States and before he embarks in business as a merchant?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir; to a greater extent.

Mr. WHITE. The arrest and taking into custody is not due to the fact that they quit work, or the agricultural line of work, or the class of work for which they were admitted, but because they engage in other work?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. To be specific as to the purpose of this resolution, while it says they shall admit aliens otherwise inadmissible, you intend to eliminate all of those that are now inadmissible under section 3 of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, except Chinese and contract labor; is that true?

Mr. IRWIN. No, sir; in addition to that we include the elimination of prostitutes, anarchists, the feeble-minded, or insane, or, at least, we assume that the Secretary of Labor would make rules and regulations that would refuse to admit them.

Mr. RAKER. You just put it the other way. I said that you only wanted to bring in Chinese and contract laborers. You do not want any of the other inadmissible classes provided for in section 3?

Mr. IRWIN. No, sir; that is not true. In the first place we are not asking for contract laborers.

Mr. RAKER. I am trying to specify what you ask by this resolution. When the resolution refers to aliens otherwise inadmissible you mean solely and exclusively Chinese laborers?

Mr. IRWIN. That is the present plan; yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Is there any doubt about it?

Mr. IRWIN. If other aliens are available and if the committee thinks that Chinese are not the kind of people to bring in, there might be others. As a matter of fact, to be absolutely frank, it is Chinese that we are talking about.

Mr. RAKER. No. That is the way we started out originally, and it was said by some one here in authority that it did not relate to the Chinese, and I was sort of criticized for using that language. Still the intention is to bring in Chinese only?

Mr. IRWIN. I think that is true. It is an emergency measure only.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. If I understood Judge Raker correctly, he said that some one in authority had said that we did not want Chinese in Hawaii to meet the emergency.

The CHAIRMAN. No; he is trying to pin down the fact, apparently, that the words in the resolution are a little broader than the intent behind it. The resolution in words does not specify any people in particular, and the regulations might include other races.

Mr. Box. In the course of the examination, Judge Irwin, and in your answer to a question by Mr. Cable, I believe, you discussed the question of the marriage of Chinese and the importation of women, and I think you said that it might be that some women would be brought in in connection with domestic service?

Mr. IRWIN. Possibly; yes, sir.

Mr. Box. You regarded that as possible?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. Box. From the history of your Territory I learn that marriages between natives and Chinese are quite common, but that the Japanese have shown an aversion to mixed marriages. Does that state the facts right, or do the Chinese marry freely with the natives?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir; to the extent they did in the past.

Mr. Box. Suppose some of the Chinese coming over should marry citizens. When deportation time comes, what would you do with those families?

Mr. IRWIN. I assume that the wife would follow the husband.

Mr. Box. Suppose she refused to do it?

Mr. IRWIN. In that event she would remain in Hawaii.

Mr. Box. What about the children?

Mr. IRWIN. I presume the children would stay with the mother.

Mr. Box. You could not force them to go back?

Mr. IRWIN. No, sir.

Mr. Box. Because they would be American-born citizens.

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. Box. You would either deport two or more Americans forcibly or you would forcibly separate families?

Mr. IRWIN. That is not entirely true.

Mr. Box. Why not?

Mr. IRWIN. It would be a matter of volition on the part of the wife to go or stay.

Mr. Box. You would either give her the alternative of having her family torn from her—

Mr. IRWIN (interposing). She could take her children with her.

Mr. Box. She and the children would have to go to China?

Mr. IRWIN. She would become a Chinese citizen when she married a Chinaman.

Mr. Box. You spoke about the contract features, under which these people agree to do certain things. Do you understand that an American citizen, with the permission of the law, may contract his labor away in that way?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not understand anything of the kind.

Mr. Box. Do you believe that the fact that a man enters into a contract to bind himself to any sort of servitude would have the slightest effect upon the legal situation?

Mr. IRWIN. There is no such thing contemplated in this resolution.

Mr. Box. You have justified a number of situations presented here

by saying that they agree to do that to start with. We have heard much of that before this committee, not only in these hearings but in many others. When something bordering on servitude is presented or when some plan of servitude has been presented, it is always justified upon the ground that the parties agree to it beforehand. Now do you believe there is any validity at all in that?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not quite understand you.

Mr. BOX. In other words, does the fact that a man agrees in advance in the form of a civil contract to the loss of his labor or his freedom in any way, make such a contract of servitude valid?

Mr. IRWIN. I do not think so.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I know that Judge Box is very sincere in wanting to unravel the ethics as well as the law of this resolution. Referring to the contract, as I understand it, there is no plan of contract. It is true that many men who otherwise would not have that advantage, would be given the opportunity to come to Hawaii.

Mr. CABLE. Do you think that the Chinese Government would permit them to come in without some kind of contract covering their coming?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not know.

Mr. BOX. Did not the gentleman say there would be an agreement? What is the difference between an agreement to perform service upon certain terms and a contract?

Mr. RAKER. Since you have answered Judge Box as you have, I want to ask you this question: Is it the purpose of this resolution to enable you to go to China and have 5,000 or 10,000 Chinese to come to Hawaii without any agreement or arrangement as to where they will work, for whom they will work, and the amount of their wages?

Mr. IRWIN. I would say that there would be some general understanding with the Chinese Government as to the general labor conditions and the general price of labor.

Mr. RAKER. Where do you get that idea that there will be an understanding with the Chinese Government? Please tell the committee about that. That is something I would like to know.

Mr. IRWIN. It has been generally understood by people who are presumed to know that the Chinese Government, before allowing nationals to depart from China, requires some assurance as to what the conditions will be.

Mr. WHITE. It was contemplated in my question, and I think it was clearly stated in your answer, that they have the right to inquire what they do know, and that it is represented to those persons in advance of their coming what the circumstances and conditions of their employment will be.

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. If their Government does understand, and if they understand, and if there is an understanding or agreement, directly or indirectly, which is acted upon by them and under which they come to this country, and that agreement in any way curtails the personal liberty of those men after they arrive here, in contravention of the Constitution of the United States, or of the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth amendments, would it have the slightest effect on earth as to the limitations imposed upon those men after they got here?

Mr. IRWIN. If there were any agreement that contravened the Constitution because it deprived him of liberty, undoubtedly that would be

be an invalid arrangement. Here is the situation: Let us assume that this resolution passes and becomes a law of the United States——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). I can not assume that.

Mr. IRWIN. Well, let me assume that.

Mr. RAKER. That would be a very violent assumption, because I can not believe that the American Congress or the American people would think of it for a minute. It is so violent that it is really shocking.

Mr. IRWIN. I am almost afraid to make any further assumption.

Mr. RAKER. I think you ought to be.

Mr. IRWIN. Let me assume that this resolution is passed by Congress and becomes a law of the United States, and let me assume that under the plan representatives of the board of immigration of the Territory of Hawaii go to China and insert advertisements in the papers there calling for a certain number of laborers, advertising the general labor conditions, advertising the general prices of labor, and advertising the places where they will receive applications for transportation to Honolulu. Let us suppose that in answer to those advertisements there are 5,000 applicants, and that they come to the office and say, "We have read your advertisements, we understand the conditions, and we understand that we can go to Hawaii and accept employment with any persons we choose in agricultural lines."

The representative of the board of immigration says, "All right; the ship sails the day after to-morrow, and here is your passage." He takes the next ship and comes to Honolulu, and is received there by the general board of immigration. The board of immigration says to him, "Here is a plantation on which you can get employment. Do you want to go there?" We will suppose the Chinaman answers, "Yes; I will go there." We will suppose he goes to that plantation and works for three or four days, and then, becoming dissatisfied with the conditions, goes on to the next plantation, where he finds the conditions more satisfactory, and we will suppose that he works there during the entire period of five years, or we will suppose that he finally makes up his mind that he does not want to work there any longer, and goes back to China. Now, where is the involuntary service or curtailment of liberty in that?

Mr. RAKER. Is that the purpose of this resolution?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Then, why do you not so state it?

Mr. IRWIN. We have had so much confidence in the executive officers of the United States Government——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). It is showing a great deal of confidence to my mind, when you give them the power to determine all those things. Why do you have to give the Secretary of Labor the power to fix the mode and method of bringing them in?

Mr. IRWIN. Do you want to write all of that in the resolution?

Mr. RAKER. I am asking you.

Mr. IRWIN. I have given you my reasons. I have tried to outline a plan, and you say that this idea of leaving all of this power in the hands of the Executive is not wise. Now, if it is not wise, I am asking you whether you would advise writing all of those provisions into the bill or resolution?

Mr. RAKER. If I were going to enact any law on the subject, I would not repose the power in any man to write any conditions in a

contract whereby a man would lose any part of his rights or immunities, and that is what this bill or resolution undertakes to do. No, it is your purpose to simply advertise for these people to come to Hawaii?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a limitation of five years.

Mr. RAKER. Where does it limit it to five years? The Secretary can permit them to come in for 50 years, if he wants to, can he not?

The CHAIRMAN. It says five years. I think it would be advisable to have a provision in the resolution covering that.

Mr. RAKER. The Secretary can admit them for 50 years, if he wants to.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think he could.

Mr. RAKER. The five-year limitation is simply as to the time within which the President shall declare an emergency. There is no limitation so long as there is a minimum and maximum. Then you do intend to fix his wage before he comes? You intend to leave it optional with him to enter into a contract after he gets there?

Mr. CABLE. There would be a minimum wage, would there not?

Mr. IRWIN. I assume there would be. I am not prepared to answer that question, and I assume there are people here who are more familiar with that detail of the plan than I am. But, personally, I would advocate the fixing of a minimum wage.

Mr. RAKER. At about what?

Mr. IRWIN. Well, the minimum wage at the present time, I understand, is \$1.15.

Mr. RAKER. A day?

Mr. IRWIN. Yes; with all the other appurtenances, a house, water, fuel, and so on.

Mr. RAKER. Who would you have fix that?

Mr. IRWIN. I suppose that would be fixed by some sort of an arrangement between possibly the Board of Immigration of Hawaii and the Secretary of Labor.

Mr. RAKER. Just one more question and then I am through. If a man comes there without his wage being fixed and they offer him a wage that he refuses and he finds no wage satisfactory to him in his agricultural pursuits or in those various other classes, he is subject to deportation, is he not?

Mr. IRWIN. As I told you before, I will not answer that question offhand, because it is too close a question. If he says, "I am willing to work if you give me a proper wage," and there is reasonable ground to believe his assertion that an adequate wage was not given. I am doubtful, to say the least, whether or not—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). How is he going to enforce his right? I am assuming he has the same right, although an alien, that an American citizen would have to make a contract to get the best wage he could get and have the best conditions. Yet if he does not accept the wage offered and is idle he has the question of deportation staring him in the face, and how are you going to keep them from deporting him if he is idle, because he becomes a menace to the country while he remains there idle and unemployed? Is not that the crux of the business, the fact that he can be deported?

Mr. IRWIN. It is undoubtedly a very important feature of the bill.

Mr. RAKER. It would apply to any man's case who was not engaged in the class or classes of labor in which an emergency exists.

Mr. IRWIN. In other words, if he is engaged in any other labor, he would be subject to deportation.

Mr. RAKER. But if he did not engage in any labor, if he refused to work because the price offered him was not sufficient for him, as he conceived it, to make a living, and he had no money, he would be a burden on the community, a pauper, as you say, and in such a situation he stands there and says: "I am a man who was brought to this country, with the right to contract for a reasonable wage, but not having gotten it I am going to let the community support me; I will let the community support me before I will enter into that kind of a contract."

Mr. IRWIN. I think that if a condition of affairs such as you describe came about he would possibly have a right to refuse to work.

Mr. RAKER. And he would be deported?

Mr. IRWIN. No; the resolution says not unless he engaged in some other line of work.

Mr. RAKER. Whom else do you want to come in besides the Chinese?

Mr. IRWIN. We might get Javanese; it is possible, if the distances were not so great and the transportation difficulties so great, that we might get some Europeans under this resolution; but it is the emergency feature which we are looking at now, which will enable us to get people in there quickly and relieve the present acute shortage, and China is the most available source.

Mr. RAKER. And that is what you want this resolution for, to get Chinese in?

Mr. IRWIN. Primarily, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the record over and over again.

Mr. RAKER. Why, Mr. Chairman, the first sentence of this hearing is that it was not exclusively for the Chinese.

The CHAIRMAN. Even if that statement were made the cross-examination during the first week's hearing went over that phase of it over and over again with Mr. Mead and others.

Mr. RAKER. I think that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is nothing else, we will stand adjourned to meet to-morrow morning.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, August 12, 1921.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We will endeavor to close these hearings with this session. I understand that some members of the Hawaiian commission have some brief additional statements to submit. Do you desire to offer something additional this morning, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do. I would like to ask Senator Chillingworth to make a statement in regard to one matter that was brought up by Mr. Gompers. He desires to make just a brief statement.

**ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. CHARLES F. CHILLINGWORTH,
MEMBER OF THE HAWAII EMERGENCY LABOR COMMISSION.**

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Mr. Chairman, there is just one feature to which I wish to call the attention of the committee. The statement was made here, and is a part of your record, that the Hawaii Legislature was controlled by the sugar planters and other big interests. I feel that I would not be doing my duty by my colleagues or the Legislature of Hawaii if I allowed that statement to go into the record without entering a protest and a definite and explicit denial of its truth. In the 17 years that I have been elected to the senate I have always been elected by the masses, the people, by the laboring men and the workers, and I challenge the statement that the Legislature of Hawaii has at any time been controlled by the planters' association or any other big interests. I am frank to say to you that I came on here in the belief that my coming was necessary as a representative of our legislative body. Otherwise, I would never have come, owing to business and other matters that require my attention. I felt that it was my duty to make the sacrifice and do what I could for our country. When a charge of this kind is made, being the only representative here of the Territorial legislature, I feel that I would not be doing my duty to my country and our legislature if I did not go on record as protesting against that statement and branding it as false.

Mr. RAKER. Senator, without desiring to cast any reflection upon anyone whatever, it is true, is it not, that the great interests of Hawaii are the sugar interests and pineapple interests?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Yes, sir; and the coffee interests.

Mr. RAKER. And the rice interests. There are three. Those are what you would call the large interests.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. And coffee; I want to include that.

Mr. RAKER. Well, we will include coffee. As a natural consequence, anyone representing those interests, to a greater or less extent, would be interested in doing all that he could to advance them?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Naturally; just as would be the case in your district, State, or community.

Mr. RAKER. And he would also be interested in securing as much labor as possible at a reasonable price or at as low price as he could.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I presume it would be fair to say that that is true of any place in the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it must be clear, and the record must show it, because the figures have been submitted here over and over again, that the population of the islands is about 255,000, and that the white American citizens are extremely limited in number, being about 18,000.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. The control of the legislature in both houses is in the hands of Hawaiian and Portuguese Americans. I call myself a Hawaiian, because I have Hawaiian blood, and, as I have said, the control of both houses is in the hands of the Hawaiians and Portuguese.

Mr. RAKER. To be specific, the Hawaiian Legislature, in 1918, passed a resolution memorializing Congress to admit 20,000 Chinese, did it not?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Did they pass one the year before that, also?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Some time prior to that. I can not say exactly when.

Mr. RAKER. Prior to the submission of this resolution, upon which you are appearing here as a commissioner, they did pass two resolutions, say, within six years previously, memorializing Congress for the admission of Chinese?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Was Mr. Hindle, who came here and appeared before the Committee on Immigration, urging legislation of that kind, the resolution having been introduced by the delegate from Hawaii, appearing in any way as a representative of the Hawaiian people?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. He was not. The resolution, Judge Raker, was sent on to the Delegate in Congress for introduction. There was no other effort made on the part of the legislature to forward the purposes of that resolution.

Mr. RAKER. Let us be specific in this matter. The present resolution, passed by the Hawaiian Legislature following the message of the governor of Hawaii, and which your commission has presented here, and which is printed in the first volume of the hearings, is general in its terms.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I think so.

Mr. RAKER. Providing for otherwise inadmissible aliens.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Let me ask you if you are seeking by this legislation the admission of any idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, or insane persons?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. No, sir. In further reply to that, I would say that we did not contemplate that any such construction would be put upon it.

Mr. RAKER. Are you seeking by this legislation the admission of persons who have one or more forms of insanity?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Are you seeking by this legislation the admission of persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. No, sir; absolutely not.

Mr. RAKER. Are you seeking by this legislation the admission of persons affected with chronic alcoholism?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Are you seeking by this legislation the admission of paupers?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Are you seeking by it the admission of vagrants?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Absolutely not.

Mr. RAKER. Are you seeking by this legislation the admission of persons who are afflicted with tuberculosis in any form or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Absolutely not. Our community is not looking for anything of that kind, and the resolution provides that it will be under such regulations as the Secretary of Labor may impose.

The CHAIRMAN. Since they are seeking labor for the plantations, presumably they would not want people of those classes.

Mr. RAKER. Are you seeking by this legislation the admission of persons—

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think it is necessary to cover all of that.

Mr. RAKER. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. It takes up time, and if the resolution has not been perfected in that respect it can be perfected. The original resolution assumes that the Secretary of Labor would admit them under certain regulations, and this second resolution would assume that the Secretary of Labor, whose business it is now to keep the classes out of the country and out of the Territory, would, of course, keep out the insane, criminals, paupers, vagrants, idiots, etc.

Mr. RAKER. I will put the direct question to him, then, if that is the only way we can get at it: Is it not true that the sole purpose of this resolution is the admission of Chinese coolie labor into the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. After careful consideration, and knowing what the conditions are in Hawaii, and knowing the problem that we have to contend with out there, I am sincere in stating that I believe that the only solution of our problems in Hawaii now, or the only way of affording immediate relief there, is through the admission of Chinese.

Mr. RAKER. Let us come back now to the question of the prime purpose of this resolution. Notwithstanding the fact that it admits, we would admit, all of those otherwise undesirable persons, as provided for in section 3 of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, the purpose is, or the prime purpose is, the admission of Chinese labor?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. That is for immediate relief of our labor shortage. If there is other legislation which will assist us in getting into that country laborers who could carry on the work that should be carried on—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). I will have to go back to the question.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. I say yes, for the purpose of affording immediate relief.

Mr. RAKER. For the purposes of immediate relief, you are seeking to admit any others of the otherwise inadmissible classes into the Territory of Hawaii, save and except Chinese.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. If the matter of transportation and the matter of getting quick relief could be handled through some other nationalities preferable to any oriental people, we would be glad to get them. We have come here on a problem on which we had hoped that this committee would help us. If you gentlemen can find a solution of our problem that is what we are hoping for and hope that you will offer some constructive suggestion as to the solution of our problem.

Mr. RAKER. I am talking about this resolution.

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Absolutely; and you are correct in that so far as our need of immediate relief leaves us no other choice.

Mr. RAKER. That is, for the emergency—

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH (interposing). We believe the Chinese will meet it.

Mr. RAKER. And Chinese are the people that you are seeking have admitted under this resolution?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. That is my personal opinion.

Mr. RAKER. And as a member of the commission?

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does any other member of the commission desire to make a statement, Mr. Dillingham? Have we had Mr. Horner as a witness?

Mr. WEEBER. Yes, sir; he has testified.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Mr. Mead desires to make a statement.

**ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. ROYAL D. MEAD, MEMBER OF
THE HAWAII EMERGENCY LABOR COMMISSION.**

Mr. MEAD. Mr. Chairman, my statement will relate to and will be in reply to charges and statements made by the American Federation of Labor regarding conditions in Hawaii, and the charge of gross mismanagement of the sugar plantations. Mr. Wright, as you will remember, testified or stated in his telegram that the plantations were overcapitalized. It is in evidence before the committee that the capitalization of the plantations is \$85,000,000 and that the taxable value or assessable value is \$117,000,000 in round numbers. The United States Tariff Commission collects data every year from the plantations, and I have made inquiries of Dr. Wright, of the Tariff Commission, regarding the invested capital. For the crop year of 1918-19 he told me that the returns of only 37 plantations showed an invested capital of \$157,711,579, which is almost twice the amount of the capital stock. It is probably more than twice the amount of the capital stock, as I am only taking into consideration the returns of 37 plantations.

Mr. Wright also stated that Mr. Varona made a tour of the plantations under the auspices of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters. Mr. Varona, you will remember, was the agent sent by the Philippine government to investigate labor conditions in Hawaii. Mr. Wright stated that he went on the plantations under our auspices. That is absolutely untrue. Mr. Varona arrived in Hawaii before I left there, and he visited several plantations on the island of Oahu before I left the islands, and while we offered him every courtesy and consideration that we could, he refused absolutely to visit the plantations under any letters of introduction or under our auspices in any way. He paid his own expenses, paid the expenses of his secretary, and his investigation was very independent indeed. He told me before he left, after having visited the plantations on the island of Oahu, that he considered the conditions good for his people. Now, we have been requesting for many years past that the Philippine government should have in Hawaii a resident commissioner or agent for the purpose of representing the Filipinos and acting as a go-between or mediator in any trouble that might arise. That they have never done, but they did send investigators to look into the labor conditions on the islands, and without exception every one of the reports that have been made by those investigators have been favorable, stating that they regarded the conditions in Hawaii for Filipino labor as very good indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. The immigration of Filipinos into the Hawaiian Islands has been about how much?

Mr. MEAD. Since 1909, when Philippine immigration commenced to Hawaii, there have been approximately 22,000 Filipinos brought in.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the transportation charge for a Filipino laborer from the Philippines to the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. MEAD. The steamer fare is \$68. Of course, that does not cover the expense of getting them there. We have quite a large establishment in the Philippines, which is expensive. We have to outfit them, get them clothing, and give them \$5 or \$10 spending money on the way over. I think the total cost of landing a Filipino on a plantation in Hawaii during the last few years has been in the vicinity of a little over \$100.

The CHAIRMAN. Is any portion of that money held out against the Filipino when he takes employment?

Mr. MEAD. It is not held out against him, and is not deducted from his wages in any way. As a matter of fact, any Filipino who works for three years on a plantation in Hawaii is returned to the Philippines at the expense of the planters' association.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that done by agreement with them?

Mr. MEAD. It is done by agreement.

The CHAIRMAN. In writing?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; in writing.

The CHAIRMAN. When you advance him \$5 or \$10 spending money on the way over, that is not taken from his wages?

Mr. MEAD. No, sir. The expense of taking a man and landing him on the plantation, where he is to be employed as a plantation worker, is borne entirely by the plantation, and not one cent of that expense is ever taken or deducted from the worker's wages.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, he is brought in on the ship, placed at work on the plantation, and started free of debt?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. That being the case it has been quite an expense to the plantation to do that?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. About how much do you estimate has been expended in that way?

Mr. MEAD. I could not tell you, but it has been very heavy.

Mr. RAKER. Why do you not take that money that is expended that way and pay the laborers who are working for you now that much more, and in that way induce those who are there to do the work?

Mr. MEAD. As I tried to explain before, we consider that we are paying plantation laborers full value for the work they do. We have found that the bonus system, under which earnings are largely increased, is the best way in which to pay for plantation work. If you increase the daily wage of the common ordinary laborers, not only in the sugar industry but in any other industry in the world, you will find that when their wage has been increased beyond a certain limit, the daily turnout decreases and their efficiency is lowered or decreased. That is not only our experience, but it has been the experience of others.

Mr. RAKER. You are harvesting the crop now, are you not?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; that commenced some time ago.

Mr. RAKER. In what month did you commence?

Mr. MEAD. In December of last year.

Mr. RAKER. The harvesters were working in May, June, and July?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Will you give the committee a statement showing what was the basic wage of an ordinary laborer in May?

Mr. MEAD. The basic wage is paid to the minimum number of laborers. The men who are working on the basic wage probably do not number 20 per cent of the total number of laborers working on the plantations.

Mr. RAKER. What is the basic wage of such a man? Give us that and nothing else.

Mr. MEAD. He gets \$30 a month and a bonus on top of that.

Mr. RAKER. That is the basic wage?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. He gets \$30 per month?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Now, taking the months of May, June, and July, how much did one of those basic wage men get during one of those months?

Mr. MEAD. Thirty dollars per month, plus a bonus of probably 20 per cent.

Mr. RAKER. Can you state what that was during the month of May?

Mr. MEAD. No, sir; I do not know what the average price of sugar was.

The CHAIRMAN. Make a guess.

Mr. MEAD. It was in the vicinity of 5 cents, or a 20 per cent bonus.

The CHAIRMAN. Take some one man in one particular month, and give his monthly wage and everything that went to him.

Mr. MEAD. The monthly wage of those lowest paid and least skilled men on the plantation, consisting of about 20 per cent of the plantation workers, amounts to \$30 for 26 days work. In addition to that, he got a bonus of, say, 20 per cent, which would make \$6 more, or \$36. The value of his house, water, fuel, and other perquisites furnished him, including hospital and medical treatment, averaged, I should say, \$10 per month, making \$46 for 26 days work.

Mr. RAKER. You say that the basic wage men constitute 20 per cent of those employed on the plantations?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Now, take the other 80 per cent.

Mr. MEAD. The harvesting labor would probably earn not less than \$2 or \$2.50 per day, according to the work they did, and on top of that they would get a bonus of 20 per cent and be supplied with houses and the other perquisites.

Mr. RAKER. What do you mean by saying that it would depend upon the work they did?

Mr. MEAD. The employment of the cutters and loaders is entirely under a contract system. The cutters and loaders are paid so much per ton for the cane they cut or load.

Mr. RAKER. Do they get as low as \$1 per day?

Mr. MEAD. No, sir; if they worked only a couple of hours they would earn \$1.

Mr. RAKER. Suppose they worked eight hours?

Mr. MEAD. They earn about \$2.50 a day. They do not work eight hours at that. They go to work in the morning and quit shortly after lunch.

Mr. RAKER. Could you give some average for the harvesters and cutters, that would give some idea of the basic wage that goes to those men?

Mr. MEAD. It is impossible to give that, because, as I say, the whole thing is based upon so much per ton for the cane cut or loaded. That depends entirely upon how much a man can cut or load, and upon how long hours they work. You could not get anything but a very general average.

Mr. RAKER. We have been listening here for a month or more, and this fact has not been presented to the committee, although you surely must have it. For instance, here is one plantation that is employing, say, a thousand men, and would not their books show—

Mr. MEAD (interposing). Yes, sir; and I can find out for you the amount paid to cutters and loaders of cane, or to any branch of workers, on any one plantation in any one year.

Mr. RAKER. With the number engaged in that work.

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; but taking the industry as a whole, that would be a rather laborious process.

Mr. RAKER. What is the percentage of harvesters and cutters out of the total number employed?

Mr. MEAD. During the harvesting season the harvesters constitute a very large percentage of the workers. I should say that they constitute 50 per cent, or that 50 per cent of them are engaged in harvesting and work connected therewith.

Mr. RAKER. Now, as to the other 30 per cent—

Mr. MEAD (interposing). They are cultivators, or semiskilled men. The cultivators, as they get through with their cultivation contracts, often go into the harvesting game.

Mr. RAKER. What do the cultivators get?

Mr. MEAD. I think that a cultivator now would earn easily \$2 per day.

Mr. RAKER. Is that his basic wage, or is that what he earns under a contract?

Mr. MEAD. Under a contract. That depends upon the amount of tonnage of cane that he raises upon a specific area.

Mr. RAKER. You do not know what that amounted to during the months of May, June, and July of this year?

Mr. MEAD. I could not get that until the contracts are settled at the end of the season. There is no monthly basis for that proposition; but, as I have said, he would average under the contract at least \$2 a day.

Mr. RAKER. What does a semiskilled laborer receive?

Mr. MEAD. That runs anywhere from \$50 to \$100 per month.

Mr. RAKER. What do you call a semiskilled worker?

Mr. MEAD. Men who work on the railroads, helpers in the shops and around the mills, men who do all sorts of work, other than ordinary field work.

The CHAIRMAN. Laying tracks?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. What is paid to the men working on motors and machinery in the mills?

Honolulu newspapers, in which he stated that after his interviews, consultations, and conferences with the planters he believed conditions would be improved, and the inference was, of course—and Mr. Wright so stated—that conditions before were not good for the Filipinos. There were only three or four things that were changed in any way as a result of Varona's visit and at his request. First, the return of the Filipinos. Instead of requiring that a Filipino should work upon a plantation for three years to entitle him to return transportation at our expense it was changed so that if he worked upon any plantation for three years he would be returned at our expense. That gives him latitude of movement. The next was that Varona requested that more Filipino nurses be employed in the plantation hospitals. That was agreed to. His other request was that in the welfare work, which is being conducted on all the plantations now, there be closer touch between the management of the plantations and the Filipinos. Now, those were the only things that were in any way changed or altered, and so far as a change in the working conditions is concerned other than I have stated them there was absolutely nothing done.

The CHAIRMAN. It was reported here that Mr. Varona said that following the changes—which were as you have stated—some additional Filipinos would be likely to come to the islands.

Mr. MEAD. Yes; he possibly made that statement. I think that the concession, that a Filipino could work upon any plantation rather than upon a plantation, was quite a concession, and possibly he felt that that concession would induce more to come.

The CHAIRMAN. When he returns to the Philippine Islands does he have anything to do with inviting, encouraging, or showing the way for Filipinos to go to the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. MEAD. That work is done entirely by our agents, by our employees, and it is done under the supervision of the Filipino Bureau of Labor. Every Filipino, before he leaves the Philippine Islands, is interviewed by the bureau of labor and the terms of his employment and everything connected with it are explained to him. Recruiting has come to the point where so many have gone back from Hawaii and told the story of their treatment in Hawaii that those who want to come know the conditions. Hawaii is not a new field to the Filipinos. When we first went out there we had the same opposition we have in Porto Rico; the newspapers published statements about lions, tigers, and elephants that would gobble them up. We had to overcome that.

The American Federation of Labor also charges that there is gross mismanagement of the plantations in Hawaii, and I do not think those charges ought to remain in the record without some statement showing that they are not true. One of the charges was that the plantations are mismanaging in the conduct of their field operations, in that they are not using the best class of workmen in positions where they might develop improved labor-saving machinery. That is rather vague, but I understand the meaning of it is that we have not adopted improved methods, particularly in the loading of cane; that we have been derelict in not inventing or trying to have invented machines which would load cane and thus avoid hand loading. The proposition of cutting and loading by machinery has been a live one with the Hawaiian planters for a

had, during all of these years, to be always on the lookout for labor to come from the outside to the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; we have been on the lookout.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have been energetic in your efforts to secure all the people that could come in under the immigration laws?

Mr. MEAD. We have. There are only two places where we can get labor—that is, where a private organization can get labor—without conflicting with the immigration laws, and those places are the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, American territory.

The CHAIRMAN. The wages you pay in the Hawaiian Islands are better than those paid for the same class of labor in either the Philippines or Porto Rico?

Mr. MEAD. Far better.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think the conditions are better?

Mr. MEAD. Hawaii is so far better than the Philippines and Porto Rico that in comparing them you would say that the Philippines and Porto Rico are still in the dark ages.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me get this clearly in the record. It has been stated by Judge Raker—I think through a slip of the tongue—that Hawaii and Porto Rico are Territories and that the Philippines are not. Porto Rico is not a Territory.

Mr. MEAD. Porto Rico is not a Territory.

The CHAIRMAN. Porto Rico is an insular possession and the Philippine Islands are insular possessions. They have their own immigration laws.

Mr. MEAD. Yes; but while they have their own immigration laws their laws are subject to the approval or disapproval of Congress or the President.

The CHAIRMAN. To a certain extent?

Mr. MEAD. Yes. The Philippine Islands are now seeking Chinese labor.

The CHAIRMAN. They have some laws in regard to them?

Mr. MEAD. They can pass their own immigration laws, and if they desire to pass a Chinese immigration law they can do it; it is their privilege.

Mr. RAKER. Mr. Mead, will it bother you right here to have you once and for all, say what you are seeking here?

Mr. MEAD. I am not seeking anything.

Mr. RAKER. The main object and purpose of this resolution is to secure Chinese labor.

Mr. MEAD. That is my understanding of it; yes, sir. The conditions in the Territory are such that they believe that to be the only relief to offset the predominating element of the population.

Mr. RAKER. And your view is that the people of Hawaii want to have repealed, temporarily at least, say, for five years, the Chinese exclusion law as it relates to Hawaii in the enabling act, as well as the general Chinese exclusion law passed by Congress excluding Chinese from the United States as well as from its Territories?

Mr. MEAD. That is my understanding; yes. May I go ahead with my statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MEAD. Varona, after he visited all of the plantations, came back and there were conferences with him. Mr. Wright in his testimony stated that. Mr. Varona gave an interview to one of the

Honolulu newspapers, in which he stated that after his interviews, consultations, and conferences with the planters he believed conditions would be improved, and the inference was, of course—and Mr. Wright so stated—that conditions before were not good for the Filipinos. There were only three or four things that were changed in any way as a result of Varona's visit and at his request. First, the return of the Filipinos. Instead of requiring that a Filipino should work upon a plantation for three years to entitle him to return transportation at our expense it was changed so that if he worked upon any plantation for three years he would be returned at our expense. That gives him latitude of movement. The next was that Varona requested that more Filipino nurses be employed in the plantation hospitals. That was agreed to. His other request was that in the welfare work, which is being conducted on all the plantations now, there be closer touch between the management of the plantations and the Filipinos. Now, those were the only things that were in any way changed or altered, and so far as a change in the working conditions is concerned other than I have stated them there was absolutely nothing done.

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great many years. Previous to my association with the planters' association they had advertised extensively all over the world for machines that would cut and load cane, and offered very large prizes. I have forgotten just what the prizes were, but there were very large amounts offered. The proposition was that the machine, after being tried out and being found feasible and satisfactory, should still remain the property of the inventor; we simply offered him a prize for inventing such a machine and he was still to have the royalty from it.

The planters' association hold annual meetings at which various committees presented written reports, and the labor-saving device committee has been one of the active and continuous committees ever since I have known anything about the planters' association's work. Here is a report which was presented at the annual meeting of 1901. I will not attempt to present the whole thing, but will just read what the chairman of the committee says:

No cane planter can afford to neglect any source of information or ideas that will throw new light or will tend to improve the methods of handling and loading of cane. The rewards and bonuses offered by the association have induced many persons to devise, build, and give much time and attention to various cane-loading machines. Some of the apparatus, of which models have been made, do not in any way cover the requirements. Many of the machines are repetitions of old-established methods and but few new ideas have come forward of any value. Some two years past cane-harvesting machines, combined cutting and loading apparatus, were talked of and written of, but to-day it is practically conceded that no apparatus of this nature can be devised to fulfill the requirements, and the whole center of discussion and thought has been toward the devising of cane-loading machines. Those machines that have come to the writer's notice have been in the nature of derricks or cane-carrier apparatus, and, in fact, all of the machines that have been devised, either on paper or in model, are of this nature. All of the machines require that the cane be lifted by the laborer and placed either on carriers or in baskets, tables or containers which are lowered and elevated. No machine has yet been devised or modeled which avoids the handling of cane by hand labor. In nearly every instance the apparatuses that have been constructed up to the present time are of too heavy and massive a nature.

Let me explain that experiments have been made with various types of machines, some of which have booms that stretch out over the fields, lift the cane up and put it on the cars, but, as stated in this report, it is necessary to have the cane bundled by hand labor. There are other machines which have received most careful attention, the Wilson-Webster machine particularly, which drags the bundles of cane over the field and lifts them into the cars. However, the great objection to that sort of apparatus is that it breaks down the furrows. The fields are all furrowed and the cane is planted in the furrows, if you break down the furrows you must go over the fields again and build them up at considerable expense before you can irrigate the cane. That has been one of the great objections to that style of machine.

That was the 1901 report, and the question, as I say, has been a very live one ever since, and I will read from the 1917 report:

The loading machine, which will ultimately be successful, will undoubtedly be the combination of many of the ideas in loaders, which to-day are represented in practically all of the machines which have been invented. No efficient machine or device in use in our industry has been perfected at its inception, and we should not feel overconcerned if the perfection of a successful loader will require 5 or 10 years of effort and the expenditure of a million dollars. Doubtless, a quarter of this sum has already been expended in one

way or another in these islands in the last 20 years in the development of labor-saving devices, but who is there here but what feels that the experience gained has not in full measure warranted the expense?

Then the committee goes on and shows the number of machines that have been developed and experimented with. There are 24 machines listed here—the Wilson-Webster and quite a number of different types. Then there are pictures of the various machines shown in the report. They have not laid down on the job at all; they have been at it and at it continuously ever since the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association started.

The 1920 report of the committee on labor-saving devices, says:

Upon the recommendation of Mr. Wallace M. Alexander, and with the approval of the trustees of the association, Mr. A. Glinchikoff, a Russian mechanical engineer and draftsman, was brought to the Territory for this work. Since that time arrangements have been made by the committee to bring Mr. A. J. Fomilyant to the Territory as an associate engineer.

Previous to this 1920 report the committee on labor-saving devices had in its employ a force of engineers, and one man, named Lewis, who was at the head of it, is now the manager of a very large sugar plantation in the Philippines. They worked for a year or more developing the Wilson-Webster cane loader, which seemed to be the most feasible at that time, and even at that they were unable to have that machine perfected to a point where it would do the work satisfactorily.

Mr. RAKER. What is the name of this association?

Mr. MEAD. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. It was organized in the year 1880 or 1881 as the Planters' Labor & Supply Co. Then somewhere around 1890 that was disincorporated and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association took over the work.

Mr. RAKER. And it is incorporated?

Mr. MEAD. No; it is a voluntary association.

Mr. RAKER. About how many members have you?

Mr. MEAD. It has about 42 plantation members and about 200 individual members.

Mr. RAKER. How is it maintained?

Mr. MEAD. It is maintained by voluntary contributions, assessments.

So much for the labor-saving devices. Mr. Wright said that we were mismanaging in that we were not going in for paper mulching. Probably paper mulching does not mean much to you gentlemen, not having seen the system, but that it is [indicating photograph]. It is a proposition of putting paper over a row of cane as it is planted and the cane comes up through it; the cane shoot is sufficiently strong to puncture the paper but the weeds, not being as strong as the cane, are killed because they have no moisture and no light. The first experiment in paper mulching was conducted on the Olaa plantation on the Island of Hawaii. That appears in the report of 1916, and when you recollect and recall that it takes a sugar crop 18 months to grow you can see that there has only been one crop harvested where any extensive area was so treated, and you can see that it is a little bit early yet to say that paper mulching should be adopted by everybody. The Olaa plantation has apparently made a success of it, but other plantations in the same district

have experimented and claim paper mulching is not a success with them.

Mr. RAKER. Just what is the object of paper mulching?

Mr. MEAD. It is to keep the weeds down.

Mr. RAKER. You cover the row with paper?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And the cane grows under that?

Mr. MEAD. Yes; and the shoot is strong enough to go through the paper.

Mr. RAKER. And that kills the weeds?

Mr. MEAD. And the weeds, of course, can not come up, the weeds are not as strong as the cane. The plantations along the Hilo coast have experimented and it has not been a success on those plantations. The Olaa plantation has put in a paper mill to manufacture the paper from the fiber of the cane, at very considerable expense, and so far as I know they feel it is all right, but it is too early yet to say, especially in view of the experiments on the plantations immediately adjoining Olaa, that it will be a success on all plantations. Furthermore, it is adapted only to the plantations where there is an excessive rainfall bringing on a very heavy growth of weeds, and perhaps 90 per cent of the plantations have no use at all for paper mulching.

Mr. RAKER. It would have no relation to cutting and loading?

Mr. MEAD. No, sir. If this Olaa experiment is eventually shown to be a success, there is no question about other plantations adopting it, but they have got to be shown first.

Mr. IRWIN. Would it be feasible to adopt it on irrigated plantations?

Mr. MEAD. No; not at all; only on plantations where there is a large rainfall, and most of our cane is raised on irrigated plantations. So it is not right to say that plantations are mismanaging because they are not adopting the paper-mulching system.

You will recall that Mr. Wright stated that he was employed in a sugar mill for three months, and that he spent a day in visiting three plantations, so that his experience is confined to three months and a day. I do not pretend to be an expert, while Mr. Wright claims he is. My experience on plantations, on and off, for the last 20 years does not qualify me to be an expert. I would not know the kind of fertilizer or the amount of fertilizer to be put on any particular acre of sugar land, and if I tried to boil sugar I would probably gum up the mill so that they would have to use dynamite to loosen it up. But Mr. Wright claimed to be an expert because of his three months and a day experience.

Mr. Wright said that the plantations were mismanaging because they did not adopt the Palmer plan of compromising the Japanese strike of 1920. The Palmer plan was a scheme proposed by Rev. Dr. Palmer, of the Central Union Church; Dr. Hobdy, a practicing physician; Mr. Dean, a professor at the College of Hawaii; Dr. Mori, Japanese medical doctor; and one other Japanese whose name I do not recall. These men had absolutely no experience with plantation work. I do not believe that any of them had ever been on a plantation for any length of time at all. The plan which they proposed was what is used now in so many of the factories in the States, factory committees of workmen to take up matters of factory man-

agement, and the employing and discharging of labor. I am not particularly familiar with it myself except that I have read about it. It works in some instances very well within the four walls of a factory, but to apply that scheme to plantations covering thousands of acres, and with isolated camps miles and miles apart, is absolutely impossible. Furthermore, when that scheme was proposed the Japanese strike had reached that point where it was a question of Americanism or Japanism; and we did not propose at that time—that is, the Sugar Planters' Association—to lay down to any Japanese organization of any kind. This proposition was such that we were told afterwards by prominent Japanese that if we had adopted it, this Palmer plan of having committees of laborers to exercise control of labor on the plantations, we would simply have been playing into the hands of the Japanese Federation of Labor and perpetuated them in their office and in their work.

Mr. Wright stated, among other things, that there is an interchange of plantation managers between Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. To my knowledge there has never been a plantation manager come from Cuba, Porto Rico, or the Philippines to Hawaii, but there have been men who have come from Louisiana. We claim in Hawaii the most improved methods and the most efficient management of plantations anywhere, and we have graduated men from our plantations who have taken large jobs in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. The fact is that pretty nearly all the managers in the Philippines, in the large factories, are former Hawaiians; a number of our men have gone to Cuba and a number have gone to Porto Rico.

We have an experiment station in Hawaii that is the best sugar experiment station in the world. It is conducted at very large expense, but the work which it has done and the results it has accomplished have more than made up the expense of maintaining it many times over. We have had men like Dr. Maxwell, a very skilled scientist, go from Hawaii to New Zealand; he is in charge of the work there and has a very prominent position. Mr. Crawley, who is now in charge of the sugar experiment station in Cuba and also a very fine scientist, graduated from Hawaii; Dr. Cobb, of the United States Department of Agriculture, also came from Hawaii. Mr. Maxwell, the manager of one of the plantations in Porto Rico, was on the plantation at Kealia, Hawaii, and the two McLanes, one now in Cuba, came from Hawaii.

There are a number of others that have gone out from Hawaii to take very prominent positions in connection with plantations. The Honolulu Iron Works and Catton, Neill & Co., with the experience gained in the construction of Hawaiian sugar mills, have developed a sugar mill which is the very last word in sugar-mill construction, and they build mills from the Philippines to Cuba. Our managers and other skilled men do not go around with their hands behind their backs and with their eyes looking up to the skies, as might be suggested by Mr. Wright's testimony. Right here in the room we have a man, Mr. Horner, whose plows and cultivators are known and extensively used wherever sugar cane is grown. The Messchaert grooved rollers, which were developed by one of our engineers, are used in every modern sugar mill. The Searby shredders are used in many mills, and many other ideas and inventions by our men have

been put into use throughout the sugar-producing countries of the world.

Mr. RAKER. That is all very interesting and very instructive.

Mr. MEAD. Yes; as bearing on gross mismanagement and what we do.

Mr. RAKER. But still it does not relieve the situation of the fact that you want to bring in Chinese coolie labor to do the work, which is against the policy of the American people.

Mr. MEAD. I am not talking to the point of whether it is wise or unwise to bring in Chinese coolie labor, but I am talking to the point of the charges that have been made as to the gross mismanagement of the sugar plantations of Hawaii, charges made by the American Federation of Labor.

I have given you the testimony of our own people and will now give you the testimony and statements from Government department sources. The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce in 1915 and 1916 investigated the sugar plantations in Hawaii, Porto Rico, Louisiana, and Cuba. The investigation was carried on by Mr. Frank J. Sheridan with a corps of assistants. He was a man peculiarly adapted to that work and he got right into it. I would like to read a few extracts from the report for the purpose of showing a comparison of conditions:

In the island of Hawaii the most scientific and intensive system of cultivation is practiced in contradistinction to the extensive system generally pursued in Cuba.

This is in reply to Mr. Wright, and particularly in reply to Mr. Gompers, as to our antiquated methods of loading cane and how much better their facilities are in Cuba and Porto Rico.

The cane cutting, loading, and transportation methods of Hawaii are in striking contrast to those of Cuba; the rushing of the cane by fluming from the harvest field to the factory and the bringing of the railway track and cart upon the heels of the cane cutters in all parts of the fields in Hawaii compare interestingly with the laborious and precise adjustment of each stalk in the oxcart and the slow hauling of the cane by ox teams to the railroad, to be reloaded and hauled to the mill in Cuba.

In the extraction of the juice from the cane in Hawaiian factories and other milling and scientific processes the results attained are the best of all cane-sugar countries. So, as Hawaii represents the best efforts of the United States and its insular possessions in the cultivation of the sugar cane and the manufacture of sugar, comparisons in this report are made for the most part between Hawaiian results and conditions and those of its principal foreign competitor and the main source of our foreign sugar supply, the island of Cuba.

Then he says:

Natural conditions are most favorable in Cuba. There is no scarcity of fertile land suited to sugar cane; there is abundant rainfall; there is sufficient population to supply the labor needed, without the pressure of population upon land that leads to high land values and tends toward relatively small holdings. In Hawaii conditions are very different. Land suited for sugar cane is limited in area and high in price; deficient rainfall requires on most of the plantations expensive systems of irrigation; the use of fertilizers is necessary; and labor from other countries must be induced to settle in the islands. Yet by science and cooperation these difficulties have been largely overcome; nowhere is the cultivation of sugar cane more intensively and successively conducted; nowhere is more efficient machinery employed; nowhere are accounts more carefully kept; and nowhere is the industry, as a whole, more skillfully directed.

There is the testimony of an independent investigator who has gone through all of the sugar-producing countries of the world.

Before closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to state that under date of August 10 a telegram has been received from Gov. Farrington, as follows:

Territorial grand jury August 1 returned indictment 21 Japanese charging criminal conspiracy relating to dynamiting and sabotage incidents, Japanese strike, 1920. Specific charge, dynamiting house of Sakamaki Olaa by so-called "assassin corps," under direction certain officers and directors Japanese strike movement. Action supported by sworn confession members alleged assassin corps who failed receive payments alleged to have been promised for their work. Men indicted are leaders Japanese Federation Labor active in strike management and propaganda.

The men who signed the pamphlet, or some of the men who signed the pamphlet, put in the record, showing the Japanese Federation of Labor's viewpoint in the strike of 1920, are among those who were indicted, including Miyazawa, Gotto, and Tsutsumi. They were directors and secretaries of the Japanese Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Were those members indicted?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They were among the persons indicted and who called themselves the "assassin's band"?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir. Hoshino and Koyama were also directors of the Japanese Federation of Labor, and they signed this report. During the strike we had information which was perfectly clear, but we did not have it in sufficient detail, and we could not get our hands on it in such a way as to indict the people. However, we knew about it. We knew that they had in their organization of the Japanese Federation of Labor an assassins' corps, as they called it. This assassins' corps was composed of men of different districts or prefects in Japan, as, for instance, from the Hiroshima and Fukuoka districts of Japan. Those districts had representatives on this assassins' corps, and it was their business to beat up people, burn their houses, kill them, or do anything they could to discourage anybody who attempted to go back to work, or to discourage anybody who attempted to get anybody to go back to work.

They would hold up automobiles at any time of the night and flash lights in the cars to find out who was going to the plantations. They had the most efficient system of picketing I ever saw. They had their organization trained as perfectly as an army organization. It was organized on the lines of an army organization. That is to say, they had sergeants, captains, and all the grades. They had their majors and battalion commanders and their major generals in Honolulu. The whole thing was worked up most efficiently. We knew about this, but we did not have the evidence in such shape that we could take it to the grand jury.

The CHAIRMAN. They were some of the men who were to have been paid for this kind of work?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; they were to have been paid by the Japanese Federation of Labor, and they did not pay them. They then gave the information which led to the indictment of the whole crowd.

Mr. RAKER. They were Japanese who were to be paid by the Japanese Federation of Labor and they made a confession?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; and they have indicted the Japanese in that organization. The original directorate of the Japanese Federation of Labor contained no laborers, but it contained men who were not eligible to citizenship, and that was the organization that had this

assassins' corps and that sought the privilege of affiliating with American Federation of Labor.

Mr. RAKER. Does not that sound in the same way as if a lot of white men had entered into some kind of combination to do mischief?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know. I do not know whether the American Federation of Labor—

Mr. RAKER. I did not intimate that and I repudiate any suggestion. That is unfortunate, Mr. Mead, because nothing could further from my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, strike it out.

Mr. MEAD. I do not know whether they have any sort of organization or not—

Mr. RAKER (interposing). It shall remain in the record, so far I am concerned. That is not a proper deduction to draw from question. What I meant to say was that any man or class of men who violate the law, or organize to violate the law, would be in the same class, and these same men would be just like white men who would undertake to do the same sort of thing.

Mr. MEAD. I presume some white men would do that sort of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a double-headed problem here. Gompers charged in his interview, and I think he stated on the spot that myself and others were trying to make a Japanese question out of this; but, for the life of me, I can not separate the Japanese question from this labor question.

Mr. MEAD. They are so bound together that you can not separate them.

Mr. RAKER. There is only one question involved in this whole thing. I have stated, and will repeat here, and I will also repeat on the floor of the House, possibly on a question of personal privilege, that the only question here is the question of the admission of Chinese. They have practically admitted that. They do not ask to have men who are otherwise inadmissible admitted, and I think the record will show that. It is Chinese that are to come in under a system of peonage, involuntary servitude, or serfdom. Now, in view of my statement that I have made here from the very first day of this hearing, and notwithstanding any other statements made to the contrary, why should the statement be made that I am in favor of this legislation? Anybody ought to know from my first statement that I am against it. Anybody knowing the facts who circulates a statement of that kind is giving circulation to something that is false. My proposition is clearly unconstitutional, and consequently, Congress could not enact such a thing, even if it wanted to sanction such a system.

The CHAIRMAN. I take it that this committee, having this resolution before it, has a perfect right to go into every phase of it, to hear every witness and to cross-examine them in detail. We also have the right to substitute for the resolution, and to devise, if we can, another resolution, and I think it is a matter of record that Mr. Mead himself offered something that might be considered to be a constructive plan of relief for Hawaii, which was a plan to remove certain restrictions from the present immigration laws for the benefit of the Territories.

Mr. MEAD. May I add there that it was our idea to build up the white population?

The CHAIRMAN. I will take that up with you a little later. Now, this temporary plan were put into effect, how many Chinese do you think would be brought in? Give us your estimate of that.

Mr. MEAD. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think the shortage of labor in the Hawaiian Islands is this year?

Mr. MEAD. The shortage of labor there, I should say, would be eight or ten thousand people right now.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us say 10,000.

Mr. MEAD. I should say eight or ten thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. In the sugar industry?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir. The last figures I had from Honolulu showed that they were 6,000 short, but that was some months ago. I do not know what the conditions are now. I know that they have been growing worse. I should say that we have a shortage of 8,000 with the sugar industry, although that may be too high.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your idea of the shortage, Mr. Dillingham?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. My idea, from the data we have been able to secure, is that the shortage is in the neighborhood of 15,000 men to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. For all common labor in Hawaii?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. For all agricultural labor.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask Mr. Mead if that number of Chinese were added to the mixed population of Hawaii, which is already heavily Japanese with a considerable sprinkling of Chinese, would it be possible to proceed with any plan that would let any kind of European labor come into the islands?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that if the literacy test were lifted and the head tax suspended, you could still bring European labor in there?

Mr. MEAD. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And displace any Chinese or Japanese labor here?

Mr. MEAD. I think that the European labor could go along as the requirements developed, but I can not say that the European labor would in any way compete with the Chinese and Japanese labor. There would not be any displacement of the ordinary Chinese labor or even of Japanese labor if we should get started with European immigration.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any idea that the wages of common labor will fall in the islands within the next few years?

Mr. MEAD. I do not believe they will fall very much. There may be a little decrease in the bonus, but so far as paying them a good living wage is concerned, it makes no difference whether the price of sugar is 2 cents or 5 cents, they have got to be paid a living wage.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a pretty general experience that once wages are advanced—

Mr. MEAD (interposing). Once you get wages up, it is not easy to get them down. The tendency in Hawaii, or the tendency ever since

I have been in Hawaii, has been to increase wages, just the same everywhere else in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. This original resolution provides that the people may be brought in for agricultural labor or domestic purposes?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you include domestic labor?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know what the reason for that was. However, if you have been out there and have had to depend on Japanese domestic servants, you would know what a tremendous problem we are up against in that respect. You will realize that they persecute the housewives out there. The domestic-service problem in the Hawaiian Islands is a serious one. Of course, it is so everywhere, but the Japanese have control of domestic service in Hawaii, and the conditions are absolutely impossible.

The CHAIRMAN. Yet Japanese servants are used there?

Mr. MEAD. It is all we have. We can get no other servants, therefore must stand their impudence and stand their persecution because in a hot, tropical climate white women must have some assistance in their housework.

Mr. RAKER. You would expect Chinese to perform that service?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; and they are the best domestic servants in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. American people employ them in continental United States.

Mr. MEAD. They would be up in the seventh heaven if they could have them in America.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It would have a very steadying effect upon labor, both domestic and field labor, to have a division of the nationalities, or a more equitable division or a more balanced division.

Mr. RAKER. That would be reverting or changing back to what they were 40 years ago on the Japanese proposition, would it? My friend, Mr. Dillingham, has just stated that he would like to have a division of the various nationalities so that they could perform them for the various kinds of labor.

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Everybody who knows anything at all about the Japanese is against them, or he ought to be against them, and if the American people would only seek the truth as it exists, they will exclude the Japanese.

Mr. MEAD. I agree with you.

Mr. RAKER. The two races can not exist together, because of racial differences as well as the economic differences. Now, American people have tried it, and they have demonstrated the years of trouble, worry, and annoyance that they must exclude the Chinese. They found that they must exclude the Chinese, and they have done so. Now, certainly we can not revert back to the conditions that existed 30 years ago and admit Chinese into the Hawaiian Islands and eventually admit them into continental United States.

Mr. MEAD. While that is perfectly true, yet, as a matter of fact, we have a peculiar condition in Hawaii. You have there, in that place, this very largely preponderating Japanese population, which is a menace from the industrial standpoint. You have that condition in Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. Let us be frank about it——

Mr. MEAD (interposing). You have that condition before you. The problem is to get some one else in there. You will never in a thousand years get anywhere by bringing in white European labor, because they do not compete. The white man will not edge the Japanese out, but, on the other hand, the Japanese will edge the white man out every time. That has been the experience there for years.

Now, you will have your Chinese under control. Under this bill you would have them under control, and you could stop them whenever you wanted to, or you could limit the numbers coming in. You will have the opportunity of bringing in white people from Europe, thus affording the means of building up the white population, but we can not build up the white population so long as we have that predominating Japanese population out there. That is my theory and understanding of it.

Mr. RAKER. If we concede, and I think that concession is correct, that the Chinese will drive out the Japanese—and even the Japanese Government recognizes that fact, because they prohibit Chinese labor from going to Japan—what is the result? The western part of the United States has had an experience with Chinese troubles, and would we not be going right back to a condition of serf labor or to a condition of labor under control if we should permit these Chinese to come into Hawaii? Notwithstanding the very serious condition that you people have out there, and it must be a serious one on account of your heavy Japanese population, will this relieve the situation? Would we be in any way clarifying the situation or assisting you by permitting another alien race to come to Hawaii when Congress has solemnly promised in its compact with your people or with the Hawaiian Government that it would not permit the immigration of Chinese into the Territory of Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. I think that the provision in the organic act of Hawaii was simply a provision to carry out the Chinese exclusion law which existed in the United States at the time the organic act was adopted. I do not think it had anything else in view. I do not think that it meant that you should never have any Chinese in Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. After the United States had adopted the Geary Act, or the Chinese exclusion act, Hawaii then followed suit. Now, when annexation came, both countries had——

Mr. MEAD. They both had the same laws.

The CHAIRMAN. They excluded the Chinese, but had not then learned so much about the Japanese?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not any too familiar with the governing laws passed by Congress for Porto Rico and the Philippines, but if it could be done, would not the passage of an act authorizing the United States itself to send labor commissioners from the Department of Labor to those insular possessions to assist in securing labor or the islands be a better plan of meeting the situation?

Mr. MEAD. I do not know. The Department of Labor now has no representative at all in Porto Rico. Going back a little bit, before we went into the war, Mr. Clayton, I think was his name, of the Bureau of Labor, suggested that if we wanted Porto Rican laborers the

Department of Labor would be willing to help us. Upon that invitation I went down to Porto Rico, but the war broke out soon after and that was the end of it. However, at that time they did offer to help us get Porto Ricans. I did endeavor to get some sort of assistance along that line when I came on this time, but the bureau was not in a position to grant it.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say was the population of Porto Rico?

Mr. MEAD. One million two hundred and fifty thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. How does the actual area of that island compare with the area of Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. Porto Rico has a little less than 4,000 square miles, while the island of Hawaii, which is the largest island in the group, contains over 4,000 square miles.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there more cultivated area in Porto Rico than in Hawaii?

Mr. MEAD. No, sir; there is not. We raise more sugar and raise more pineapples, and, in fact, raise more agricultural products than Porto Rico produces.

The CHAIRMAN. You have more area in cultivation?

Mr. MEAD. Yes, sir; we have more area actually under cultivation.

Mr. RAKER. In addition to the act referred to, there was a joint resolution of July 7, 1898, Thirtieth Statutes at Large, page 571, which is a part of the resolution admitting Hawaii as a Territory. Then, again, on April 30, 1900, we made it applicable to Hawaii, excluding the Chinese. Then, again, on April 29, 1902, we reenacted the Chinese immigration laws, and made them apply specifically to the Territories, including Hawaii.

Mr. MEAD. There was an additional law which prevented them from coming from Hawaii to the mainland.

Mr. RAKER. That is in this act. Now, I want to ask you your view on this matter. There has been called to my attention an article published yesterday (Aug. 11, 1921) in the Washington Times, or the editorial page, containing the following statement:

The House Committee on Immigration has reported a most extraordinary resolution in favor of permitting the planters of Hawaii to import 50,000 Chinese coolies to work as bonded slaves on the sugar plantations for five years and then, if desirable, to be deported in favor of another batch of coolies.

Of course, you would not be in favor of anything of that kind?

Mr. MEAD. Of course, that is a misstatement about anything that has happened.

Mr. RAKER. In the first place, this resolution has not been reported. It has been ordered reported by not more than five, and possibly four, members of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think that is correct: the action was taken by a quorum of the full committee.

Mr. RAKER. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I think it is. I do not propose to stand under the imputation—after the committee has acted and we have been holding hearings for 10 days—of having voted for this resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. I never knew you to falter on any investigation, and it is largely at your insistence that this and other hearings have run almost to the exhausting point. This committee is charged

with losing time, but we have a problem before us and will go to the bottom of it.

Mr. RAKER. And I will go to the bottom of it.

The CHAIRMAN. We have no right as Members of Congress, whether on this committee or any other committee, having taken these and other islands under our wings as a Territory or as insular possessions, to be dilatory about anything that will help them one way or another. That is the fault of the United States Government and, in my opinion, it shows the mistake and futility of taking outside possessions, filled with nonassimilable people, under the flag of the United States.

Mr. RAKER. I am willing to give relief and do what I can, but I am unalterably opposed to any legislation that violates the thirteenth or fourteenth amendments to the Constitution. So that there can be no question about it, I have been opposed to Japanese immigration into this country and have done everything I could to have them excluded, and I am likewise unalterably opposed to breaking down, in any conceivable way, the Chinese exclusion law. It ought to be fortified instead of weakened. The way this editorial reads it would appear as though I am in favor of bringing Chinese to Hawaii for the purpose of putting them in bondage and making them slaves.

The CHAIRMAN. Your reputation is such that no such imputation could hurt you. Besides, members of the committee have got to handle this, distasteful or not. In Congress it is not all peaches and cream.

Mr. MEAD. Let me say that I have never had the slightest doubt about your attitude in the matter, and that you have been opposed to bringing in Chinese.

Mr. RAKER. And I have opposed it because it is fundamentally against our Government. I have had experience; I have gone through it; I have seen this both as to the Japanese and Chinese; and if we had not always put the soft pedal on public men in regard to the exclusion of the Japanese, we would have had settled that question 10 years ago. That is the trouble of it. There is always some question raised as to some delicate international matter being involved, when it is the sovereign right of this Government to say who shall come here and who shall stay here.

The CHAIRMAN. There will be all kinds of delicate international matters here in November.

Mr. RAKER. The only thing I want to say about that is that if there are open sessions instead of secret sessions, we will get results; but if there are secret sessions, we will be lost.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you concluded, Mr. Mead?

Mr. MEAD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we will hear Mr. Dillingham.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. WALTER F. DILLINGHAM, CHAIRMAN OF THE HAWAIIAN EMERGENCY LABOR COMMISSION.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I want to put in a statement by the commission. We have gone wide of the mark in our discussions, and implications have been made that this commission is favoring the violation of the

Constitution of the United States in the plan proposed, and so on. So that there may be no mistake as to what this commission's attitude is in relieving the situation, which I think the committee as a whole has recognized to be a serious condition in Hawaii to-day, this statement is offered as disclosing the position of the emergency labor commission of the Territory:

STATEMENT OF THE HAWAII EMERGENCY LABOR COMMISSION BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION ON HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 171.

A PLAN OF OPERATIONS UNDER THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION.

While this resolution puts all the regulations in the hands of the Secretary of Labor, the following, based upon the previous experience of the Territory of Hawaii with assisted immigration, is submitted by the Hawaii Emergency Labor Commission as a proposed plan of operation:

The Territory of Hawaii, through its territorial board of immigration, assisted immigration as long as such assistance was legal and practicable. The law authorizing the territorial board of immigration, which consisted of five members appointed by the governor, is still in force. (Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1915, ch. 45.)

Money to pay the passage of the immigrants and the expenses of the board was raised by public taxation consisting of an income surtax of 1 per cent on all incomes in excess of \$4,000.

Recently the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association has been and is now assisting in the introduction of laborers from the Philippines and Porto Rico. This introduction of laborers being from American possessions, is not strictly "immigration."

Neither under the many and varied experiments conducted by the territorial board of immigration nor in the case of the activities of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association has any money advanced for the passage of laborers to Hawaii been deducted from their wages or charged against them in any way. Since Hawaii has been an American Territory no form of bond has ever been required and no laborer has ever been required to contract for his services to any particular employer. Once in Hawaii, he has been free to engage in any kind of labor he sees fit, and his freedom of movement has never been restricted by any pecuniary or contract obligation or any other device. In the light of this experience any assumption that the proposed emergency labor relief involves any bonded labor or peonage conditions is wholly gratuitous and unwarranted.

In carrying out the terms of the proposed resolution, the commission proposes specifically that the territorial board of immigration shall be reestablished and that an income surtax designed to fall only on the large corporations shall be reimposed. This will create a fund both for the introduction and the repatriation of temporary labor. It is not proposed to charge any part of the expense of passage either way against the wages of the laborers. It is not proposed to require any bonds of any person or persons, nor to require or permit the laborer to enter into any definite contract of service with any particular employer. His freedom of movement throughout the Territory, within the classes of labor specified in the resolution will be unrestricted.

Under this system, the original recruiting and assistance of the laborers and payment of their passage will be under the control of an official Government board. This board will also decide upon and superintend the distribution of laborers upon their arrival. In practice it has been found that the laborer who has volunteered to come thousands of miles to do a certain kind of work when shown his new home and his job, will go to work cheerfully, and find conditions vastly superior to those which he has left will remain at his job a reasonable length of time. Such is the experience, for example, with the Filipino, although there is no reason, either legal or extra legal, although his passage was paid by the sugar industry, why he can not the next day engage in pineapple cultivation or any other form of work.

The only new feature in the proposed plan is the problem of limiting the laborer to the performance of agricultural labor and domestic service and securing his return to his country upon the expiration of the limited time. As to this, it is tentatively suggested that each laborer be furnished with a certificate

cate with space thereon for the indorsement by a responsible employer or by the territorial board of immigration, say every six months, that the alien laborer is regularly employed in agricultural labor or domestic service. In default of this certificate and indorsement, or upon proof that the indorsement was untrue, the laborer would be subject to deportation after summary hearing before an agent of the Department of Labor. The fact that the area of the Hawaiian Islands is limited and the population relatively small renders it possible to rely upon this procedure without further limitation or supervision of the movements of laborers in a manner which would be impracticable on the continent of the United States. The geographical position of the Territory and the rules and regulations of the bureau of immigration now in force would make it impossible for any such alien illegally to leave Hawaii.

This system would bring the case squarely within the leading case of *Fong Yue Ting v. United States* (149 U. S., 698), which was the case of the deportation of Chinese laborers who had been lawfully in the country for many years but who had not secured the certificate required by the act of May 5, 1892. This case has been cited and applied many times until, as stated by Justice Pitney in a recent case before the Supreme Court: "It is entirely settled that the authority of Congress to prohibit aliens from coming within the United States, and to regulate their coming, includes authority to impose conditions upon the performance of which the continued liberty of the alien to reside within the bounds of this country may be made to depend; that a proceeding to enforce such regulations is not a criminal prosecution within the meaning of the fifth and sixth amendments; that such an inquiry may be properly devolved upon an executive department or subordinate officials thereof, and that the findings of fact reached by such officials after a fair though summary hearing may constitutionally be made conclusive." (*Zakonaite v. Wolf*, 226 U. S., 262.)

Under these decisions the commission is advised that there can be no doubt of the entire legality and constitutionality of the plan above proposed and of the joint resolution.

THE HAWAII EMERGENCY LABOR COMMISSION.
W. F. DILLINGHAM, *Chairman*.
CHAS. F. CHILLINGWORTH, *Member*.
A. HORNER, *Member*.

Mr. RAKER. The Wolf case has reference to the prostitute from St. Louis, has it not?

Mr. WEEBER. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. I want to ask the chairman of the commission one question. Stripping this resolution of its verbiage and of its concealed purpose, the sole and only purpose of it is the admission of Chinese laborers; is not that correct?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No, sir. The purpose of this resolution is to give the Executives of this country, the President, and the Secretary of Labor as much latitude within the law and the Constitution as is necessary for them to meet the emergency which exists in Hawaii to-day. We believe that the Chinese, under an arrangement such as outlined, will afford the best guaranty of relief. We would gladly accept any other form of relief which will accomplish the end.

Mr. RAKER. But the primal purpose and the primal thing in view is the bringing in of Chinese to meet the alleged labor shortage; is not that your purpose?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. No, sir; it is not. I have listened to and read the public statements that we hoped to get 50,000 Chinese and establish peonage, slavery, and all the rest of it, but there is nothing in the record as submitted by any commissioner which gives evidence of any such desire on the part of the Territory of Hawaii. All of those words have been put in the mouths of the members of this commission; that intent has been read into the record, and so on, and for that reason the statement which I have just put in, signed by

the members of the commission, is to establish definitely that we do not wish any form of peonage, contract labor, serfdom, bonded labor, or anything of the sort. All we want is relief from our situation. You stated a few minutes ago, Judge Raker, that the trouble was that this matter was not handled in a definite way 10 years ago. I agree with you absolutely. However, it was not handled 10 years ago, and we have the situation to-day which is a serious situation and which is different from the situation in any other part of the United States, and it is to meet that serious situation that we are here, and under the advice which we have received since we have been here, this resolution has been prepared and submitted.

The CHAIRMAN. Following the hearings and to meet the more serious objections which have been offered in the committee, and particularly at my suggestion, the attorney with the commission has redrafted the resolution.

Mr. RAKER. Who is that?

Mr. WEEBER. Mr. Irwin.

Mr. IRWIN. I am the attorney with the commission.

Mr. RAKER. I wanted that, so there could be no misunderstanding.

The CHAIRMAN. I have had it printed as a tentative draft for the information of the members of this committee and others, and I will read it in full:

[Tentative draft.]

Joint resolution providing for immigration to meet the emergency caused by an acute labor shortage in the Territory of Hawaii.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That, for a period of five years from the passage of this joint resolution, whenever the President shall find and by proclamation declare that an emergency exists in the Territory of Hawaii by reason of a serious shortage of labor, the Secretary of Labor shall be, and he is hereby, empowered, under such conditions and regulations as he shall prescribe, to admit to the Territory of Hawaii such aliens otherwise inadmissible as he may deem necessary to meet the existing emergency.

The Secretary of Labor may, in his discretion, require assurances from prospective employers of continuous employment of such aliens at a satisfactory minimum wage, but no regulation shall restrict full freedom of movement throughout the Territory within the class or classes of labor as to which the emergency has been found to exist, nor shall any regulation require or permit any form of bonded or peonage labor or any obligation binding any such alien by contract or otherwise to work for any particular employer, nor shall any money paid for the passage or otherwise advanced prior to the entry of any such alien be withheld from any wages afterwards earned by or money accruing to such alien, nor be otherwise recovered from such alien: *Provided*, That such aliens shall be admitted only for limited periods of time, for the purpose of engaging only in agricultural labor or domestic service; that such admission of aliens shall not operate to increase the number of persons of any one alien nationality in the Territory of Hawaii so that their total numbers at any one time shall exceed 20 per centum of the total population of the Territory as determined by the last census; and that the regulations shall provide for and secure the return of such alien laborers to their respective countries upon the expiration of the time limited without cost to such laborers or to the United States: *Provided further*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to allow any alien admitted to the Territory of Hawaii under the terms hereof to remove to any other place under the jurisdiction of the United States.

This is presented as being an effort to state what the members of this Hawaiian commission have stated to be their position and the position of the Territory of Hawaii.

Mr. RAKER. But it has practically all of the objectionable features still remaining.

The CHAIRMAN. We will study that still further, and I am placing it before the committee. I will endeavor, before this matter is finally closed, to see whether I can prepare a resolution, if such a thing be lawful, under which the Secretary of Labor might send commissioners to our insular possessions with authority to assist in transferring labor from one to the other.

Mr. RAKER. Before we leave that, let me ask Mr. Dillingham a question. This tentative draft still has the provision for the admission of otherwise inadmissible aliens.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. You understand that to apply to the admission of Chinese, and that it would permit the admission of Chinese?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. It would.

Mr. RAKER. You claim to have a shortage of labor in Hawaii.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not claim there is a shortage of labor, but all of the evidence we have put before this committee seems to me to conclusively prove that there is a shortage.

Mr. RAKER. It is for the committee to determine whether it is conclusive, presumptive, or otherwise. But, I say, your position is that you claim and contend that there is a shortage of labor in Hawaii in agricultural pursuits; is that right?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. To meet that shortage you want to bring in Chinese laborers?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I have answered that question a dozen times.

Mr. RAKER. No; you have not. You be frank with me and I will be with you.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I am perfectly willing to be frank. We believe that the Chinese offer the best solution of this problem; we are perfectly willing to have the Chinese brought in and would be glad to have them brought in.

Mr. RAKER. Whether you are willing or not, I am asking you as to the purpose of this resolution. Is it a part of the resolution that you desire to bring in Chinese laborers to meet the shortage that you claim exists there now and has existed for the last year or so?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. I do not know that I can make it any clearer.

Mr. RAKER. Can you not answer a direct question?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Ask me a direct question.

Mr. RAKER. All right. Is it the purpose of the commission now here representing the Hawaiian Government that under this resolution Chinese laborers should be admitted to help relieve the alleged shortage of labor?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. The purpose of this resolution is to put the decision of that matter absolutely in the hands of the President and the Secretary of Labor. We are willing to abide by their decision and judgment.

Mr. RAKER. The decision would be left to the Secretary of Labor as to the kind and class of labor to be brought in, but Chinese labor would be the only kind or class of labor that you would hope or expect to have brought in?

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Yes, sir; for the present.

Mr. RAKER. The kind and character of labor to be brought to Hawaii to help to relieve the alleged labor shortage would be Chinese?

The CHAIRMAN. This resolution was printed, and it speaks for itself. This resolution is subject to the further consideration of the committee if it is desired.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. This resolution you have read has not been introduced by the commission.

The CHAIRMAN. No. I am endeavoring to get something here that the committee can further consider, and that will meet the objections that have been raised during these hearings.

Now, the matter of the period of five years is yet to be discussed in the light of the evidence this morning, which was that the Filipinos are guaranteed a return in three years. I am not sure but what the committee upon further consideration of this plan would permit the emergency to be declared to exist for three years. I assumed from statements made to the committee in the early part of the hearings that the commission wanted something—this or something else—that would meet the emergency, and then that they wanted Congress to provide some permanent plan. If the permanent plan deals with the subject of immigration in any form, it would come before this committee. I will be glad to do all I can to provide some permanent plan that will permit a tropical country to do business under the flag of the United States. I realize the situation in the Territory of Hawaii, with the limited number of white people you have there, and with your excessive Japanese population and the mixed population of other kinds, coupled with the fact that you must provide for doing work on plantations in that tropical country.

Mr. RAKER. Still, there has never been presented, so far as I know, any evidence that would justify or even intimate a justification for the repeal of the Chinese exclusion law as it relates to the Hawaiian Islands or to any part of the United States. That is something that still exists as a fundamental principle with the American people, and there has not been a word or syllable of testimony that would justify in the eyes of any American the repeal of the Chinese exclusion law. Now, that is what these gentlemen want, and they admit that it is what they want.

The CHAIRMAN. It must be apparent to Judge Raker and to everyone else that the United States only took one bite at the cherry when it passed the Chinese exclusion law.

Mr. RAKER. But it bit pretty hard.

The CHAIRMAN. It has not been long since Judge Raker and myself and other members of this committee succeeded in writing and placing on the statute books the Burnett Immigration Act of 1917, which excluded all other oriental people, by geographical boundaries named in the bill, with the single exception of Japanese. That referred to all other oriental people. Now, if this resolution or plan had stated in words that it was the purpose to admit 10,000 Chinese, then it would have been subject to all the objections that have been discussed.

Mr. RAKER. I am not saying this in the way of criticism of anybody, but this resolution contains the general words "aliens otherwise inadmissible." Now, it has been conceded here in all the testimony—and I think I can draw that deduction—that they do not hope to bring in any of those people who are excluded by the immigration law or under section 3 of the act of February 5, 1917. I want to be perfectly frank about this, and I believe that to be true.

The CHAIRMAN. You have harbored that idea for a long time. Let me show you what it does:

The Secretary of Labor shall be, and he is hereby, empowered, under such conditions and regulations as he shall prescribe, to admit to the Territory of Hawaii such aliens otherwise inadmissible as he may deem necessary to meet the existing emergency.

Now, who would presume that he would bring in some insane persons to meet the existing emergency?

Mr. RAKER. It is not a question of presumption, but he is given the power.

The CHAIRMAN. If you want to go further, we could attach a proviso covering that objection.

Mr. RAKER. He would have the power to admit all those classes enumerated here. For instance, he would have the power to admit persons who advocate the unlawful destruction of property, or who advocate the assassination of public officials. He would have the power to admit prostitutes, persons who practice prostitution, or persons who live by prostitution. He would have the power to admit contract laborers under this resolution. Now, I say to this commission and I say to the chairman of the committee, so that it may go into the record, why do not these gentlemen draw this resolution in a form plainly stating that it is the desire and purpose to admit Chinese laborers, instead of having us to draw the facts out here after a month of work? Why do you attempt that, when you do not believe that the American people would for one instant stand for the breaking down of the Chinese exclusion law? While we have full sympathy for them, and while we realize their condition, and while their condition with reference to the Japanese has been shown to be deplorable, lamentable, and unfortunate—and this country ought to take a stand on that matter so as to relieve the Hawaiian Islands and the United States—notwithstanding all that, I do not believe that this committee or any committee of the House could afford to break down a wise fundamental law for the exclusion of the Chinese. These people should not ask that of this committee, even if there is a shortage of labor in Hawaii. They should meet that situation in some other way. I do not think that any member of the American Congress would for one moment permit that law to be broken down. We had as well be frank with each other, and that is the sole purpose of the resolution.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. May I say a word? Judge Raker, we have sat here for six weeks with an open resolution which would give the Secretary of Labor the power to bring in any alien otherwise inadmissible to meet the situation in Honolulu.

Mr. RAKER. Absolutely.

Mr. DILLINGHAM. Has any constructive plan or suggestion been developed in the six weeks by this body or any one else by which we could meet the situation, which you yourself describe as being deplorable?

Mr. RAKER. I have not had the time nor the assistance to work out any constructive legislation, but it has taken all of my time, including Sundays, holidays, and nights, to prepare for the situation and to make opposition to this resolution, which opposition I make as representing my constituency and the people of this Nation, as against

this effort to break down the Chinese exclusion law. That has been my attitude. I have tried to be fair in the matter, but after all of the testimony has been given, you can come to only one conclusion. and that is that they want Chinese coolie labor. That is all there is to it and there is no use disguising the fact. I have used every bit of energy that I could use on this matter. I have studied books dealing with the subject of peonage and serfdom in other countries. and have considered what this country went through with. Then to think that we should have a resolution trying to fix it again upon one of our Territories leaves you in a position where you can not express yourself in a cool, calculating manner, because there has been an effort to cover it up in words. That is the trouble with it.

I want to say to the gentlemen of the commission that they have been industrious and splendid in their labors; there is no criticism about that, but they overlook the fact, in their zealousness to get cheap labor, that they can not break down the fundamental laws of this land, for which the people of this country have struggled and which has caused many heartaches among the people of the West, and they overlook what it would have meant to the Nation if we should have allowed the Chinese to have once taken up the Pacific coast and then moved on east with their 400,000,000, and now to go back again and start in on it is inconceivable. That is all there is to it, and I want my position fully understood.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I think we have been very frank before this committee, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Raker seems to doubt that.

Mr. RAKER. There is no doubt about it.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I am just stating my conclusions from Mr. Raker's remarks. He seems to insinuate that in all the hearings before this committee we have hidden our real purpose and our real belief in the solution of our labor problem. I want the record to show that so far as our personal views are concerned we have always stated frankly that we believe the Chinese are the only solution of the problem.

Mr. RAKER. Right there, will you let me ask you a question?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. Let me get through. You have stated your views, and you are talking solely for the record, while I am not.

Mr. RAKER. I want you to talk for the record.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We have stated time and time again that that is our view of it. If this resolution should pass, and the whole matter is left to the discretion of the President of the United States and the Secretary of Labor, then it would be up to those officers to determine whether or not Chinese shall be admitted to Hawaii. If the President of the United States and the Secretary of Labor believe that, for any reason, it would be unwise to admit Chinese they would then undoubtedly, under the terms of this resolution, arrange for some other form of relief.

Mr. RAKER. We are not going to give him that power.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. That is your opinion, but there are some Members of Congress who believe in this method of solving the problem and everybody is entitled to his honest opinion. We need a quick solution of this problem, and while you have admitted the seriousness of the situation you have made no constructive suggestion for relief. Your attitude has been one of hostile destructive

criticism without any attempt on your part to suggest a remedy. If our plan of solving the problem, having before us all all the time the danger of alien control, is not the proper one, for God's sake give us some other remedy and do not condemn us for making a desperate attempt to keep your island Territory under American control industrially and politically.

Mr. RAKER. Let me read something to you. At the first hearing, on Tuesday, June 21, 1921, you appeared before this committee, and the chairman made a statement as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. The meeting was called this morning, gentlemen, for the purpose of hearing the Delegate from Hawaii, Mr. Kalaniana'ole, and a delegation from Hawaii, sent, I believe, at the request of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, with petitions, etc., for the admission of certain oriental labor into the Territory.

That was the first statement made before this committee when we met. Do you say you were not here for that purpose?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. You read all through the hearings of the commission and myself and you will readily see, if you want to see it, that we were only advising the committee, and that we at all times stated that one way of solving the labor and social question in Hawaii would be by admitting Chinese.

Mr. RAKER. You admit now that that is the main purpose of the resolution and that that is the kind of labor you hope to get?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We do not admit anything. We want anything that is lawful. If it is lawful that Chinese should be admitted according to the terms of this resolution, I say we should have them. If it is not lawful, Congress will undoubtedly refuse to pass such a resolution.

Mr. RAKER. You know it is not lawful now, do you not?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. I do not know, and you do not either.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; I do.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. No; you do not.

Mr. RAKER. You know you can not import Chinese into Hawaii, do you not?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We know this, Mr. Raker, that you are allowing Chinese to come into the United States to-day under certain regulations and restrictions; we know that; if Chinese can be constitutionally brought into continental United States under rules and regulations which restrict their freedom of movement, why would a similar procedure be unlawful in Hawaii?

Mr. RAKER. You know you can not import Chinese into Hawaii at the present time?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We all know that.

Mr. RAKER. You are asking to repeal that law by this resolution?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We are not asking to repeal it at all.

Mr. RAKER. You are asking to lay it aside or suspend it for five years, so that you can bring in Chinese labor.

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We are not asking for Chinese labor.

Mr. RAKER. You do not want any?

Mr. KALANIANA'OLE. We do want it, but we are not asking for it under this resolution. We do say this: That if the President of the United States and the Secretary of Labor decide that the importation of Chinese would be the best way to solve our problem, then we want them; but if those officers decide otherwise, then we are confi-

dent they will give us some other form of relief. We are not making this law and we are not enforcing the law. If we had the making of this law in Hawaii we would have passed a law long ago admitting Chinese. But what you apparently want is to let that critical situation in Hawaii stand as it is to-day without any attempt at relief.

Mr. RAKER. You are mistaken on that in every point of view and every thought and every intimation connected with it.

The CHAIRMAN. This has gone far enough, and I will conclude the hearings by stating that I have received a letter from Mr. Wright, who testified before this committee, in which he says he tried to the best of his ability to give the facts as they appeared to him and the organized workers whom he represented. He states that he was subjected to a cross-examination as rigid and as drastic as any criminal at the bar, and he states that every effort was made to discredit him and the statements he made. I think that when it became apparent that he had received contributions from an alien race of people—namely, the Japanese—that his general statement had a right to be discredited, and further discredited from the fact that he had been writing and publishing letters attempting to thoroughly discredit the members of this legislative commission. He goes on to defend himself a little bit for receiving money from the Japanese, saying:

If I have been reluctant to tell you certain things you wished to know, it has been because the telling of them would have been a betrayal of confidences. You have nevertheless secured the information you are so eager to obtain, and you have chosen to regard the circumstances as discreditable and compromising.

He says:

Our testimony before this committee is evidence that there were no strings to the money we received.

And so on. The reason I am reading that is this: Mr. Wright was given full opportunity to explain all he could explain about the Hawaiian situation, and was not cross-examined in more detail than others who appeared before the committee, and all were asked to give everything to the committee they wanted to give and elaborate their remarks. I think the committee was wise in carrying the Japanese phase of the Hawaiian situation into this matter, and with these remarks the hearing will be closed and the committee will meet on the call of the chairman.

APPENDIX I.

In the hearings of July 24 (page —), the clerk of this committee was instructed to request from the Department of State, if not incompatible with the public interest, certain correspondence between the United States and the Imperial Government of Japan relative to the so-called gentlemen's agreement.

Since the hearings were closed, the following letter has been received from the Secretary of State:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 16, 1921.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. JOHNSON: I have carefully considered the letter of July 6, 1921, in which you ask, by direction of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives, if not incompatible with the public interest, for its information in discussing a matter now before it in connection with House joint resolution 171, for all the correspondence upon which is

based the so-called gentlemen's agreement between the Imperial Government of Japan and the United States.

This correspondence covers a considerable period, is quite voluminous, and has never been made public. It is not in accordance with diplomatic usage to publish correspondence with a foreign Government without that Government's assent; and no understanding has yet been had with the Japanese foreign office with respect to this correspondence.

In regard to the connection between the so-called gentlemen's agreement and the understanding in regard to Hawaii, I may state that, at the time this arrangement was made, there was a recognition of the fact that conditions in the Hawaiian Islands were different from those on the mainland, and a corresponding disposition on both sides to regard the Hawaiian Islands as being outside the scope of the discussion, but the Japanese Government undertook to permit no labor emigration to the islands except returning emigrants and the parents, wives, and children of those already resident there, and not to depart from this policy without ascertaining from an American official source the labor conditions in the islands. During the course of these negotiations the American ambassador in Tokyo had occasion to address the Japanese minister for foreign affairs as follows:

"It is quite true that the conditions attaching to the Hawaiian Islands and to the United States proper are somewhat different, and yet this difference is not fundamental. The islands are a part of the territory of the United States and the reasons for regulating labor conditions therein are quite as strong and cogent as in respect to the mainland.

"If I correctly understand your excellency, it is proposed, in substance, that the Imperial Japanese Government shall have the right to judge as to the extent of emigration to those islands. It may be true that a separate consideration will be found necessary in respect to labor emigration to Hawaii, for the reasons which you state, yet the understanding should be unequivocal that the United States Government must be the final judge.

"It is noted with pleasure that the present intention of your excellency's Government is to prohibit altogether emigration to Hawaii. As to the future, if it should be at any time represented that additional Japanese laborers can find profitable employment there, it is suggested that the Japanese Government will cooperate with the Government of the United States in ascertaining the true conditions and that the emigration to follow be limited to the requirements as may be thus ascertained, similar inquiry and action to be taken from time to time thereafter at the instance of either Government."

The Japanese minister for foreign affairs replied that he was "gratified to find in the ambassador's statement, with reference to the course to be adopted in the event of future renewal of Japanese emigration to Hawaii, substantial accord with the opinion entertained by the Imperial Government, which is that if at any time hereafter it should appear desirable to depart from the present policy of prohibition, that step should only be taken after ascertaining through an American official source the labor conditions prevailing in the islands and the need thereof."

The Government of the United States did not feel warranted in pressing the Hawaiian question any further, particularly in view of the attitude of the government of Hawaii as set forth in a letter from the governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior, of January 24, 1908, reading in part as follows:

"* * * The recent action of the Japanese Government in regard to Japanese immigration emphasizes the need of leaving no stone unturned to secure the passage of the immigration bill making possible the introduction of Europeans. That action is creating some uneasiness here. It may materially limit Japanese immigration; in which case, if the immigration bill does not pass, we shall be cut off at both ends, a result that may prove very disastrous. Obtaining Europeans, when made possible, will be slow at best and we can not begin too early. * * *

"We do not wish to lose the Japanese until we can get Europeans or Americans."

In any case, however, it should be borne in mind that the so-called gentlemen's agreement is not enforceable at law in the United States, and that consequently the phrase "aliens otherwise inadmissible" as used in House joint resolution 171 can refer, in the case of Japanese, only to those who are not admissible under our general immigration laws.

I am, my dear Mr. Johnson, sincerely, yours,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

APPENDIX II.

In the hearings of June 24, page 339, the clerk of the committee was instructed to secure from the Library of Congress copies of any laws of the Chinese Government regulating the emigration of contract laborers. This information was not available for some time, but since these hearings were closed Mr. Raker, the committee, has received the following data from the Library of Congress:

1. Emigrant labor laws of the Republic of China, promulgated April 21, 1918.
2. Rules governing labor contractors or agents, promulgated April 21, 1918.
3. Outline of contract of emigrant labor, promulgated May 3, 1918.
4. Convention of Peking respecting Chinese emigration to Cuba, 1877.

Letter from the chief bibliographer, Library of Congress, with inclosures appended:

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
Washington, August 12, 1921

DEAR MR. RAKER:

* * * * *

I am sending also translations of the present law and regulations of China governing contract labor. For these we are largely indebted to the Chinese legation, and necessarily had to wait, to a certain extent, on their convenience. Very respectfully,

H. H. B. METER,
Chief Bibliographer, in charge of Legislative Reference Service

HON. JOHN E. RAKER,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

EMIGRANT LABOR LAWS—REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

[Promulgated Apr. 21, 1918.]

1. Citizens of the Republic of China employed abroad shall be called emigrant laborers.
2. Emigrant laborers shall be subject to the following restrictions:
 - (a) To be selected by the Government.
 - (b) To be directly employed.
 - (c) To be employed by agents (or contractor of labor).
3. Emigrant laborers, thus employed, should have the following qualifications:
 - (a) From 20 to 40 years of age.
 - (b) With good health.
 - (c) Exempt from infectious diseases.
 - (d) Exempt from vice and sensuality.
 - (e) With good character and having not committed a crime.
4. Emigrant laborers under class (b) should petition to the bureau of emigration and get the ratification therefrom.
5. Emigrant laborers, in petitioning to the bureau of emigration, shall state fully the following:
 - (a) Name of the locality and name of the country where the emigrant laborers are to be employed.
 - (b) Name of the organization through which the emigrant laborers are to be employed.
 - (c) Kind of work.
6. Agents of contract labor shall not be permitted to do so, unless the conditions are granted by the bureau of emigration and special certificates are issued.
7. Agents in carrying out their program shall conform to the rules that are specially provided.
8. Contracts of emigrant labor, except those entered by the Government, shall be subject to the ratification of the bureau of emigration, and the provisions shall be subject to those in the "Outline of the contract of emigrant labor."

9. All laborers going abroad shall obtain the passport issued by bureau of emigration.

10. At least 20 per cent of the wages of the emigrant laborers shall be used to support their own families. The sum shall be remitted to the chief of the bureau of emigration to be sent to the respective families through Government banks. In the case of the unmarried, the sum shall be deposited in the bank to be refunded to the emigrant laborers upon their return. This portion of wages shall be deducted monthly by the employer and sent to the legation or the consulate to be remitted.

11. The interpreters for the emigrant laborers prior to their appointment shall get the ratifications and certificates from the bureau of emigration.

12. The provisions for the contract of labor shall be subject to the special provisions, if there is any, of the treaties that have been entered by the Chinese Government.

13. Prior to the emigrant laborers going abroad the fees that are duly credited to the Chinese Government shall be levied by the bureau of emigration or its branches.

14. In case of necessity, commissioners may be appointed at the locality or the country in which the emigrant laborers are employed.

15. If the assistance of the local officers is required in contracting labor, the said officers shall submit the detailed information to the highest administrative officer in his province to be dispatched to the bureau of emigration.

16. The above laws shall be effective when promulgated.

RULES GOVERNING LABOR CONTRACTOR (OR AGENTS)—REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

[Promulgated Apr. 21, 1918.]

1. Individuals or companies engaged in the contract of labor shall be called labor contractor.

2. Individuals or companies desiring to contract for labor should send in a petition to the branch office of the bureau of emigration or the commissioner of emigration, to be submitted to the bureau of emigration for ratification and issuing of certificates. In the petition the following should be stated:

- (a) Name, age, birth, address, and profession of the petitioner.
- (b) Locality of the business office or its branch.
- (c) Total sum of capitalization.
- (d) Organization of the company, kind of company, and items provided in articles 10, 82, 98, or 232 of the rules governing corporations.

3. Individuals with any one of the following defects shall not be permitted to be a labor contractor:

- (a) Deprived of civil rights, not yet restored.
- (b) Declared bankrupt, not yet relieved.
- (c) Declared to be disqualified to property-holding privileges, not yet restored.
- (d) Within three years after having been punished for violation of these rules.
- (e) Within one year after having been denied the privilege of contract of labor in accordance with these rules.

4. Should the labor contractor fail to carry out his program within one year after the petition has been ratified, the ratification shall be withdrawn.

5. Before contracting the laborers the labor contractor should state the following items and petition to the branch office of the bureau of emigration or the commissioner of emigration, to be submitted to and ratified by the bureau of emigration:

- (a) Name of labor contractor or name of the company.
- (b) Place for contracting the laborers.
- (c) Name of the country and name of the locality where the emigrant laborers shall be employed.
- (d) Kind of employment.
- (e) Total number of laborers to be employed.
- (f) Duplicate copy of the contract between labor contractor and the employer for whom the labor contractor is the agent.
- (g) Duplicate copy of the contract between the employer and the laborers.

The provisions in said contract (f) shall not violate article 8 of emigrant labor laws. In case of a contract in foreign languages, both the original and the translation should be submitted.

6. Labor contractor shall not be permitted to contract laborers outside of the locality where he has been assigned.

7. At the time when the laborers are contracted and at the time when they sail, the labor contractor shall report to the branch office of the bureau of emigration or the commissioner of emigration for supervision.

8. After having been ratified in accordance with Article II, the labor contractor shall be required to pay the "special security fee." After having been ratified in accordance with Article V, the labor contractor shall be required to pay the "business security fee." In case of insufficiency or failure to pay, ratification shall be withdrawn. The special security fee shall be \$1000. The business security fee shall be \$5,000 at minimum each time; but if the number of the laborers should be over 25,000 the bureau of emigration reserves the right to increase the amount accordingly.

9. The security fee may be paid in internal revenue bonds or national treasury certificates, but the amount shall not exceed 30 per cent.

10. The special security fee shall be refunded when the labor contractor petitions to withdraw his status as a labor contractor. The business security fee shall be refunded upon the ratification of such petition by the bureau of emigration and over one year after the expiration of the contract between employer and the emigrant laborers.

11. Labor contractors shall not be permitted to demand money from emigrant laborers.

12. Labor contractor shall make public the date of sailing at the time the laborers are contracted. If the labor contractor fails to sail on the appointed date, except in the case of natural calamity, they shall have the right to demand compensation for damages.

13. Should the labor contractor fail to observe the stipulations provided in the contract, the laborers shall have the right to petition to the branch office of the bureau of emigration or the commissioner of emigration for assistance. The expenses incurred for such assistance may be paid out of the "business security fee" of the labor contractor with the approval of the chief of the bureau of emigration.

14. Should the labor contractor be guilty of any one of the following, ratification shall be withdrawn and his certificate shall be recalled.

- (a) Having committed unlawful acts.
- (b) Having committed acts against public safety.
- (c) Having badly treated the laborers.

When the ratification of the labor contractor thus withdrawn, the damages done to the laborers shall be paid by the labor contractor.

Such expenses for compensation may be paid out of the business security fee of the labor contractor with the approval of the chief of the bureau of emigration.

15. Should the labor contractor contract laborers by cheating or other inducements, his ratification shall be withdrawn and shall be punished by imprisonment for life or imprisonment for a period above the second degree. His security fee shall be confiscated.

16. Labor contractor desiring to engage simultaneously in business that has a direct bearing with the laborers shall state the following in the petition to the bureau of emigration, and obtain the ratification therefrom:

- (a) Kind of business and the locality.
- (b) Capitalization.
- (c) Management.

17. Should the labor contractor engage in contracting labor without having obtained the ratification in accordance with the above rules, such labor contractor shall be punished with imprisonment for a period in the fifth degree with from \$200 to \$1,000 fine.

18. A labor contractor who started business prior to the promulgation of the above rules, and had been ratified by the officer in charge, may continue his business; but he should petition to the bureau of emigration and obtain the ratification and certificate therefrom in accordance with the above rules.

19. A labor contractor who started business prior to the promulgation of the above rules but who has not been ratified by the officer in charge, shall petition within 8 months after the promulgation of these rules, to the bureau of emigration and obtain the ratification and certificate therefrom.

20. The above rule shall be effective when promulgated.

OUTLINE OF CONTRACT OF EMIGRANT LABOR—REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

[Promulgated May 3, 1918.]

1. It should be stipulated in the contract that the labor contractor having been authorized, and having deposited a security fee of \$——, and having obtained the certificate, is permitted to contract for labor.

2. It should be stipulated in the contract that the employer has obtained the approval of his Government, permitting the commissioner of emigration of the Chinese Government to protect, supervise, and delegate subordinates to go into the fields for investigation as to treatment, condition of work, etc.

3. Name of the country, locality of work, and nature of employment should be definitely stated.

4. Name, age, birth of the agent appointed by the employer, and the name and place of the organization for the contract of labor should be stated.

5. Total number of laborers to be contracted for should be fixed beforehand.

6. Number of years for employment should be definitely stated and should be counted from the first day when the laborers assume duties. With the exception of sickness, absence from duty on account of private affairs or other excuses shall be made up after the expiration of the contracting period.

7. Working hours shall not exceed 10 hours a day at the maximum. Should it not be permitted to work for 10 hours owing to the local laws or customs the emigrant laborers should be given the same privilege.

8. The wages of the laborers shall be the same as those received by natives doing the same work in that country where the emigrant laborers are hired out. Laborers who have a specialty should be given better wages in accordance with their skill. Should the laborers show improvement in their skill, the employer should increase their wages accordingly.

9. Before the expiration of the contract the employer desiring to transfer the work to a third party or desiring to change to other form of work not provided for in the contract, should obtain the approval of the commissioner of emigration. In case the workshop is suspended, resulting in the unemployment of the laborers, the employer should compensate the damages thus done to the laborers in addition to the passage expenses for their return.

10. Employer should regard the emigrant laborers as the equals of the laborers of the countries where the emigrant laborers are contracted for. If there is extra compensation for encouragement, bonus, etc., granted to the laborers, the emigrant laborers should be paid accordingly.

11. Sundays, Chinese national holidays, holidays of the countries where the emigrant laborers are contracted and the period in which the laborers are taken ill should be free from work and the employer shall not be permitted to exact work from the laborers. With the exception of Chinese national holidays, this rule is not binding, provided that the laborers are willing to work, but they should be given extra wages.

12. If the workshop, with the approval of the laborers, extends the working hours in addition to the regular hours the laborers should be paid extra wages per day or per hour.

13. During holidays, sick leave, or traveling, if without wages, the laborers should be paid their living expenses. If it is the custom of the country that workmen be paid for holidays, sick leave, or during traveling, Chinese emigrant laborers should be given the same privilege.

14. Employer should give to each emigrant laborer a copy of the contract in Chinese with the foreign translation to be signed by both parties, stating the privileges to be enjoyed by the laborers.

15. The laborers should submit to the employer an application form and state therein the name, age, birth, the rules to be observed, and the duties to be performed.

16. The expenses incurred for physical examination, photos, passports, clothing, and passage of the laborers should be paid by the employer and the employer shall not be permitted to deduct them from the wages.

Before sailing the employer should ask the cooperation and supervision of the officers appointed by the bureau of emigration in the physical examination and photo taking. In case of illness or inability to work on the part of the laborers, the employer shall have the right to discard. After sailing such persons shall be regarded as qualified workmen and shall not be discarded.

17. The name of the seaport in China from which the laborers shall sail should be stated beforehand.

18. After having sent the laborers to the country to which they are contracted the employer shall report to the Commissioner of Emigration the names of the laborers, date of their assuming duties, and the different localities to which they have been assigned. At the time of the expiration of the contract and of transporting the laborers home the employer shall also report to the Commissioner of Emigration.

19. The sum of household fee (funds left behind for the use of the family) of each laborer should be fixed beforehand, stated in the contract, and shall not be deducted from the wages. Such sum should be handed by the employer to the labor contractor to be paid to the families of the laborers before sailing, and to be supervised by the officers of the bureau of emigration.

20. It should be stipulated in the contract that 20 per cent of the wages should be used as family-supporting fee. The procedure for remitting should be followed in accordance with Article X of the emigrant labor laws.

21. Board, room, and clothing of the laborers should be paid by the employer and deducted from the wages with the following provisions:

- (a) Clothing: At the time of sailing, the laborers should be given hats, socks, coats, pants, sweater, shoes, overcoats, raincoats, and umbrellas, bedding, etc. If it is in the frigid zone, the laborers should be given additional clothes made of cotton, flannel, and wool. The whole set of clothing should be given once every six months, and the number of articles, material, and form should be fixed beforehand.
- (b) Board: Coffee and tea shall be used for drinking. Food shall be properly compounded and shall contain starch, albumin, fats, etc. The percentage of such ingredients should be fixed beforehand. The eating utensils should be sufficient.
- (c) Room: The living quarters should be near to the workshops and should be sanitary. It should be stated how much space should be occupied by each laborer. All the furniture, such as beds, mats, tables, chairs, lamps, stoves, etc., should be completely furnished.

22. The laborer's life insurance fee shall be deducted from the wages. If the work is of a dangerous nature, the employer should insure for the laborer. Such insurance fee shall be paid by the employer and shall not be deducted from the wages. All the insurance certificates shall be kept by the commissioner of emigration.

23. The total sum to be deducted from the wages in accordance with the above two rules shall not exceed one-third of the total sum of the wages.

24. At the expiration of the contract, the laborers shall enjoy the privilege of free passage and should be sent back to the original place where the laborers have been contracted for by the employer and at his expense. Those who are not returning shall enjoy the same privileges whenever they return. Should it be extended in accordance with the contract and with the approval of the laborers the matter should be referred to the commissioner of emigration.

25. In case of laborer's illness, the medical fee should be paid by the employer and shall not be deducted from the wages. In the case of continued illness, which necessitates the laborer to be sent back, the patient should be examined by the physician and certificates given, and with the approval of the commissioner of emigration, should be sent back, at the employer's expense, to the original place where he has been contracted.

26. Should the laborer's death be caused by illness, by work or by injury received while discharging his duties, such laborer shall be given special compensation, the sum of which shall be in accordance with that provided by law in that country or fixed by custom. Except the compensation for injury which shall be given directly to the injured laborer, all other form of compensation fees, together with insurance fee and indemnity fee, shall be handed to the commissioner of emigration, to be remitted to China, and to be sent to the families in accordance with the procedure provided in Article X of the emigrant labor laws.

The laborer's householding fee, family-supporting fee, compensation-insurance fee, and indemnity fee shall be given to the representative of the laborer. Such representative may be changed upon petition to the commissioner of emigration by the laborer.

27. Upon the death of the laborer the burial fee shall be paid by the employer, and the burial shall be performed in accordance with the custom of the country to which the laborer is contracted. The employer should report

to the commissioner of emigration as to the cause of the death, date of death, and place of burial. The commissioner of emigration shall inform the labor contractor who in turn shall notify the laborer's family.

28. Laborer's taxes, such as head tax and other forms of taxes, for the present as well as for the future during sojourn abroad, shall be paid by the employer and shall not be deducted from the wages.

29. Laborers shall enjoy the freedom guaranteed by law to citizens of the country to which the laborers are contracted. The laborer shall enjoy religious freedom. The employer shall guarantee that no binding terms shall be provided.

30. At the locality where the laborers are employed interpreters should be engaged. The expenses for such interpreters should be paid by the employer. The qualification of the interpreter should be the same as provided in Article XI of the emigration labor laws.

31. Should the labor of the country to which the emigrant laborers are contracted reject foreign labor, the employer shall be held responsible for settlement. Should it develop into a lawsuit, all the expenses thus incurred shall be paid by the employer. In case the damage has been done to the laborers the employer shall demand indemnity for them.

32. Should the laborer have a bad character and violate the rules successfully, the employer shall report to the commissioner of emigration and shall consult him as to the kind of punishment to be inflicted. Should the laborer pay no heed to the instructions, and should the case be of a serious nature which necessitates his dismissal, the employer, with the approval of the commissioner of emigration, shall send him back, at the expense of the employer, to the seaport from where the laborer had sailed.

33. All the stipulations in the contract shall be indorsed and guaranteed by the minister plenipotentiary of the contracting country resident at Peking.

34. Since each country has its own weights and measures, its own method of counting the distance, and its own scale of wages, all these adjustments shall be made when the contract is agreed upon.

35. It shall be stated in the contract that the contract must be ratified by the Bureau of Emigration before it is effective.

1. *Supplementary rules.*—Emigrant laborers shall not be employed in any kind of work in connection with war.

2. Should the working place be near the firing line, the commissioner of emigration shall consult the employer for prompt removal. Should there be no work incident to such removal, or in the opinion of the commissioner of emigration that the place is not a suitable locality for work, the employer shall pay the laborers their wages for three months and also the passage expenses for their return to the original seaport.

3. Should the working place be not very far from the firing line, the commissioner of emigration, for the purpose of avoiding danger, shall consult the employer to devise means for the protection of the laborers.

CONVENTION OF PEKING RESPECTING CHINESE EMIGRATION TO CUBA, 1877.

[From treaties between China and foreign States, vol. 2, second edition, pp. 389-398. Signed in the French, Spanish, and Chinese languages at Peking, Nov. 17, 1877; ratified by the Emperor of China Dec. 6, 1878. The English translation has been taken from a directory published in Hongkong.]

His Majesty the King of Spain and His Majesty the Emperor of China, being very desirous to establish on a new basis the emigration of Chinese subjects to the island of Cuba, and in order to avoid any further complication which might hereafter arise, have nominated for their plenipotentiaries, as follows:

His Majesty the Emperor of China, their excellencies Shen, Mao, Tung, Ch'eng, and Hsia, members of the Tsungli Yamen;

His Majesty the King of Spain, Don Carlos Antonio de España, his minister plenipotentiary to China, Annam, and Siam, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Isabella the Catholic, etc., etc.;

Who have agreed to all the articles which follow:

Article 1.—The high contracting parties hereby agree that the emigration of Chinese subjects as contained in Article X of the treaty concluded in Tientsin on October 10, 1864, becomes, and is hereby, abrogated. Only the stipulation in the said article concerning the delivery by the authorities of those who are claimed as deserters, criminals, and accused ones remains in force.

Article II.—The difficulties to which the application of the dispositions of the treaty of Tientsin regarding the emigration gave rise having been dispersed, the two Governments renounce each for itself every pecuniary indemnity.

Article III.—It is agreed between the two high contracting parties that the emigration of their respective subjects, whether accompanied by their families or not, shall be in future free and voluntary; they disapprove of every act of violence or trickery which might be committed in the ports of China or anywhere else for the purpose of expatriating Chinese subjects against their will. The two Governments engage themselves to pursue with all the rigor of the laws any contravention of the preceding stipulation, and to impose penalties established by their respective legislatures upon the persons and ships who may violate this stipulation. The Government of His Majesty the King of Spain engages itself to that of China to treat the Chinese subjects staying now in Cuba, or who may come there hereafter, on the same footing as the foreigners there of the same category and subjects of the most favored power.

Article IV.—The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of China will authorize the departure of the emigrants of both sexes at their own expense for the island of Cuba from all parts of the empire open to foreign trade; they engage themselves not to place any impediment to the free emigration of Chinese subjects, and to forbid the authorities of the said ports, and principally the customs taot'ais, to raise difficulties, be it either toward the freight or placement of the ships, under any flag whatever, destined to the transport of Chinese passengers, or toward the operations of the shipowners, consignees, or agents, provided always that they conform themselves to the stipulations of the present convention.

Article V.—It is well understood that the customs taot'ais and the Chinese authorities of the open ports will have the right to inform themselves whether the emigration is effected according to the spirit and the terms of the present convention. The customs taot'ais will prepare printed passports, with which they will provide every emigrant who has decided to ship himself. These passports have to be viséd by the consul of Spain in the port of departure, and will be handed over to the Chinese consuls by the competent authorities of the island of Cuba on the arrival of the ship carrying emigrants. The customs taot'ai of the port of departure of the ship carrying emigrants will moreover have the right to nominate Chinese delegates, who, together with those chosen by the consul of Spain, will go on board of the ships ready for departure, in order to ascertain that the passengers embarked leave by their own free will and accord. Those passengers who in the moment of departure are found not carrying the necessary documents are to be landed at once. In any case, on the arrival of a ship at her destination, when passengers are found having no document, the Spanish authorities can, in accord with the consuls of China, adopt such measures as they see fit for the occasion. In order that the visit of the delegates above-mentioned can take place and have an effective result, the captain or shipowner will be bound to declare in advance the hour of the departure of the ship. If the captain of a ship which carries emigrants does not submit to this condition, and if he declares his intention of leaving previously to the visit of the delegates, the consul of Spain, after an official communication having been made to him to this effect, must refuse to him the delivery of the ship's papers, and the ship will be detained and treated according to the laws of her country, until all the formalities prescribed by the present convention have been duly complied with.

Article VI.—The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of China will nominate a consul general in Havana, and will have also the right to nominate consular agents in all the towns where the Spanish Government admits those of other nations. It is well understood that these nominations will be made according to the conditions agreed upon by common accord between the high contracting parties. The Spanish Government will grant to the Chinese consuls the same prerogatives as those which the consuls of other nations residing in Cuba enjoy. The local authorities in Cuba will accord to the consul general, as well as to the consuls and vice consuls of China, all the facilities connected with the exercise of their functions for placing them in communication with their nationals and for giving them the means of affording protection to those who are entitled to it.

Article VII.—Chinese subjects can leave the island of Cuba whenever they wish, provided that they are not under judicial pursuance. Moreover, in order to facilitate the free circulation and settlement of the Chinese subjects

in Cuba, and in order that they may enjoy the rights which are given to them by Article III of the present convention, the Spanish Government, together with the Chinese representative in Madrid, or the authorities in Havana, together with the consul general of China, will establish regulations which, without deviating from the existing laws of the public good order and peace, or from those which might be established in future, will grant to the Chinese subjects treatment equal to foreigners of the same category and subjects of the most favored power. The Spanish authorities have besides to deliver to the Chinese subjects a pass of circulation similar to those with which other foreigners are furnished.

Article VIII.—Chinese subjects will have the faculty to appeal to the Spanish tribunals in order to defend or pursue their rights; they will in this respect enjoy the same rights and privileges as the subjects of the most favored nation. Chinese subjects will have the faculty to be accompanied to the tribunals by lawyers and interpreters, be they Spaniards or foreigners, who, according to the Spanish law, are qualified to be present at the sitting of the tribunals, and who could be designated by the Chinese consuls residing on the island of Cuba. The complaints which Chinese subjects actually residing on the island of Cuba have to forward in regard to ill-treatment which they pretend to have suffered previously to the exchange of the ratification of the present convention will be examined by the Spanish tribunals and judged equitably, in the same manner as it is the practice to do in regard to the subjects of the most favored nation.

Article IX.—The consul general of China in Habana and the competent authorities on the island of Cuba will establish, as speedily as possible and in common accord, the regulations which the Chinese emigrants actually residing in Cuba, and those who may hereafter arrive, ought to observe in order to obtain a certificate stating their entry in the register kept by the Chinese consuls. The Chinese consuls will deliver to them a certificate of registration, which will be visé by the superintendent of police or any other competent authority in the district, town, or plantation of the prefecture where the emigrant will establish his residence. The authorities of Cuba will communicate to the Chinese consuls all the information concerning the number and names of the Chinese subjects in the different localities of the island, and will enable them to obtain the means to personally ascertain the state of the Chinese engaged as laborers on the plantations.

Article X.—Ships of whatever nation wishing to carry Chinese emigrants must, besides conforming themselves to the stipulations of the present convention, also submit themselves to the regulations of their country regarding the carrying of passengers, of provisions, and health. If they do not obey these two conditions, they shall then not be allowed to carry emigrants.

Article XI.—The Government of His Majesty the King of Spain, desiring to give to the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of China a proof of friendship and good will, engages itself to send home at its own expense, as soon as the present convention shall be ratified, those Chinese who actually can be found on the island of Cuba, who formerly made in China literary studies their vocation, also those who had an official rank, and individuals who belong to families of these categories. Their repatriation will be effected according to the information given by the Chinese consular agents, and duly verified by the Spanish authorities. Likewise will be repatriated old persons prevented by age from working and who may ask to go back to China, also all Chinese female orphans not married and who may wish to return to their country.

Article XII.—The Spanish Government will order the masters of those Chinese emigrants whose contracts have expired, and who, according to the terms of these contracts, have the right of returning home, to fulfill the obligations which they have contracted with these emigrants. Concerning those who have fulfilled their engagements, but who have no right to be sent home at the expense of their masters, and who are without means to maintain themselves, the local authorities will, together with the Chinese consuls in Cuba, adopt the measures which they think necessary for repatriating them. The emigrants at present residing on the island of Cuba and whose contracts are expiring, will receive, as soon as the present convention comes into force, a certificate, in which it will be stated that they have fulfilled their engagements; by this they will obtain the right of enjoying all the advantages secured to other Chinese, according to regulations mentioned in Article VII of the present convention, and will be free either to remain on or to leave the island of Cuba.

Article XIII.—The authorities of the island of Cuba can, if the circumstance demand it, and regardless of the regulations already mentioned, oppose themselves to the movements and the residence of Chinese subjects in all the localities where they think convenient, if for special reasons they find that the accumulation of the individuals in the respective localities might be detrimental to the preservation of public order. In such cases the local authorities will observe toward Chinese subjects the same rules as toward other foreigners and will communicate to the consul of China the decision they have taken.

Article XIV.—The laborers who have still obligations to perform, according to the terms of their contracts, must, under any condition, fulfill the obligations but they will enjoy, regarding certificates, etc., the benefits which will be accorded to their countrymen recently landed, or to those whose engagements have expired. Likewise, all the Chinese subjects who might have been detained in the Government depots on the island of Cuba will be set at liberty as soon as the present convention comes into force; they will be furnished with such documents as the regulations provide for, and treated in the same way as other Chinese. From the preceding clause are excepted all those who are found in the Government prisons either in consequence of a judgment or of an accusation.

Article XV.—The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of China and the Government of His Majesty the King of Spain agree that if hereafter one of them thinks it convenient to make modifications of some of the articles of the present convention, or to cancel them, negotiations to this effect can only be opened at the expiration of at least one year after the notification of such wish shall have been made by one of the high contracting parties to the other. It is also understood, if hereafter the Chinese Government shall grant to any other power advantages not mentioned in the present convention regarding the emigration of Chinese subjects, such advantages will also be acquired by the Spanish Government.

Article XVI.—The present convention will be ratified and the ratifications exchanged in Peking within a period of eight months, or sooner if possible.

The present convention is made in Spanish, French, and Chinese, in two copies, which have been compared and found correct.

Signed and sealed on the 13th day of the 10th moon of 3d year of Kuang Hsi (17th November, 1877).

APPENDIX III.

The following communications from labor organizations have been received:

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT,
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
July 20, 1921.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
Chairman Committee on Immigration,
United States House of Representatives,
House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of copy of House joint resolution 171, making provisions for the President to issue a proclamation declaring an emergency in the Territory of Hawaii by reason of serious shortage of labor.

After carefully reading and analyzing this proposed bill, I am of the opinion that it would be opening up the territory of the United States to Chinese immigration by permitting the bringing in of 50,000 Chinese to the Hawaiian Islands each five years, and that should this bill become a law it would establish peonage or bondage, which is, in fact, only a form of slavery. In my opinion there is no real excuse offered for this, but it is merely being urged by a committee of planters and bankers from the Hawaiian Islands, and is the first move in a drive to open up our shores to the importation of coolie labor. If they are allowed to bring these Chinese into Hawaii under bond for five-year service, what argument would there be against granting the same rights to the sugar-beet planters and fruit growers of our mainland within the next year or so?

As representative of an organization of laboring men, I want to enter a protest against the passage of such a law, aimed at the laboring people of our country. You may, therefore, consider this an official protest of the members of the organization that I have the honor to represent.

Very truly, yours,

B. M. JEWELL,
President Railway Employees' Department.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., July 14, 1921.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
Chairman Committee on Immigration,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The Springfield Federation of Labor, representing the organized labor movement of Springfield, in regular meeting respectfully protest against the passage of the resolution now pending in the House of Representatives providing for the importation of 50,000 Chinese coolies into Hawaii. We respectfully urge that the resolution be defeated and that the law excluding Chinese be rigidly enforced.

SPRINGFIELD FEDERATION OF LABOR.
 DAN MCGILL, *Secretary.*

SEATTLE, WASH., July 19, 1921.

HON. ALBERT JOHNSON,
Chairman Committee on Immigration,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

On behalf of the organized timber workers of the United States, we protest against the passage of joint resolution 171. Unemployment is now a serious menace to the United States and its possessions. The importation of hordes of Orientals will not solve the problems of either the employers or the workers. If our country is to maintain its present high standing among the nations of the world, an American standard of living must prevail. It would be just as reasonable to pass a resolution permitting the importation of droves of Orientals for work in the timber industry as for the sugar industry of Hawaiian Islands. The importation of Orientals is unwarranted and uncalled for, and will not work for the welfare of the greatest number of our people.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF TIMBER WORKERS.
 By RAY R. CANTERBURY, *President.*
 HARRY W. CALL, *Secretary.*

Similar communications have been received from the following:

Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Creston, Iowa.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Mount Carmel, Ill.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Astoria Central Labor Council, Astoria, Oreg.
 United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Vallejo, Calif.
 Technical Engineers', Architects' and Draftsmen's Union, San Francisco, Calif.
 Taft Central Labor Council, Taft, Calif.
 Cigarmakers' Union of America, Seattle, Wash.
 International Longshoremen's Association, Buffalo, N. Y.
 Railway Employees' Department, Rivera Building, Chicago, Ill.
 International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders, Vallejo, Calif.
 National Window Glass Workers, 419 Electric Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Vallejo, Calif.
 United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Robert Langan, 1312 B Ninth Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
 International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, Chicago, Ill.
 Paving Cutters' Union, Rockport, Mass.
 Order of Railroad Telegraphers, St. Louis, Mo.
 Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America, Visalia, Calif.
 International Typographical Union, Indianapolis, Ind.
 M. Martin, 117 Avenue Thirty-eighth East, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Chicago, Ill.
 International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, Vancouver, Wash.
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Washington, D. C.
 National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, Washington, D. C.
 Sacramento Federated Trades Council, Sacramento, Calif.
 United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Olympia, Wash.

- Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express-
 and Station Employees, Washington, D. C.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Chicago, Ill.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders, Hill-
 Wash.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Elmira, N. Y.
 United Leather Workers, Kansas City, Mo.
 Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Brainerd, Minn.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Wilmington, N. C.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Monroe, La.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Omaha, Nebr.
 Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Columbus, Ohio.
 Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Mattoon, Ill.
 Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators C.
 tralia, Wash.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Ex-
 and Station Employees, Baltimore, Md.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Louisville, Ky.
 San Francisco Labor Council, San Francisco, Calif.
 City Fire Fighters No. 31, Tacoma, Wash.
 Woman's Trade Union League, Chicago, Ill.
 Pueblo Trades and Labor Assembly, Pueblo, Colo.
 Teamsters' Union, Tacoma, Wash.
 Butchers Local Union No. 656, Portland, Oreg.
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Portland, Oreg.
 Portland Mailers Union No. 13, Portland, Oreg.
 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Portland, Oreg.
 Moving Picture Machine Operators, Duluth, Minn.
 Plumbers and Steamfitters, No. 820, Loveland, Colo.
 Alabama State Federation of Labor, Birmingham, Ala.
 Arizona State Federation of Labor, Phoenix, Ariz.
 Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators, \
 York, N. Y.
 California State Federation of Labor, San Francisco, Calif.
 Los Angeles Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, Denver, Colo.
 Central Labor Council, Stockton, Calif.
 Central Labor Union, The Dalles, Oreg.
 Central Labor Council, Vallejo, Calif.
 Central Labor Council, San Jose, Calif.
 Central Labor Union, Clifton, Ariz.
 Federated Trades and Labor Council, San Diego, Calif.
 Central Labor Union, Boulder, Colo.
 Central Labor Council, San Bernadino, Calif.
 Tucson Central Trades Council, Tucson, Ariz.
 Metal Trades Council, Vallejo, Calif.
 Petaluma Central Labor Council, Petaluma, Calif.
 Building Trades Council, San Francisco, Calif.
 Painters and Decorators of Riverside, Riverside, Calif.
 United Mine Workers of America, Seattle, Wash.
 Calumet Joint Labor Council, Chicago, Ill.
 Oregon Federation of Labor, Portland, Oreg.
 International Association Oilfield Gas Well Workers, Coalinga, Calif.
 Shop Crafts, Needles, Calif.
 American Legion, Department of Nevada, Reno, Nev.
 Nevada State Federation of Labor, Sparks, Nev.
 Organized labor of Richmond and Contra Costa County, Richmond, Calif.
 Vallejo Pyramid, No. 7, Ancient Egyptian Order of Setots, Vallejo, Calif.
 Machinists' Local 252, Vallejo, Calif.
 La Junta Local Shop Federation, La Junta, Colo.
 Central Labor Union, Visalia, Calif.
 Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Ill.
 International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders, 1st
 Calif.
 United Mine Workers of America, Birmingham, Ala.

United Mine Workers, Cheyenne, Wyo.
 Federation of Labor, Cheyenne, Wyo.
 State Federation of Labor, Denver, Colo.
 Boilermakers' & Shipbuilders' Helpers, Seattle, Wash.
 International Longshoremen's Union, Tacoma, Wash.
 Orange County Central Labor Council, Fullerton, Calif.
 Anacortes Central Labor Council, Anacortes, Wash.
 Everett Central Labor Council, Everett, Wash.
 Tacoma Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.
 Seattle Central Labor Council, Seattle, Wash.
 Central Labor Council, Spokane, Wash.
 Local Union No. 606, I. V. S. and O. E., Tacoma, Wash.
 Cigar Makers' Union, Tacoma, Wash.
 Brotherhood of Railway Conductors of America, Pasco, Wash.
 Machinists' Lodge No. 297, Tacoma, Wash.
 Labor Council of Santa Rosa, Santa Rosa, Calif.
 Fresno Labor Council, Fresno, Calif.
 Central Labor Council of San Pedro, San Pedro, Calif.
 Central Labor Council, Portland, Oreg.
 Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Trades and Labor Assembly, Jacksonville, Ill.
 Marion Trades Council, Marion, Ill.
 Railway and Steamship Clerks, Chicago, Ill.
 Benj. J. Schooley, 631 North Third Street, Lawrence, Kans.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Jackson, Mich.
 Gate City Lodge, No. 129, Winona, Minn.
 Terminals Division Lodge, No. 708, St. Paul, Minn.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, San Antonio, Tex.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Saginaw, Mich.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Omaha, Nebr.
 International Association of Machinists, Moberly, Mo.
 C. V. Maute, care of Benjamin Franklin Lodge, No. 189, New York, N. Y.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor, Cumberland,
 Md.
 Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Evansville, Ind.
 Olympia Typographical Union, Olympia, Wash.
 Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Ogden, Utah.
 Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, El Paso, Tex.





